

The background of the cover is a photograph of a person wearing a black academic gown. Their hands are visible, holding a white rolled-up diploma that is tied with a vibrant red ribbon. The person is holding the diploma diagonally across the frame. The lighting is soft, highlighting the texture of the gown and the skin of the hands.

Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN AMERICAN
EDUCATION

Edited by
Kofi Lomotey

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Encyclopedia of
AFRICAN AMERICAN
EDUCATION

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AFRICAN AMERICAN
EDUCATION

Edited by

Kofi Lomotey

Southern University and A&M College



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- Advanced Placement
- Affirmative Action
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- African-Centered Education
- African Free School
- African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church
- Agricultural Education
- Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*
- Alston v. School Board of City of Norfolk*
- American Baptist Home Mission Society
- American Missionary Association
- American Negro Academy
- Anna T. Jeanes Foundation
- Arthur v. Nyquist*
- Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH)
- Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes
- Ayers v. Fordice*
- Bennett College for Women
- Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky*
- Bethune, Mary McLeod
- Black Codes
- Black College Rebellions of the 1920s
- Black Collegian, The*
- Black Females in College
- Black Female Teachers
- Black–Jewish Relations
- Black Male Academies
- Black Male Teachers
- Black Oral History Collection
- Black Panther Party Liberation Schools
- Black Studies. *See* African American Studies
- Black Theological Education
- Black Women Oral History Project
(Radcliffe College)
- Board of Missions for the Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
- Body Image
- Bolling v. Sharpe*
- Boys & Girls Clubs of America
- Briggs v. Elliott*
- Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*
(and *Brown II*)
- Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands
- Busing
- Calhoun v. Latimer*
- Career and Technical Education
- Catholic Church
- Charter Schools
- Children’s Defense Fund
- Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church
- Citizenship Schools
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Clara Muhammad Schools
- Clark, Kenneth B.
- Clarke, John Henrik
- Cole, Johnnetta
- Coleman Report
- College Athletics
- Collins, Marva
- Columbus Board of Education v. Penick*
- Comer, James
- Comer Process
- Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Brown*
- Community Control of Schools

- Compensatory Education
Cooper, Anna Julia Haywood
Cooperative Economics Education
Cooper v. Aaron
Council of Independent Black Institutions
Crisis, The
Cultural Deprivation
Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education
Culture-Based Education
Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education

Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County
Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman, I and II
Dental Education
Desegregation
Developmental Education
Diverse: Issues in Higher Education
Drake, St. Clair
Dropouts
Du Bois, W. E. B.
Dunbar High School (Washington, D.C.)

Ebonics
Economics of Education
Effective Schools
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
Epps, Edgar
Ethnicity

First-Generation College Students
Fisk University
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU)
Franklin, John Hope
Frasier v. Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina
Fraternities. *See* Greek Letter Organizations
Freedom Schools
Freeman v. Pitts

Geier v. Sundquist
Gender
Gender and Health Education
Gender in Precollegiate Education
General Education Board
Gifted and Talented Education

Gong Lum v. Rice
Gordon, Edmund W.
Goss v. Board of Education of Knoxville, Tennessee
Graduate Education
Greek Letter Organizations
Grutter v. Bollinger

Head Start
Higher Education Act of 1965
Highlander Folk School
High School Athletics
Hilliard, Asa
Hip Hop Studies
Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)
Hobson v. Hansen (I and II)
Holmes v. Danner
Homeschooling
Howard University
Hyperactivity

Identity Development
Industrial Education
Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education
INROADS
Institute of the Black World
Interdenominational Theological Center
International Students of African Descent

Jim Crow
Journal of Black Studies
Journal of Negro Education
Journal of Negro History

Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education
Killings on HBCU Campuses

Land Grant Colleges and Universities
Law Schools
Learning Disabilities
Lee v. Macon County Board of Education
Liddell v. Missouri
Lincoln University (Pennsylvania)
Literacy
Little Rock Nine
Lucy v. Adams, Dean of Admissions, University of Alabama

-
- Mainstreaming
 Malcolm X Academy (Detroit, Michigan)
 Marshall, Thurgood
Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School
Children v. Ann Arbor School District
 Mathematics Education
 Mays, Benjamin E.
McDaniel v. Barresi
 McKissick, Floyd
McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for
Higher Education
 Media Literacy
 Medical Education
 Meharry Medical College
Mendez v. Westminster School District of
Orange County
 Mentoring Programs
Meredith v. Fair
Milliken v. Bradley
Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel
County
Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada
 Morehouse College
Morgan v. O'Bryant
 Multicultural Education

 NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
 National Alliance of Black School Educators
 National Association for Equal Opportunity in
 Higher Education
 National Association for the Advancement of
 Colored People (NAACP)
 National Association of Teachers in
 Colored Schools
 National Black Child Development Institute
 National Council for Black Studies
 National Council on Educating Black Children
 National Pan-Hellenic Council
 National Urban League
 Nation of Islam
Negro Digest
Negro History Bulletin
 New Deal
 No Child Left Behind

 Open Admissions

Parents Involved in Community
Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1
Pasadena City Board of Education v. Spangler
- Phelps Stokes Fund
 Philander Smith College
Plessy v. Ferguson
 Poverty and Education
 Predominantly Black Colleges
 and Universities
 Predominantly White Institutions
 Private and Public Funding

 Racism Inside the Race: Light Skin
 Versus Dark Skin
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke
 Religious-Based Education
 Reparations
 Resegregation
Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk
 Rites of Passage Programs
Roberts v. City of Boston
 Rosenwald Fund
 Rural Education

 Sabbath Schools
 Sankofa Shule (Lansing, Michigan)
 Schomburg Center for Research in
 Black Culture
 School Choice
 Schott Foundation Black Boys Initiative
 Science Education
 Self-Esteem
 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy
Serrano v. Priest
Singleton v. Jackson Municipal
Separate School District
 Slater Fund
 Slave Narratives
 Socioeconomic Status (SES)
 Sororities. *See* Greek Letter Organizations
 Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
 Southern University
 Special Education
 Spelman College
 Standardized Testing
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating
 Committee (SNCC)
 Substance Abuse
Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of
Education

 Talented Tenth
Tape v. Hurley

Tenure and African American Faculty
Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund
TRIO Programs
Tureaud v. Board of Supervisors
Tuskegee University

Unitary Status
United Negro College Fund (UNCF)
United States v. Jefferson County
 Board of Education
United States v. Montgomery County
 Board of Education
United States v. Wallace
University of Maryland v. Murray
Urban Education

Vocational Education. *See* Career
 and Technical Education
Voting Rights Act of 1965
Vouchers

Ward v. Flood
Washington, Booker T.
W. Deen Mohammed High School
 (Atlanta, Georgia)
White Flight
Women's Studies
Woodson, Carter G.
Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education

Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)

Reader's Guide

The Reader's Guide is provided to help readers find entries on related topics. It classifies entries into 16 categories: Alternative Educational Models; Associations and Organizations; Biographies; Collegiate Education; Curriculum; Economics; Gender; Graduate and Professional Education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Legal Cases; Precollegiate Education; Psychology and Human Development; Publications; Public Policy; Religious Institutions and Schooling; and Segregation/Desegregation. Some entries appear in more than one category.

Alternative Educational Models

African-Centered Education
African Free School
Black Male Academies
Black Panther Party Liberation Schools
Charter Schools
Clara Muhammad Schools
Comer Process
Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education
Culture-Based Education
Developmental Education
Freedom Schools
Homeschooling
Malcolm X Academy (Detroit, Michigan)
Multicultural Education
Nation of Islam
Rites of Passage Programs
Sankofa Shule (Lansing, Michigan)
W. Deen Mohammed High School
(Atlanta, Georgia)

Associations and Organizations

American Baptist Home Missionary Society
American Missionary Association
American Negro Academy
Anna T. Jeanes Foundation
Association for the Study of African American
Life and History (ASALH)
Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
for Negroes

Black Women Oral History Project
(Radcliffe College)
Board of Missions for the Freedmen of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Boys & Girls Clubs of America
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and
Abandoned Lands
Children's Defense Fund
Council of Independent Black Institutions
General Education Board
INROADS
Institute of the Black World
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
National Alliance of Black School Educators
National Association for Equal Opportunity in
Higher Education
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People (NAACP)
National Association of Teachers in
Colored Schools
National Black Child Development Institute
National Council for Black Studies
National Council for Educating Black Children
National Pan-Hellenic Council
National Urban League
Phelps Stokes Fund
Rosenwald Fund
Schomburg Center for Research
in Black Culture
Schott Foundation Black Boys Initiative
Slater Fund
Southern Association of Colleges and Schools

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
 Thurgood Marshall College Fund
 TRIO Programs
 United Negro College Fund (UNCF)
 Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)

Biographies

Bethune, Mary McLeod
 Clark, Kenneth B.
 Clarke, John Henrik
 Cole, Johnnetta
 Collins, Marva
 Comer, James
 Cooper, Anna Julia Haywood
 Drake, St. Clair
 Du Bois, W. E. B.
 Epps, Edgar
 Franklin, John Hope
 Gordon, Edmund
 Hilliard, Asa
 Marshall, Thurgood
 Mays, Benjamin E.
 McKissick, Floyd
 Washington, Booker T.
 Woodson, Carter G.

Collegiate Education

Academic Freedom
 Adult Education
 African American Studies
 Agricultural Education
 Bennett College for Women
 Black College Rebellions of the 1920s
Black Collegian, The
 College Athletics
 Dental Education
Diverse: Issues in Higher Education
 First-Generation College Students
 Fisk University
 Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU)
 Graduate Education
 Greek Letter Organizations
 Higher Education Act of 1965
 Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)
 Howard University
 International Students of African Descent

Killings on HBCU Campuses
 Land Grant Colleges and Universities
 Law Schools
 Lincoln University (Pennsylvania)
 Medical Education
 Meharry Medical College
 Morehouse College
 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
 National Council for Black Studies
 National Pan-Hellenic Council
 Open Admissions
 Philander Smith College
 Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities
 Predominantly White Institutions
 Southern Association for Colleges and Schools
 Southern University
 Spelman College
 Talented Tenth
 Tenure and African American Faculty
 Thurgood Marshall College Fund
 Tuskegee University
 United Negro College Fund (UNCF)

Curriculum

Academic Freedom
 African American Children's Books
 African American Studies
 African-Centered Education
 Agricultural Education
 Career and Technical Education
 Compensatory Education
 Cooperative Economics Education
 Cultural Deprivation
 Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education
 Culture-Based Education
 Developmental Education
 Ebonics
 Gifted and Talented Education
 Hip Hop Studies
 Homeschooling
 Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education
 Learning Disabilities
 Mainstreaming
 Mathematics Education
 Multicultural Education
 Science Education
 Self-Esteem
 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

Socioeconomic Status (SES)
 Special Education
 Standardized Testing

Economics

College Athletics
 Cooperative Economics Education
 Dropouts
 Economics of Education
 Industrial Education
 Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education
 New Deal
 Poverty and Education
 Private and Public Funding
 Reparations
 Rural Education
 School Choice
 Socioeconomic Status (SES)
 Urban Education
 Vouchers
 White Flight

Gender

Bennett College for Women
 Black Females in College
 Black Female Teachers
 Black Male Academies
 Black Male Teachers
 Gender
 Gender and Health Education
 Gender in Precollegiate Education
 Morehouse College
 Spelman College
 Women's Studies

Graduate and Professional Education

Cooperative Economics Education
 Dental Education
 Graduate Education
 Law Schools
 Medical Education
 Meharry Medical College

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Bennett College for Women
 Black College Rebellions of the 1920s

Fisk University
 Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU)
 Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)
 Howard University
 Killings on HBCU Campuses
 Land Grant Colleges and Universities
 Lincoln University (Pennsylvania)
 Meharry Medical College
 Morehouse College
 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
 Philander Smith College
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 Spelman College
 Thurgood Marshall College Fund
 Tuskegee University
 United Negro College Fund (UNCF)

Legal Cases

Adams v. Richardson
Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education
Alston v. Board of Education of City of Norfolk
Arthur v. Nyquist
Ayers v. Fordice
Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky
Bolling v. Sharpe
Briggs v. Elliott
Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II)
Calhoun v. Latimer
Columbus Board of Education v. Penick
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Brown
Cooper v. Aaron
Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education
Davis v. County School Board of Prince County
Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman, I and II
Frasier v. Board of Trustees
Freeman v. Pitts
Geier v. Sundquist
Gong Lum v. Rice
Goss v. Board of Education, Knoxville, Tennessee
Grutter v. Bollinger
Hobson v. Hansen (I and II)
Holmes v. Danner

Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education
Lee v. Macon County Board of Education
Liddell v. Missouri
Lucy v. Adams, Dean of Admissions,
University of Alabama
Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School
Children v. Ann Arbor School District
McDaniel v. Barresi
McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher
Education
Mendez v. Westminster School District of
Orange County
Meredith v. Fair
Milliken v. Bradley
Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel
County
Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada
Morgan v. O'Bryant
Parents Involved in Community Schools v.
Seattle School District No. 1
Pasadena City Board of Education v. Spangler
Plessy v. Ferguson
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke
Riddick v. School Board of Education
of the City of Norfolk
Roberts v. City of Boston
Serrano v. Priest
Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate
School District
Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg
Board of Education
Tape v. Hurley
Tureaud v. Board of Supervisors
United States v. Jefferson County Board of
Education
United States v. Montgomery County Board of
Education
United States v. Wallace
University of Maryland v. Murray
Ward v. Flood
Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education

Precollegiate Education

Academic Achievement
 Advanced Placement
 African American Children's Books
 African Free School
 Black Male Academies
 Black Panther Party Liberation Schools

Busing
 Charter Schools
 Citizenship Schools
 Clara Muhammad Schools
 Coleman Report
 Desegregation
 Dropouts
 Dunbar High School (Washington, D.C.)
 Effective Schools
 Elementary and Secondary Education Act of
 1965
 Freedom Schools
 Gender in Precollegiate Education
 Gifted and Talented Education
 Head Start
 High School Athletics
 Homeschooling
 Little Rock Nine
 Malcolm X Academy (Detroit, Michigan)
 Mathematics Education
 Multicultural Education
 No Child Left Behind
 Sankofa Shule (Lansing, Michigan)
 School Choice
 Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
 Urban Education
 Vouchers
 W. Deen Mohammed High School (Atlanta,
 Georgia)

Psychology and Human Development

Academic Achievement
 "Acting White"
 Body Image
 Career and Technical Education
 College Athletics
 Comer Process
 Cultural Deprivation
 Desegregation
 Developmental Education
 Gender in Precollegiate Education
 Gifted and Talented Education
 Head Start
 Hyperactivity
 Identity Development
 Learning Disabilities
 Literacy
 Mainstreaming
 Mentoring Programs

Multicultural Education
 Racism Inside the Race: Light Skin
 Versus Dark Skin
 Self-Esteem
 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy
 Special Education
 Substance Abuse
 Talented Tenth
 Urban Education

Publications

African American Children's Books
Black Collegian, The
 Coleman Report
Crisis, The
Diverse: Issues in Higher Education
Journal of Black Studies
Journal of Negro Education
Journal of Negro History
Negro Digest
Negro History Bulletin

Public Policy

Academic Achievement
 Academic Freedom
 Affirmative Action
 Black Codes
 Black–Jewish Relations
 Busing
 Charter Schools
 Civil Rights Act of 1964
 Community Control of Schools
 Desegregation
 Dropouts
 Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
 Ethnicity
 Head Start
 Higher Education Act of 1965
 Jim Crow
 Literacy
 Little Rock Nine
 Mainstreaming
 New Deal
 No Child Left Behind
 Open Admissions
 Resegregation
 School Choice
 Standardized Testing

Tenure and African American Faculty
 TRIO Programs
 Unitary Status
 Urban Education
 Voting Rights Act of 1965
 Vouchers
 White Flight

Religious Institutions and Schooling

American Baptist Home Missionary Society
 African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church
 Black Theological Education
 Board of Missions for the Freedmen
 of the Presbyterian Church in the United
 States of America
 Catholic Church
 Christian Methodist Episcopal
 (CME) Church
 Interdenominational Theological Center
 Nation of Islam
 Religious-Based Education
 Sabbath Schools
 W. Deen Mohammed High School
 (Atlanta, Georgia)

Segregation and Desegregation

Black Codes
 Busing
 Desegregation
 Little Rock Nine
 Resegregation
 Unitary Status
 Urban Education

Appendix: The Complete Bibliography of *The Journal of Negro Education*, 1932–2008

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 World War II and Post-War Years (1940–1949)
 Desegregation Years (1950–1959)
 Civil Rights Movement Years (1960–1969)
 Racial Identity and Black Consciousness Years
 (1970–1979)
 Educational Development Years (1980–1989)
 “It Takes a Whole Village” Years
 (1990–1999)
 New Millennium Years (2000–2008)

**Appendix: *Journal of Negro Education*
Articles on Segregation, Desegregation, and
Equality in Education**

- (1935) A Critique: The Courts and the Negro
Separate School
- (1947) The Availability of Education for Negroes
in the Secondary School
- (1952) Problems Incident to Racial Integration
and Some Suggested Approaches to These
Problems—A Critical Summary
- (1952) An Appraisal of Court Action as a
Means of Achieving Racial Segregation in
Education
- (1956) The Status of Educational Desegregation,
1956: A Critical Summary
- (1968) The Busing of Students for Equal
Opportunities
- (1978) Ironies of School Desegregation
- (1978) School Desegregation in Retrospect and
Prospect
- (1983) Time for the Teachers: Putting Educators
Back Into the *Brown* Remedy
- (1994) The Implementation of Desegregation
Plans Since *Brown*
- (2004) Fifty Years After *Brown*: The Benefits
and Tradeoffs for African American Educators
and Students

About the Editor

Kofi Lomotey is the chancellor and professor of education at Southern University and A&M College in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His passion for excellence in education and inclusion was shaped largely by his undergraduate experience at Oberlin College in Ohio. A first-generation college student, Lomotey was inspired by Oberlin College and a diverse student body that was prepared to compete and motivated to achieve. With the help of fellow students, Kofi founded a preschool/early elementary school for African American children in the city of Oberlin. He is a published national expert in the fields of urban education, character building in early learners, and educational leadership that nurtures equal opportunity and inclusion.

Lomotey has served as executive vice president and provost at Fisk University, president of Fort Valley State University, senior vice president and provost at Medgar Evers College (CUNY), and as a member of the education faculties at Louisiana State University and the State University of New York at Buffalo. He is the editor of the journal, *Urban Education*, published by Corwin Press. He holds a PhD from Stanford University in educational administration and policy analysis, a

master's from Stanford in the same area, an MEd from Cleveland State University in curriculum and instruction, and a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College in economics.

Lomotey has published several books, articles in professional journals, and book chapters. His research interests include urban schools, students of African descent in higher education, principals of African descent in elementary schools, and independent African-centered schools. He is an active member of the American Education Research Association (AERA), the largest professional organization of professors and students of education. He served as principal investigator on several grants totaling more than \$4 million.

Among the awards Lomotey has received are the Outstanding Scholar Award and the Distinguished Scholar Award from the American Educational Research Association and the President's Award for Research from Phi Delta Kappa. He serves on the board of trustees for Oberlin College and Xechem International of New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Lomotey is married to A. Nahuja. They are the parents of three and grandparents of one.

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<i>The City University of New York</i> | Adriel Adon Hilton
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Introduction

The Field

We know that Africans had both formal and informal education on the African continent prior to their arrival in the Americas. The education of Africans who were forcibly brought to the Americas continued once they arrived on these shores in the 1600s. They arrived as Africans and later came to be referred to by a number of names, including Negro, Colored, Black, Afro American, and African Americans—the designation which we have chosen to use in this encyclopedia. For enslaved Africans, upon their arrival on these shores, education took place in the woods, in the quarters of the enslaved and elsewhere—in spite of the fact that it was illegal. In the United States, Prince Hall, Richard Allen, and others started schools during the 1700s. The so-called native schools operated by African American women also operated during enslavement, as did the Sabbath Schools; both are described in this encyclopedia. More expansive formal education for African Americans followed the elimination of their legal physical bondage.

Postenslavement education in the United States for African Americans has been both public and private, parochial and secular, segregated and integrated—and desegregated. It is primarily this formal education of the previously enslaved that we address in this two-volume collection—from preschool through professional school.

For African Americans, to be sure, there have been challenges and successes—high points and low points—at every level of education and, indeed, in every region of the United States. There have been protests, killings, school closings, and legal battles emanating from educational issues—at every level.

In the 21st century, the view persists that the quality of education afforded African Americans is

inferior to that provided for their white counterparts. There remain questions of fiscal discrimination, teacher quality inequities, and other illegitimate barriers to quality education for African Americans. Elsewhere, I have argued that the disenfranchisement of African Americans in education has been persistent, pervasive, and disproportionate. (Lomotey, 1990).

Rationale

Although many books, articles, dissertations, theses, films, and journals have focused totally or in part on aspects of African American education, this encyclopedia is the first reference work to address this topic both historically and in the context of the 21st century. It is by far the most comprehensive encyclopedia on the subject, and it will have tremendous utility for a wide variety of users. Of course, librarians in academic as well as public libraries will use it as a primary reference guide available to individuals interested in education generally and African American education in particular. Scholars of education will find the topics in the encyclopedia of value in their work. Students—undergraduate and graduate—will find the volumes useful in education courses and in other social science courses. In addition, teachers at all levels should find much of value to them as they seek to facilitate the best possible teaching/learning process for their students—regardless of their racial backgrounds.

Origin

I was approached in 2005 by SAGE and asked to consider editing this encyclopedia. I was honored and humbled, but wondered if I had the time. I subsequently agreed and quickly began identifying

my proposed editorial advisors and developing a Reader's Guide and the proposed list of entries. Twice, our staff (i.e., editor, editorial assistants, and editorial advisors) met at annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association to get updates and to fine-tune the process. The effort has been continuously supported by the staff at SAGE, and in the final analysis, I am convinced that the project has been an important and valuable one.

The 212 contributors to these volumes are an outstanding group of distinguished students, scholars, and practitioners. I am honored to have been involved in this project with each of them. They are young and seasoned, professors and educational administrators, law students and practicing attorneys. Perhaps most important, we have taken great pains to ensure that all of the entries are accessible to readers who may be unfamiliar with the field.

Overview

The encyclopedia is intended to provide relatively short entries on numerous topics. It contains 247 entries, ranging from approximately 1,000 words to 4,000 words. Each of the topics is discussed as it relates to the education of African Americans. Most of the contributors have included suggested further readings should the reader be so inclined. Cross-references at the end of entries refer the reader to related entries within the encyclopedia.

For easy access to the subject, the Reader's Guide appears in the front matter of each volume. This guide lists the entries relevant to the following 16 general subject areas, with entries sometimes appearing in more than one category:

- Alternative Educational Models
- Associations and Organizations
- Biographies
- Collegiate Education
- Curriculum
- Economics
- Gender
- Graduate and Professional Education
- Historically Black Colleges and Universities

- Legal Cases
- Precollegiate Education
- Psychology and Human Development
- Publications
- Public Policy
- Religious Institutions and Schooling
- Segregation and Desegregation

Following the A–Z entries is the Appendix, which consists of a chronological listing of the tables of contents from each issue of the *Journal of Negro Education*, from its origin in 1932 through 2008. At the time of its founding, no other scholarly publication provided comprehensive coverage concerning the education of persons of African descent in the United States and elsewhere. The Appendix provides an overview of more than seven decades of work in this field.

Language

A word about language. I believe that words are very important and that they invariably deliver multiple lessons/messages. Generally, we have not used terms such as “slave,” “slavery,” and “ex-slave,” because these terms objectify people. That is, they suggest that these people were not people, but were, instead, things/slaves. We have used “enslaved African,” “enslaved African American,” “enslavement,” “formerly enslaved African,” or “formerly enslaved African American”—emphasizing their humanity.

In most cases, we have used “the United States” or “U.S.” (for example, “U.S. citizen”), as opposed to “America” or “American.” There are, of course, three Americas (i.e., North America, South American and Central America). To me, it seems a bit presumptuous or even arrogant to refer to a country that is only a part of one of three Americas as “America.”

Finally, we have attempted to distinguish between “integration” and “desegregation.” Barbara Sizemore makes the distinction, noting that desegregation is the forced placement into a diverse group, while integration is the free movement of individuals in and out of diverse groups (Sizemore, 1972).

In each of the instances noted above, of course, quotes and common terms, such as “Black Codes” and “American Dream” are left intact.

Acknowledgments

I am appreciative of the editors of the *Journal of Negro Education* for allowing us to include their complete bibliography of all of the articles that appeared in the journal from the very beginning through 2008. That bibliography appears in the Appendix at the end of Volume II and is an invaluable addition to this encyclopedia.

I want to acknowledge a number of other people without whom this encyclopedia would not have been done. When I first started working on the encyclopedia in 2006, Tamiko Black was my first managing editor. Her work was invaluable, as she established the encyclopedia office, made many of the initial contacts with prospective contributors, and served as a liaison between our office and the editorial advisors—and SAGE. Tamiko made many useful suggestions that ultimately benefited the encyclopedia—and she pushed me when I could not seem to find the time to do what needed to be done.

When I moved to Baton Rouge in 2008, I was fortunate enough to secure the services of Berlisha Ricard as my new managing editor. Berlisha is a quick study and immediately got up to speed in communication with the editorial advisors, the contributors, and SAGE. The transition from Fisk to Southern was made much smoother because of Berlisha. She was also good at pushing me to fulfill my responsibilities associated with the encyclopedia.

My wife, A. Nahuja, was a second managing editor throughout the project, with responsibilities primarily associated with the legal entries; she also worked with me during the copyediting process. She identified the large majority of the legal contributors, edited each of the entries, and maintained regular dialogue with the contributors throughout the process. She also contributed several legal entries. As my mate for more than 30 years, our relationship is, of course, priceless and she provided much more throughout the process. I love her more than life itself.

Each of the editorial board members—Joy Williamson-Lott, Adrienne Dixon, Jerome E. Morris, William A. Smith, and Melody L. Carter—was extremely helpful from beginning to end. They provided numerous suggestions for contributors; they offered invaluable input regarding appropriate and inappropriate entries; and, of

course, they edited several of the final entries—and contributed some also. I enjoyed working with each of them and I am proud to continue to call each one of them my friend.

The encyclopedia is made up of 247 entries, with 176 lead authors, and a total of 212 authors. Each of them carefully followed the guidelines, meticulously connected his or her topic to the education of African Americans, and provided entries that added to the strength of a great collection of entries. I am grateful to each of them.

My good friend, Mwalimu J. Shujaa, is one of the brightest human beings I have ever known. For nearly every project with which I have been involved over the past 30 years, I have—in one way or the other—sought and received his brilliant insights and advice. This encyclopedia was no exception. I love him like a brother.

Adenike Davidson, a colleague at Fisk and a contributor to this encyclopedia, made several useful suggestions for contributors to the volumes and read a few of the early drafts of entries for me. Her friendship is greatly appreciated.

Diana Axelsen, development editor at SAGE, clearly is an expert at what she does. At every challenge/impasse/decision point, she quickly articulated the issue—often before I was able to—and—equally as quickly—made concrete and practical suggestions as though she had just recently addressed challenges like the ones we had. She suggested contributors; she did it all. Every issue that came up, Diana was there to help. That made the process run more smoothly and certainly brought it to a quicker conclusion.

Carla Freeman, the production editor for this project from SAGE, was a welcome breath of fresh air from the day she first e-mailed her introductory message to me; it was a joy working with her. She is truly a professional. Also very helpful, supportive, and patient during the copyediting process were copy editors Renee Willers and Pam Suwinsky.

Rolf Janke, publisher, and Leticia Gutierrez, systems coordinator, at SAGE were also very supportive of me and of the project. Without their support, guidance and patience, I doubt that the project would have been completed.

Each of these individuals made invaluable contributions that added much to this encyclopedia; however, the reader should be very clear that any

faults/shortcomings/limitations of this encyclopedia are my responsibility—totally.

Enjoy.

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ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Research on academic achievement among African American students often focuses on their underachievement or failure, its causes, and possible strategies for remediation. In reviewing that research, this entry inevitably reflects that emphasis. Nevertheless, it asserts at the start the historical understanding that laws were eradicated and practices carried out throughout the United States to ensure that enslaved Africans—and their descendants—would not become literate. If they were caught learning how to read or write, enslaved Africans—and the White people who taught them—would be punished.

Thus, historically for African American people in the United States, education has been viewed as a passport to freedom. This view is shown by the risks taken by the enslaved during enslavement to learn how to read and write, African Americans' push for mass public schooling in the southern United States during the 19th century, and African Americans' legal and political battles for equal and quality education during the 20th and 21st centuries.

Beginning with a historical review of various theories about academic achievement among African American students, this entry then turns to the contemporary dialogue about the so-called “academic achievement gap,” reviews the small body of literature about high-achieving African Americans, examines the available quantitative evidence on the subject, and briefly considers an agenda for future research.

20th-Century Perspectives

During the 20th century, a number of theoretical perspectives (e.g., geneticists, cultural deprivation, cultural difference, structural perspective, and groups' cultural expectations) have been used by the broader scholarly community to explain why African American students experience school failure. At different points during the 20th century, each became the dominant paradigm to explain why some groups achieved while others underachieved in mainstream U.S. schools.

Genetics

During the first half of the 20th century, geneticists such as Lewis Terman and Henry Goddard considered the low performance on intelligence tests of some racial, ethnic, and linguistic minorities to be a reflection of the supposed genetic inferiority of these groups. Instead of situating African Americans' schooling opportunities—or lack thereof—within a sociohistorical context of denied formal schooling during enslavement, racial segregation, and racism, geneticists attempted to prove that African American people—as well as some European ethnic minorities (Jews, Hungarians, Italians, and Russians), Native Americans, and Mexican Americans—were inferior.

The geneticists consider the differences in academic achievement among various groups of students (often measured by IQ test scores) as indicative of the innate intelligence of certain groups rather than a product of socioeconomic, historical, and cultural factors. Although African

American social scientists, in particular scholars such as Horace Mann Bond, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Allison Davis, critiqued the studies that tried to support the argument that African Americans were intellectually inferior, remnants of this belief continued to germinate within the academy, as exemplified by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles H. Murray's 1996 book *The Bell Curve*. In this book, the authors assert that a major reason why some groups do not achieve in schools might be connected more to rank-and-file notions of intellectual inferiority than to persistent economic, structural, cultural, and historical forces.

Cultural Deprivation

Cultural deprivation theorists viewed students' academic differences on standardized measures as a result of nurture—or lack thereof—rather than on some inherent predisposition to fail the test, as asserted by geneticists. Emerging from the national thrust to eradicate poverty during the 1960s, cultural deprivation theorists offered a counter to geneticists and attributed the academic underachievement among some ethnic and racial groups to the failure of some students' families to transmit the values and cultural patterns necessary for the students to achieve in mainstream academic institutions.

The deprivation paradigm guided the formulation of programs such as Head Start and other compensatory educational programs for low-income populations during the 1960s. To better enable children to achieve academic success, cultural deprivation theorists believed that schools should assist low-income and racial and ethnic minority students in overcoming deficits caused by their families and communities, particularly during the early childhood years.

Cultural Difference

According to cultural difference theorists, however, this reasoning did not adequately explain why some students achieved and others underachieved. Instead, they suggested that the culture that students bring to schools should not be perceived from a deficit perspective just because it may be different from mainstream U.S. school culture. Instead, this perspective asserted that schools ignored the home cultures

that students, especially African American students, brought to school.

During the 1960s, cultural difference theorists began to challenge cultural deprivation theories by positing an alternative view of the academic failures of ethnic and racial minority students such as African Americans. This new group of theorists argued that the extent to which students learned or did not learn in schools reflected the cultural differences of the groups, which were either congruent with or incongruent with the White U.S. culture that pervaded many aspects of children's schooling experiences.

Other scholars, particularly sociolinguists during the 1970s, followed by asserting that differences in culture resulted in cultural and linguistic conflicts between students and their teachers, many of whom were White. This shifted part of the discourse from the notion that some groups' cultures were deficient toward the notion that cultures varied. An assumption, therefore, was that racially and ethnically diverse students' academic achievement could be enhanced if there was cultural congruence or synchronization between the home and the school and if the schooling experiences resonated with the unique cognitive or learning styles and cultural patterns of students.

Cultural difference scholars who have focused on African American students, such as Janice Hale-Benson and Barbara Shade, assert that the instructional strategies used in schools do not work well with African American students, and consequently, many African American students do not experience academic success. They emphasize the need for schools to specifically focus on creating settings that are conducive to the culture and learning styles of African American students in order to promote these students' academic achievement.

Others caution against research that categorizes students' learning styles and ways of learning based on cultural characteristics. Nevertheless, the cultural difference view of African American students' schooling experiences will remain a viable explanation because of an increasingly heterogeneous student population in which racially and ethnically diverse students accounted for more than 30% of the school-age population at the end of the 20th century. On the other hand, the teaching force in the United States is more than 90% White.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalists, particularly James Banks and Geneva Gay, as well as proponents of ethnic-centered paradigms such as Molefi Asante (an advocate of African-centered education), assert that the White American culture of schools distorts the history, culture, and background of students from other backgrounds. They note that the knowledge that school officials and society expect children to acquire often invalidates these students' cultural experiences. These scholars believe that an infusion of multicultural education and/or cultural-centered education can be part and parcel of the solution to improving the academic achievement of students from diverse cultural backgrounds.

They propose teaching students in ways that are culturally synchronized, culturally centered, empowering, and culturally relevant. This infusion would move beyond an additive approach and would transform the entire schooling experiences for students. With roots in the ethnic studies movement of the 1960s, multicultural education and cultural-centered approaches such as African-centered education suggest infusing a multicultural ethos into schooling experiences so as to reaffirm the social, cultural, and historical experiences of students from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Societal Explanations

Rather than view issues of underachievement or achievement at the individual level, some scholars believe that larger societal forces are key determinants of student learning, as are the cultural forces within a particular ethnic or racial community. For example, this view asserts that race, ethnicity, and culture are more likely to predict what educators and schools expect of students rather than predict whether students will learn and achieve in schools.

Proponents of this view note how some educators often create a self-fulfilling prophecy in relation to students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Teachers' expectations of students greatly shape student learning and achievement. Also structural inequalities that can have deleterious consequences for students' learning may entail the limited access to knowledge and resources, the systematic denial of formal schooling, state-sanctioned discrimination, and gross disparities in the level of school funding.

Moreover, proponents of this view assert that contemporary examples of structural inequalities include differential levels of quality teaching for some students, as well as the disproportionate placement of some racial and ethnic minority group members into the lowest academic tracks. African American and Latino students are disproportionately placed in lower academic tracks in comparison to White and Asian students and therefore, experience lower levels of academic achievement. Scholars during the 1980s and 1990s such as Jeannie Oakes and Jomills Braddock noted how structures within schools such as academic tracking reproduce social inequalities within these schools. Yet, the disproportionate academic tracking of African American students into lower-level academic courses would continue to influence the disparities in achievement among various racial-ethnic groups in the 21st century and make the achievement gap of major concern in U.S. public schools.

Addressing the Achievement Gap

The inability of numerous educational reforms to substantively address the quality of schooling for African American students situates issues of achievement and the underachievement of African American students as critical concerns in the 21st century. In recent years, the underachievement of African American students—especially males—has been defined as the academic achievement gap. Discussions on the achievement gap are not necessarily about issues of achievement, per se, but about the historical inequities and denied opportunities to learn. Historian James Anderson noted that throughout their history in the United States, African Americans have closed many achievement gaps. For example, African Americans were able to close the literacy and the elementary school completion gaps during the 19th and 20th centuries, respectively. And the present gap—measured by standardized test scores—can also be closed.

Reflecting Group Values

Recent explanations for the academic achievement gap between African American and White students' academic outcomes suggest that students' learning and achievement in schools reflect the values, beliefs, and traditions of some racial-ethnic

groups, which may place a greater or lesser emphasis on achieving in the dominant educational context. John U. Ogbu's scholarship captures the essence of this view by asserting that the extent to which many members of some minority groups fail in mainstream schools can be linked to the way different minority groups enter into a society and approach schooling.

Using a cultural ecological model to explain school failure, Ogbu developed a typology of ethnic groups based on the groups' entry into the dominant society: voluntary or immigrant minorities (which include Asian Americans, recent African immigrants, and immigrants from the Caribbean) and involuntary or nonimmigrant minority groups such as African Americans and Native Americans. Ogbu noted that voluntary immigrant groups are more likely than involuntary minorities to accept the dominant achievement ideology, which holds the meritocratic view that hard work and motivation pay off.

The corpus of Ogbu's research, as well as his associates, supports the notion that African Americans' race, class, and gender consciousness, and their interpretation of inequality, can foster an attitude toward schooling that can lead to academic failure. To succeed in school, African American students became raceless, or disidentified with the African American community or a collective African American identity.

"Acting White"

Building on Ogbu's theory was a highly cited article in 1986 titled "Black Students' School Success: Coping with the Burden of Acting White," written by Signithia Fordham and Ogbu. In their ethnographic investigation of Capital High School—an urban high school that primarily enrolled low-income African American students in Washington, D.C.—Fordham and Ogbu found that some of these students did not achieve for fear of being labeled as trying to act White. For many of these students, schooling became a culturally subtractive, rather than an additive, process.

In later publications, Fordham examined the cultural and social factors that shaped African American adolescents' attitudes toward schooling and asserted that African American students valued their fictive kinship with their peers, that is,

collective identity, which was at odds with achieving in schools. Consequently, to protect their identities as African American people, many of these students consciously chose not to achieve in schools, achievement which was associated with Whiteness. Fordham further employed the concept of racelessness to describe how some high-achieving students disconnected themselves from the African American community and also minimized the significance of racial barriers in their academic success. In terms of gender, Fordham noted that some African American males chose not to achieve in school for fear of being labeled as gay; those males who excelled in school, camouflaged their academic success through clowning or by excelling in sports.

Controversial books during the beginning of the 20th century further asserted that African American culture plays a pivotal role in the low-achievement outcomes and negative school experiences of African American adolescents. Such explanations have created a maelstrom among the U.S. public and in policy and research circles, as they overlook long academic traditions in the larger African American community; fail to acknowledge the power of structural forces such as racism, discrimination, and poverty; and are discredited by contemporary models of African American success in some schools.

In his book *Losing the Race: Self-Sabotage in Black America*, John McWhorter asserted that African American cultural traits—rather than structural forces such as systemic racism, discrimination, and disproportionate poverty—were greatly responsible for the academic challenges experienced by many African American students. Based primarily on anecdotal accounts of his experiences with African American students in his classes and on the campus at University of California, Berkeley, as well as a selective review of scholarship, McWhorter argued that African American students embraced a culture of anti-intellectualism.

Furthermore, in their book *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning*, Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom conclude that a great deal of African American students' underachievement, even in the case of middle-class African American students, is due to the low effort by these students, as well as to the low expectations by their parents. In his

book *Black American Students in an Affluent Suburb: A Study of Academic Disengagement*, Ogbu asserted that living in and attending schools in a predominantly White and affluent suburb still did not mitigate the community forces that adversely impacted the school experiences of African American students. Ogbu concluded that African American parents in a predominantly White, affluent, suburban community (Shaker Heights, Ohio) did not value academic achievement for their children and that African American students did not make the effort to achieve.

Although the study focused on how community forces influenced academic disengagement, a number of African American scholars such as Theresa Perry, Asa Hilliard, and Claude Steele noted how Ogbu purposely ignored how structural forces within the school district and the schools can hinder academic achievement (i.e., policies and practices, teachers' expectations, etc.), did not include a substantive analysis of academically engaged students within the same community (specifically how gender might influence this process), and ignored the historical record of African Americans' efforts to shape their children's schooling.

Research on High Achievement

In contrast to the focus on academic failure or underachievement, a small body of scholarship has focused on the multiplicity of ways that involuntary immigrant groups such as African Americans approach schooling. One such study was done by Carla O'Connor. Based on interviews with 46 low- and high-achieving African American adolescents in two urban high schools in Chicago, Illinois, O'Connor found variations in how low-income African American adolescents captured the significance of social identity (race, class, and gender) in their opportunities for academic success.

Specifically, she noted that the high-achieving and resilient African American students in the study maintained a disposition toward struggle and displayed agency and optimism in the midst of recognizing persistent structural barriers facing African American people. These adolescents' awareness of struggle and their sense of collective orientation did not produce maladaptive behaviors that compromised their schooling, but instead reinforced their desire to do well academically. Likewise, Pedro

Noguera found that some high-achieving minority students challenged stereotypes by doing well in school while taking pride in their heritage and racial identity. Others learned how to succeed in both worlds by adopting multiple identities.

A number of studies have challenged the notion that African American students reject their peers who are academically successful primarily because they achieve in school. These studies particularly noted how certain school structures give rise to the emergence of what appear to be cultural patterns. For example, Karolyn Tyson and her colleagues found that racialized peer pressure against African American students' achievement most likely occurred in schools where African American students were grossly underrepresented in the most demanding courses such as Advanced Placement (AP) and honors courses. There was less animosity toward African American students by their African American peers if a higher percentage of African American students were enrolled in the advanced academic courses. Conversely, there was greater animosity in a school in which African American students were least represented in the AP courses.

Others researchers noted how low-income and racially diverse youth do not racialize being smart, doing well in school, or receiving good grades. In Prudence Carter's study of 68 African American and Latino youths, she found that none of the high achievers in her study (who represented 20% of the sample) indicated that their peers sanctioned them for "acting White" because they performed well in school. Peers identified four of the respondents as acting White because of their styles and preferences—the way they spoke, the music they liked, and how they dressed. Instead of being associated with academic achievement, acting White was affiliated with a set of styles and symbolic vehicles, such as speech and dress styles, and was not automatically associated with high-achieving African American students.

Quantitative Evidence

Methodologically, much attention has focused on the findings from qualitative studies of the ways that African American students approach schooling. Some quantitative data support the findings by researchers who employed ethnographic methods. Phillip J. Cook and Jens Ludwig used National

Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) data to assess the acting White thesis and its contribution to the academic achievement gap. Overall, they found that African American high school students were as likely to expect to enter and complete college as Whites and that African American students completed high school at the same rate as White students from the same social class. They also found that African American students who earned mostly A's in mathematics were more popular than those who earned mostly B's or C's—although the difference was not statistically significant.

Also, using NELS data, James Ainsworth-Darnell and Douglas Downey quantitatively assessed the oppositional culture explanation for the Black–White achievement gap. Contrary to the oppositional culture thesis, they found that African American students, in comparison to White students, were significantly more likely to report that education is important to get a job later on. African American students also had more optimistic occupational expectations. In terms of the acting White thesis, which further asserts that academically successful students also run the risk of not being popular, the authors found that African American students who are perceived to be very good students also hold positions of status with their peers.

Finally, the relationship between teachers and students is important to student achievement in general, and especially so for African American students. Historical, sociological, and educational studies of supportive and affirming relationships between teachers and African American students highlight how educators (mostly African American) developed communal bonds with African American students and noted how teachers' relationships with students were parentlike in nature. Many of these effective teachers of African American children saw themselves as having had similar experiences as the children they taught, took on the role of othermothers, and strongly identified with the communities where they taught.

When African American students feel that their teachers are supportive, caring, and encouraging, these students are more likely to succeed in school. For instance, Ronald Ferguson and colleagues at the Minority Student Achievement Network surveyed more than 8,000 African American students (out of a total of more than 40,000 students) across

15 urban-suburban school districts—known for their academic reputation—and found that in comparison to White and Hispanic students, African American students were most likely to say that they responded best (worked hard) in their classrooms when teachers encouraged them in their academic courses (47% of African Americans, 41% of Hispanic students, and 29% of White students).

A Research Agenda

Future discussions of African American academic achievement might usefully balance the focus on underachievement with more attention to the resilience and academic accomplishments of these students. As Anderson has written, African Americans have faced and overcome many achievement gaps in their history, and the role of history merits attention in contemporary dialogue. Whereas scholarly understandings have begun to go beyond urban and low-income African American student populations by focusing on more middle-income African American students in suburban schools, little research has focused on African American suburban contexts or on African American students who reside in the southern United States, the place where most African American people reside. The significance of place in shaping African American students' academic achievement outcomes needs greater attention in future research studies. Moreover, the interactions between teachers and African American students within classrooms need further study, particularly given the emerging body of research that shows how teacher encouragement can influence the extent to which African American students do their best academic work.

Jerome E. Morris

See also “Acting White”; Advanced Placement; African American Studies; African-Centered Education; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Literacy; Multicultural Education; Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

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ACADEMIC FREEDOM

A hallmark of the U.S. higher-education system, academic freedom is the principle that college and university faculty should be given freedom in teaching and research and that their students should have the same freedom in regard to learning. Built on the notion that higher-education institutions are to promote the common good and not the individual interests of the institutions and individuals within the institutions, academic freedom is intended to allow for the open exploration of truth and the unrestricted dissemination and academic dialogue of that truth. This entry explores the original concept and the ongoing revisions and clarifications.

The Principle

In 1940, representatives from the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the Association of American Colleges, now the

Association of American Colleges and Universities, restated principles of academic freedom that were set forth in the 1925 Conference Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure. This 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure clearly articulated the meaning and limitations of academic freedom. This document states that teachers (faculty), including full- and part-time faculty and teaching assistants working within the scope of their job responsibilities, are entitled to (a) full freedom in research and publication of the research results, (b) freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject, and (c) freedom from censorship when they speak or write as citizens.

Although the widely accepted 1940 statement affords faculty a large amount of academic freedom in the completion of their professional duties, it does clearly define certain limitations. Faculty are encouraged to seek an agreement with their institution when engaging in research for financial gain and are cautioned not to introduce controversial subject matter into their teaching that is not in relation to the subject that is being taught. Additionally, when speaking as citizens, faculty are encouraged to be accurate, respect others’ opinions, exercise restraint, and plainly indicate that they are not speaking on behalf of their academic institution.

Academic freedom is supported by many different sources including state law, institutional custom and policy, and the First Amendment. Throughout the years, the United States Supreme Court has held that academic freedom is a First Amendment right protected by the United States Constitution. As stated in the Supreme Court ruling of *Keyishian v. Board of Regents* (1967), “Our Nation is deeply committed to safe-guarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us and not merely to the teachers concerned. That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom.” Also in *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957), Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter outlined four essential functions of a university, which are “to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, who may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study.” Although the First Amendment does not apply to private colleges and universities, most private institutions, including religiously affiliated ones, fully embrace the concept of academic freedom.

Besides being supported by the Supreme Court, there have been a number of legal cases that have supported and/or clarified the concept of academic freedom. In *Greene v. Howard University* (1969), it was determined that a legally binding contract sometimes occurs when academic freedom rights are explicitly stated in faculty handbooks and other institutional documents such as institutional rules and regulations and letters of appointment. In *Axson-Flynn v. Johnson* (2001), a federal appeals court stated that courts should defer to the professional judgment of faculty with respect to teaching and curriculum. Even though the large amount of court cases have addressed academic freedom, it is still not absolute because it must be balanced against other concerns.

Critique and Response

Some critics of academic freedom have accused the higher-education system of abuse of the classroom in many ways, including (a) indoctrinating instead of educating; (b) failing to provide balance and equity when discussing conflicting views of various subject matter; (c) creating hostile environments for students by not tolerating their political, socio-economic, and religious views; and (d) discussing subject matter that is irrelevant to the subject that is being taught.

The AAUP responded to each of these concerns in a document titled “Freedom in the Classroom.” The document states that indoctrination does not occur when faculty expect students to learn and understand subject matter that is accepted within the particular discipline, even when that subject matter is controversial. The document does state that indoctrination occurs when faculty promote truth without giving students the opportunity to appropriately challenge what is being presented.

In response to the assertion that faculty should present balance when discussing conflicting views of subject matter, the AAUP states that faculty are required to present all aspects of a subject matter that professional standards require. The AAUP continues by stating that while following established curricular guidelines, faculty have the latitude to use professional judgment when presenting materials and should not be required to spend equal time on every view point, theory, thought, or belief that is relevant to the subject matter being taught.

In recent years, there has been some legislation presented at the state and federal levels that many believe to be an intrusion on academic freedom. An example is the “Academic Bill of Rights” proposals, which aimed to increase the political diversity among faculty and to expand supervision over the teaching of faculty and the ability for students to challenge teaching that they may disagree with. In all instances, this type of legislation has been unsuccessful in regard to being instituted as law.

Ivan L. Harrell II

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities; Predominantly White Institutions; Southern Association of Colleges and Schools

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“ACTING WHITE”

In the school context, African American adolescents generally verbalize their definitions of “acting White” in behavioral terms: speaking standard English; studying hard; going to museums or the opera; sailing, camping, or hiking; or having a party with no music or dancing to the lyrics rather than to the beat. African American youths see engaging in these practices as “performing Whiteness.” Sanctions against acting White occur

outside, as well as inside, schools. This entry explores the concept and its significance in the African American and White communities.

What It Means

An operational definition of *acting White* includes the collective strategies that African Americans deploy to resolve the dual, often contradictory, demands of the African American community and the dominant White society. To be perceived as a citizen in good standing within the African American community, a person is expected to honor collective ideals and to value the group over the individual. Group members who perform Blackness in highly visible arenas, such as entertainment, are encouraged not only within the African American community, but by the power-brokers in the larger society to remain within the confines of what is acceptably African American. People are rewarded and obtain status by pursuing goals and engaging in practices that the fictive kin group perceives as elevating the group.

Performing Blackness is manifested in gender-specific ways. Among African American males, athletes are appreciated for their service to the school community—making the institution attractive to others—and for giving up a myopic preoccupation with academic achievement. In the hegemonic society, African American males are rewarded for avoiding academic competition with White males. African American females are also compelled to honor the ideals of womanhood promoted within the group. In the school context and beyond, service to others—as mediators, enforcers, and caregivers—becomes the female password. Those who attempt to venture outside this racially appropriate space are compelled to cope with the burden of acting White.

In striking contrast, within the dominant society, individualism is valorized and meritocracy reigns, at least ideally. Each individual is dropped into a vortex of competitors who vie for dominance. At least officially, status is awarded to those members who are able to stand alone, without the overt support of others with whom they are identified or have some social, cultural, or economic connection.

Within the African American community, then, acting White is a signifier of bodies out of place.

Generally used as an epithet to convey the resistance of African Americans to the institutionalization of norms and cultural practices that are imposed by the dominant society, performing Whiteness indiscriminately—especially in the presence of a predominantly African American audience—is widely perceived by U.S. citizens whose ancestors were enslaved in this country as a violation of the community’s value system. Ironically, this transgression is a prerequisite for success in the institutions of the dominant society and in interactions with people who are other than African American.

At the core of acting White is the idea of behaving as if one were entitled to what is considered integral to being a U.S. citizen: living in any neighborhood one desires, matriculating at the school of one’s choice, being able to obtain the job that one desires and that meshes with one’s skills, marrying the person of one’s choice without regard for his or her racial identity, and voting without any additional qualifications beyond residence and citizenship. In the context of U.S. racial stratification, acting White is an act of collective self-assertion, claiming as rights what have previously been reserved as privileges for Whites only. For African Americans, it means unconditionally embracing the institutions and practices that were treated as the prerogative of White Americans and declared off-limits to enslaved Africans and their descendants.

Contrasting Views

Acting White epitomizes the strangeness of being concurrently erased and embraced, displaced and calcified, perceived in both instances as bodies out of place. Regrettably, most people erroneously perceive the problem of acting White as being only a school-based phenomenon. Consequently, researchers predictably blame the victim, holding low-achieving African American students responsible for burdening their more successful peers. They fail to acknowledge that for African American students, academic achievement is particularly challenging because, despite their historical exclusion from the one remaining obligatory institution in the United States, they are compelled to be indistinguishable from their White peers in academic achievement and performance, norms, values, behavior, and practices. Among African Americans, acting White is the third rail of duplicity, the sociocultural space

where a racialized performance is mandated. Here, the individual feels at risk of losing his or her African American identity and becoming, inadvertently, a raceless exile in both the African American and White communities.

Acting White is a scripted, even racialized performance, the goal of which is—perhaps unconsciously—something approximating attempted identity theft, not in the ordinary sense of stealing someone's credit card or bank account information, but more critically, the wholesale appropriation of a society's hegemonic social and cultural personae—its identity—by another group. African Americans may take on the burden of acting White not because they reject their own social group, but because this is the embodiment of what U.S. culture has historically defined as success. To put it bluntly: Whiteness is a synonym for social capital and power.

Signithia Fordham

See also Academic Achievement; Ethnicity; Identity Development; Mainstreaming; Self-Esteem

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ADAMS V. RICHARDSON

Adams v. Richardson (1973) is a celebrated case related to the dismantling of dual systems of public higher education. It required the federal government to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in a more aggressive manner. For African Americans and other minorities, education is key to full participation in politics, economic opportunities, and all other social institutions. This case and several others played a role in breaking down the barriers that prevented African Americans from claiming their rights as full citizens of the United States. This entry provides the historical background, case facts and impact on historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) of the *Adams v. Richardson* case.

Historical Background

One of the greatest victories of the civil right movement of the 1960s was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Prior to the act, African Americans did not have a federal law that addressed the widespread discrimination throughout the country. The Civil Rights Act had a broad mandate: from voting rights and discrimination in public accommodations to public education. The act was written in several titles. Each title protected against discrimination in voting, public facilities, education, or employment. Title VI prohibited on the basis of race, color, or national origin anyone from being excluded, denied benefits, or subjected to discrimination in federally financially assisted programs or activities.

This meant that if a recipient of federal assistance is found to have discriminated and voluntary compliance cannot be achieved, the federal agency providing the assistance should either initiate fund termination proceedings or refer the matter to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal action. Relief for violation of a person's constitutional rights became available through the administrative apparatus created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Moreover, the federal government bore the financial burden of pursuing these constitutional violations: an enforcement vehicle of significant proportions. Aggrieved individuals could file administrative complaints with the federal agency

that provides funds to a recipient, or the individuals could file suit for appropriate relief in federal court.

From January 1969 until February 1970, the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) found that 10 states had segregated higher-education systems that were deemed to be segregated. These states included Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Maryland, and Virginia. HEW required each state to provide a desegregation plan. Of the 10 states, only 5 submitted plans, and none of the plans were found to be acceptable. The other 5 states totally disregarded the request from HEW.

By 1973, none of the 10 states was in compliance, nothing had been done by the states, and HEW had neither instituted an enforcement proceeding nor referred any of the cases to the Department of Justice. HEW claimed that they were in negotiations with all 10 states. A group of African Americans brought a lawsuit against the director of HEW to force him to follow the congressional mandate to enforce Title VI in these 10 states.

The district court agreed that the director was derelict of his duties and ordered HEW to (a) institute compliance procedures against the 10 states, (b) commence enforcement against 74 secondary and primary school districts found to either have reneged on previously approved desegregation plans, (c) commence enforcement proceedings against 42 districts previously deemed by HEW to have violated a Supreme Court ruling, (d) demand of 85 other secondary and primary school districts explanation of racial disproportion in apparent violation of the Supreme Court's ruling, (e) implement an enforcement program to secure Title VI in vocational and special education, (f) monitor all the school districts under court desegregation order, and (g) report to the African American groups that had enjoined the lawsuit about HEW's activities.

The director of HEW made several arguments as to why he should not be required to follow this order and appealed his case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Facts of the Case

The appellants—the Secretary of Health, HEW, and the director of the HEW of Civil Rights—appealed

the district court declaratory judgment and injunction, ordering them, pursuant to Title VI, to institute compliance procedures and enforcement proceedings against states and educational institutions violating the Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The appellees were African American students, taxpayers, and citizens who sought injunctive relief and a declaratory judgment against the appellants in the district court because the appellants had deliberately adopted a general policy of negating their statutory enforcement duties under Title VI. The appellees alleged that the appellants had an affirmative duty to enforce Title VI against public schools receiving federal funding and claimed that the appellants failed to act properly to regulate and enforce Title VI against segregated public schools. The appellants argued that their enforcement obligations and the means used to enforce the statute were within their absolute discretion. The district court found that the appellants performance was subpar and directed the appellants to institute compliance procedures and enforcement proceedings as required under Title VI against segregated public schools receiving federal funding.

On appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia affirmed the district court order and modified the injunction to give the director and HEW additional time to develop measures to address segregation in higher education. The court of appeals found that under Title VI the appellants were required to enforce the statute, require compliance, and to institute and maintain policies consistent with its duties under the statute. However, the court of appeals determined that the issue of segregation in postsecondary schools presented new issues for the appellants that required the formulation of new guidelines for enforcement and compliance.

Impact on Black Colleges and Universities

The parties who pursued the case against HEW were concerned about what the ruling would mean for historically Black colleges and universities. The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, a voluntary association of the presidents of 110 predominantly African American colleges and universities, both public and private,

submitted a brief, stating that “these Black institutions currently fulfill a crucial need and will continue to play an important role in Black higher education.”

Jean Fairfax, a strategist in the case, says that the opposing sides had to come to a compromise about how to go forward with the lawsuit. They decided that the goal of enlarging opportunities for African Americans throughout the state could be advanced both by the statewide integration of a system of public higher education and by the enhancement of its traditionally Black public institutions. The states were not required to ensure that all institutions were alike in their racial composition and academic programs. As a result, the effect of *Adams v. Richardson* was not only to end discrimination in higher education but also to underscore the need for historically Black institutions.

Crystal Alesia Gaines

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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ADULT EDUCATION

The first formally recognized adult education endeavor in the United States that was designed for African Americans was the schooling of African Americans through the post–Civil War

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau), and adult education has continued to serve African Americans both by fostering literacy and by promoting civil rights.

The generic field of adult education began in the early 1920s, setting forth as its primary mission helping adults, especially those lacking basic skills. Also embedded in the early writings is an understanding that the education of all adult citizens will contribute to the true democratization of the United States. Overall, adult education can be segmented into four areas: literacy education, community education, continuing education–workplace education, and academic or degree-granting adult education preparatory programs.

This entry is focused specifically on adult education as it has served the interests of African Americans. Such efforts can be divided into distinct periods: post–Civil War (Reconstruction), Harlem Renaissance, and adult education in the 20th and 21st centuries.

The Reconstruction Era

During the period of enslavement, from 1619 to 1868, there were legally sanctioned bans against the education of African Americans. Following the Civil War, the federal government made cursory efforts to educate the newly freed and newly recognized African Americans citizens. Joining the Freedmen's Bureau in this effort were the American Missionary Association and the Quakers. Following the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau and other post-Reconstruction educational programs, African American adult educational efforts have largely been self-governed and self-initiated.

Most notable of the enterprises that were organized by African Americans were programs backed by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Tuskegee University (summer institutes), the National Colored Women's Clubs, and sororities (Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta) and fraternities (Omega Psi Phi and Alpha Phi Alpha). The attempt to “Lift as We Climb” (the famous motto of the National Association of Colored Women) was indicative of the early efforts to educate African American adults. African Americans who were educated were involved in the earliest teaching (including the northern schoolmarm who came south after the Civil War to open one-room

schools) and were continuously present during the height of adult education endeavors during the Harlem Renaissance.

Famous volunteer literacy programs of the early 1900s include the YMCA's Three R League and the Institute on Adult Education of Negroes, which was sponsored by U.S. Office of Education, the American Association for Adult Education, and the National Conference on Adult Education and the Negro. Most of these programs would now be viewed as paternalistic in nature since the programs' creators posited that the "Negro" should be educated so as not to be a burden on the United States. Examples of this verbiage are expressed in an early Hampton-Tuskegee promotional brochure and in an early YMCA pamphlet series.

A large part of African American adult education in the early decades after enslavement involved literacy, but the early 1930s saw the emergence of a different sort: Alain Locke's historical preservation project. Locke, a prominent adult educator and Howard University professor, was the founding force behind the creation of the *Bronze Booklets*, a series of small books that catalogued a rich and developing culture of music, art, and literature. Locke, a Harvard-trained intellectual and the first African American Rhodes scholar, would continue to be at the forefront of African American adult education for several decades.

Locke and Mary McLeod Bethune led a charge to disseminate culturally based scholarship to African Americans. They helped to found the Associates in Negro Folk Education, and this group, with funding from the Carnegie Foundation, is responsible for the creation of nine *Bronze Booklets*. Two booklets on art and music were written by Locke, and others were penned by prominent African Americans scholars of the day, including Ira Reid's *Adult Education Among Negroes* and Sterling Brown's *The Negro in American Drama*.

Locke would go on to become the first African American president of the American Association for Adult Education, an organization that continues to exist as the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education. It was under his leadership that national African American adult education efforts were chronicled in the 1948 yearbook issues of *The Journal of Negro Education* and that several national conferences were held in 1938,

1940, 1941, and 1942. However, the promise and momentum from the conferences waned, and writings and research by and about African American adult education dwindled.

The premier journal of the field, *Adult Education Quarterly*, and the definitive voice of discipline, the *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education*, intermittently mentioned race in their early years. For example, the handbook included race as a topic in its 1934, 1936, and 1948 editions but neglected to address race during the height of the civil rights movement in its 1960, 1970, and 1980 editions.

Civil Rights and Contemporary Times

For the most part, generic adult education programs have been critiqued as serving middle-class Whites who are searching for self-actualization by adding new languages and learning new skills, such as mastering Italian cuisine, brick masonry, upholstery, and calligraphy. Also, formal adult education programs serve the White middle class through continuing education for the professions. However, the connection between African Americans and adult education has solid anchors in community activism and workforce education.

The Civil Rights Movement

The greatest social movements of modern history, the union labor movement and the civil rights movement, have their roots in adult education and the Highlander Folk School, now the Highlander Research and Education Center in Tennessee. The Highlander School, founded by White Southerner Myles Horton, focused on school desegregation and voter education and also provided a meeting place for civil rights activists who were members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The Citizenship Schools were conceived by Highlander Education Director Septima Clark and administered by Highlander alumni Esau Jenkins and Bernice Robinson. Septima Clark went on to become an important member of Martin Luther King Jr.'s inner circle. However, by Myles Horton's own admission, Clark has not received the credit or attention she deserves as an important adult educator or civil rights organizer.

The Citizenship Schools helped Southern citizens prepare for and pass literacy tests so they could vote. The concept was embraced by the SCLC and spread throughout the South and was partially responsible for the successful push to voting empowerment. In addition to training scores of Southern ministers who became unsung community leaders, civil rights legends such as Rosa Parks also attended Highlander to become schooled in principles of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience. Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of the Highlander Folk School was that it provided adaptations of songs that became the civil rights movement's staples, "We Shall Overcome" and "Eyes on the Prize."

1980s and Beyond

The contemporary field of adult education, especially since the 1980s, has consistently addressed issues of race and social justice through its focus on these topics in the field's journals and literature. Notable texts include the 1985 *Education of the Black Adult in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* by Leo McGee and Harvey Neufeldt and Beverly Cassara's 1990 text, *Adult Education in a Multicultural Society*. These books were followed by *Freedom Road: Adult Education of African Americans* (Elizabeth Peterson, 1996), *Education of African American Adult: An Historical Overview* (Leo McGee and Harvey Neufeldt, 1990), and *Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement* (Virginia Lantz Denton, 1993).

Another indication of the attention to African American adult education issues is the robust presence in 1990 through 2006 of African American topics at the field's national and international conferences, the Adult Education Research Conference, the American Association of Adult and Continuing Educators, and the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults. An additional signal of the significance of an African American presence is the African Diaspora Adult Education Research Conference, which was attached to the Adult Education Research Conference as a dedicated preconference in 1993.

Juanita Johnson-Bailey and Nichole M. Ray

See also American Missionary Association; Bethune, Mary McLeod; Citizenship Schools; Greek Letter Organizations; Highlander Folk School; *Journal of Negro Education*; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Tuskegee University; Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)

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ADVANCED PLACEMENT

The Advanced Placement (AP) Program offers high school students an opportunity to take specially designed and rigorous courses, complete an examination based on the content of the course, and receive college credit. Although the AP Program was developed in the 1950s, African American students did not benefit until the 1980s. This entry provides a brief summary of how the program was initiated and then turns to participation among African Americans.

Historical Context

The development of the AP Program began in the 1950s, a period in educational history characterized by efforts to improve educational excellence of schools in the United States. The launching of *Sputnik I* by the Russians led to increased emphasis on the teaching of mathematics and science and the upgrading of every level of education both public and private.

In 1951, faculty from Kenyon College began discussing the idea of allowing advanced-level high school students to receive college credit prior to college enrollment. In the same year, educators from Andover, Exeter, Lawrenceville, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale came together to support the idea of colleges giving college credit to high school students who had taken and passed examinations of content expected of students at the college level.

The Committee on Admission with Advanced Standing, later the Central Committee of the School and College Study, was formed and funded through a grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education; its members were 12 college representatives and 12 secondary school educators. The work of this committee encouraged communication between high school and college faculty and was published in *General Education in School and College*.

The Education Testing Service (ETS) developed and administered the AP pilot tests during the 1953 to 1954 school year. By May 1956, the College Board had been asked to assume leadership and had given the first AP examinations officially.

The AP Program succeeded in providing rigor and challenge to the high school curriculum. High school students who take AP courses benefit from studying college preparatory coursework and may be better prepared for success in college whether they take the exam or not. College-level course credit received while students are in high school is economical. After taking the courses, students who choose to take the examinations pay less than \$100 per course to take the AP examination needed in order for colleges to consider offering students course credit. The overall cost of a college degree can be significantly less when offset by AP exam course credit, and the time spent in college can be less. Finally, some college admissions directors have been known to offer college applicants extra points for having taken AP courses.

When the AP Program was created in the 1950s, African American students were in segregated schools. The decision regarding the desegregation of schools in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) was handed down on May 17, 1954. Today, the College Board encourages the inclusion of ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic groups that have been underrepresented in the AP Program. The College Board believes that equity is

achieved when the demographics of AP participation and performance on the AP exam are identical to the demographics of the school.

AP and African Americans

African American students accounted for 14% of the overall high school student population in 2007; over 7% (7.4%) of those taking AP examinations were African American in 2007. A 5-point scale is used in scoring of the AP exam, from 5 = *extremely well qualified* to 1 = *no recommendation*. Over 3% (3.3%) of those who made a score of 3 or higher were African American. The AP Report to the Nation defines a score of 3 as "predictive of college success and college graduation." By comparison, the the 4th Annual College Board Report to the Nation indicates that Latino students are 14.6% of the high school student population, and 13.6% of the Latino students scored 3 or higher. Overall, the percentage of all students taking AP exams and scoring a 3+ has increased over the years. In 2002, 11.7% of those taking AP exams made a score of 3 or higher, and in 2006, 14.7% of the students who took AP exams made a score of 3+. In 2008, 15.2% of those taking AP exams made an AP exam grade of 3+.

States are working to eliminate the equity and achievement gap that exists between the percentage of students who take an AP exam, the percentage of students who make a score of 3 or higher, and the percentage of students who are members of a particular cohort group. Only Hawaii eliminated the African American equity gap in the data for the class of 2007; no other state with a sizable number of African American students has been successful in eliminating the equity gap.

Various initiatives have been put into place by state departments of education and individual schools to increase the number and diversity of students taking AP classes and the AP examinations. In Florida, state funding has been used for AP training, professional development, and rewards for achieving a score of 3 or higher. Florida has invested in the use of predictive scores to identify and encourage those students who have potential to perform well on AP exams. Because of these efforts, the Latino achievement gap in Florida has been eliminated. Genuine, aggressive encouragement by teachers and a culturally responsive

curriculum and learning environment appear to be key factors that determine whether or not African American students will enroll, remain in AP courses, and take AP exams.

Financial incentives and support are available through states, the federal government, and the AP Incentive Program. Exam fee subsidies for low-income students and reimbursement of AP exam fees after a student has enrolled in college and received AP college course credit are available. In 1999, the federal government made available grants to states to support exam fee subsidies for low-income students.

Middle school academic preparation is another factor that impacts the AP Program participation of African American students. The AP Program has expanded its program goals to include Building Success workshops, Pre-AP classes, and AP Vertical Teams where middle school teachers and high school teachers address the scope and sequence of the curriculum. In addition, the AP Program continues to publicize the program to help parents become aware of the value of the program and to create televised courses so that the program becomes increasingly accessible to schools where AP courses may not be offered. Free Web resources, released exams, and CD-ROMs are preparation resources that are available to students who have access to computer technology. Other teacher preparation resources and initiatives that are available through the AP Program include the Pre-AP and AP Summer Institutes for teaching training, the College Board AP Fellows Program, annual competitive grant opportunities, and the AP Start Up Grant Program. The African American Student Achievement Initiative, the National AP Equity Colloquium, AP Start Up Grants, and the AP Fellows Program were specifically created to address the underserved.

In 2007, of the 37 AP exams, those taken by the greatest number of African American students include English Literature and Composition (7.4%), where they have a mean score of 2; English Language and Composition (7.1%), with a mean score of 1.9; and U.S. History (6.4%), with a mean score 1.83. The fourth exam taken most frequently by African American students is Calculus AB (4.5%), with a mean score of 2.61.

School districts faced with the need to meet college readiness goals have suggested that an AP African American History exam may connect the

African American student with a tradition of scholarship not usually included in the school's curriculum.

Joyce E. Kyle Miller

See also Academic Achievement; Black Females in College; First-Generation College Students

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AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action is a cornerstone of efforts to increase opportunities for African Americans in the United States. It has played a major role in dismantling discriminatory and racist practices in education and in the workforce. By definition, affirmative action requires positive and confirmatory actions to increase the number of African Americans in public and private institutions. Affirmative action relies on outreach, recruitment, job training, employment, and admissions in

order to increase the number of women and racial minorities. Such policies serve as an instructive catalyst for moving beyond legal and theoretical jargon of desegregation and laws that simply ban discrimination. This entry explores affirmative action: its historical background, related legal decisions, attendant debates, and its impact on higher education.

Historical Background

Although now applied to education and to employment, affirmative action was first used to address workplace and labor issues. In 1935, the National Labor Relations Act required employers to take affirmative action to eliminate unfair labor practices. Among these actions was the reinstatement of employees who had been fired because of discrimination. President John F. Kennedy then used the term in 1961 to further delineate anti-discriminatory methods in government hiring and contracting. Kennedy's Executive Order No. 10925 asserted that affirmative action must be taken to ensure that applicants are hired without regard to color, creed, race, or national origin and that contractors and subcontractors not discriminate on the basis of color, creed, race, or national origin. The executive order enforcing affirmative action absorbed previous orders by Roosevelt (Executive Order No. 8802 prohibiting government contractors from engaging in employment discrimination based on race, color, or national origin) and by Truman (Executive Order No. 9981 desegregating of the Armed Forces).

In addition, President Kennedy created the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to police institutions and address complaints. Through Executive Order No. 10925, any federal institutions, contractors, and subcontractors were required to provide opportunities to minority groups who experienced adversity because of discrimination. This meant that any contractor or subcontractor hoping to win bids of government jobs had to openly advertise, recruit, and employ minorities who were equally qualified for positions.

With Executive Order No. 11246 (1965), President Lyndon B. Johnson expanded Kennedy's Executive Order No. 10925 by requiring departments to establish and maintain programs that demonstrated affirmative action efforts. Furthermore,

Johnson's executive order now included upgrading, demotion, transfer, recruitment, pay or other forms of compensation, training, and apprenticeship. In 1967, Johnson amended Executive Order No. 11246 to include antibiased practices on the basis of gender and religion. The Office of Civil Rights, part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, became another policing agency to ensure institutions had plans to provide equal opportunities for underrepresented groups.

Finally, education was made explicit in the 1972 version of Executive Order No. 11246 outlining responsibilities of employers and educational institutions to provide equal opportunities for admissions in higher education and in employment. Following Johnson's Executive Order No. 11246, African American enrollment in college rose from 4.9% in 1965 to 9.1% by 1980. During the period from 1960 to 1970, African American faculty grew from 0 to 2% and finally to 4.3% in 1979.

Legal Decisions

Since the 1960s, the Supreme Court has made a number of rulings weakening affirmative action. Its first important ruling came in the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) decision. Between 1973 and 1974, Allan Bakke was denied admissions to all 12 medical schools to which he applied. He brought suit against the University of California Regents because he had been rejected from University of California, Davis medical school admission. He predicated his suit on the claim that a special admissions program allotted slots to less qualified underrepresented minorities, which prevented him from being accepted into medical school.

In *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the U.S. Supreme Court partially affirmed his claim. It ruled that the University of California had in fact used a quota system for admissions, which was unconstitutional. Although 16 other White applicants who had scored higher than Bakke and presumably would have been admitted before him had there been no special admissions program, the university could not prove that Bakke would not have been admitted if quotas for minorities had not existed. University of California, Davis, was required to admit him. The court's decision allowed affirmative action, but prohibited racially

defined separate admissions programs or quotas. Minority students had to be considered for admission along with the general pool of applicants.

In *University of Texas v. Hopwood* (1996), Cheryl Hopwood, a White woman, claimed similarly that minority students faced less stringent admission criteria than she had when she applied in 1992. The required scores on the LSAT and grade point average (GPA) for African Americans and Hispanic students were 158 and 3.30 and 157 and 3.24, respectively, whereas the scores of Whites were on average 162 and 3.56. Hopwood alleged numeric discrepancy in scores and GPA and demonstrated that she had been denied her rightful admissions. Even though Texas provided evidence that Hopwood's application packet was incomplete, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that the university's admissions policy did not hold up to strict scrutiny and that it had not proved a need for affirmative action. Hopwood was allowed to reapply and have her application reviewed with all applicants. University of Texas restructured their admissions process and eliminated race as a factor.

In *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) and the sister case *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), the plaintiffs alleged that University of Michigan's law school and undergraduate programs provided point distinctions for minority status, which conferred an advantage to minorities over Whites in admissions. In both cases, the Supreme Court ruled that the university's undergraduate admission procedure of affixing 20 points for racial classification out of a possible 150 points did not meet the Court's narrow tailoring standard. The use of a strict numeric value was unconstitutional, but that the use of race as a factor for admissions was a compelling interest and met strict scrutiny to provide diversity. Therefore, the university was justified in using race-conscious admissions practices, but it was required to consider race with a variety of other factors. Although this allowed the preservation of affirmative action in graduate education, it made it much more difficult in large undergraduate programs where admission is more formulaic and routine. Therefore, challenges to affirmative action in admission continue.

In addition to court cases, a number of state laws and referenda have overturned affirmative action. In 1996, 54% of Californians voted in favor of Proposition 209 to dismantle affirmative

action. In 1998, Initiative 200 abolished Washington's affirmative action policies in higher education, public contracting, and hiring. Michigan followed in 2006, banning affirmative action based on race, gender, and ethnicity.

The Debate

Historically, affirmative action has been viewed through two different lenses, both of which evoke equal protection of the Fourteenth Amendment. Conservative Whites view affirmative action as a system of reverse discrimination and a regressive move away from a race-neutral, color-blind society. Liberals, on the other hand, view it as a system for ensuring equity to counterbalance injustices still embedded in social institutions. Ratified July 9, 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, including the formerly enslaved who had been recently freed. In addition, it forbade states from denying any person life, liberty, or property without due process of law or from denying any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws. Conservatives claim that affirmative action discriminates against Whites, while liberals assert that agencies and educational institution that do not have strict policies for hiring and admitting African Americans and other minorities violate equal protection. They often see attacks on affirmative action as evidence of the continuing existence of White supremacist ideology and practices.

Affirmative action has engendered major debates. Many conservatives claim that affirmative action is reverse discrimination, that affirmative action stigmatizes women and minorities who are its purported beneficiaries, that standardized tests and GPAs are adequate measures of merit, and that affirmative action moves society away from equality. Critics of affirmative action frequently assert that it constitutes reverse discrimination aimed at denying Whites admission and jobs for which they are qualified. Though race-conscious political and social policies and laws enjoyed wide support among White Americans during segregation, race-conscious remedies to discrimination are now often portrayed as discriminatory and were a hindrance to equality.

Whereas conservatives charge that society cannot correct the past ills of discrimination by

discriminating, supporters of affirmative action contend that such policies are needed to correct past and present discrimination against racial minorities and women. Affirmative action forces institutions and employment agencies to recruit minorities and to assure that they are represented in educational programs and in public and private workplaces.

Critics also argue that affirmative action stigmatizes minorities once they are admitted in to colleges or are hired. They maintain that targets of affirmative action feel that they do not belong or that they are not as qualified as their White and Asian counterparts. This sets minorities up for failure once they are admitted. Conservatives claim that increased graduation rates following Proposition 209 (even though admission of minorities had declined) does no favor to students admitted under such programs.

Proponents of affirmative action, however, hold that microaggressions that push students from underrepresented groups from the universities actually indicate the need for affirmative action. Studies on microaggression have found it to be a persistent system of racial discrimination that hinders students from underrepresented groups in undergraduate and graduate school programs. Subtle verbal and nonverbal acts aim to denigrate minorities and remind them of their inferior status. Such microaggression is linked to minority student dropout rates at predominantly White institutions.

Opponents who have challenged affirmative action practices on the grounds of reverse discrimination and equal protection believe that the standardized tests scores and GPA requirements should be the staunch criteria for admission. However, studies in the past have shown that GPA scores do not highly correlate with graduation rates. Additionally, critics charge that standardized tests have both academic and cultural biases embedded. Finally, the experiences of minority students in urban schools do not allow access to courses or teaching methods that would foster competitiveness on standardized tests. Their ability cannot be determined by their seeming lack of qualifications. Supporters of affirmative action argue standardized tests typically value the experiences of the White middle class. Therefore, determination of merit that rely on those tests are reliable only for that population.

Affirmative Action in the University

Affirmative action in the university has the potential to have a profound effect on African American students and faculty. When correctly practiced, affirmative action redresses damage of past discrimination suffered by Africans and other minorities, and it provides a diverse learning and working environment. Its beneficiaries are better educated, more economically stable than African Americans who had not attended college.

In addition to benefiting the victims of discrimination, affirmative action benefits others. A major academic interest of universities is to provide different perspectives and points of view as part of well-rounded education. Affirmative action admissions policies that consider race also have the potential to improve the university experience by providing structural diversity. This applies not only to admissions but also to policies that aim to increase representation of African Americans as faculty members. Currently, more African American males than females are employed as faculty members, but together they only make up 5% of faculty in U.S. colleges and universities. The majority of those teach at historically Black colleges and universities. Employing African American faculty members offers diversity and provides different perspectives.

In 1998 after the Proposition 209 ban on affirmative action went into effect, University of California, Berkeley, experienced a 61% drop in enrollment of African American students, and other universities saw similar drops in enrollment. Parents involved in *Community Schools v. Seattle Public School District* (2007), which was combined with *Meredith V. Jefferson County Public Schools* (2007), is a more recent U.S. Supreme Court case addressing the constitutionality of race-conscious admissions plans. The court struck down both plans in a plurality opinion in a consolidated appeal.

The drastic decline in minority admits following bans on affirmative action points to the continuing need for such a policy. Whether U.S. citizens will be convinced that discrimination persists and that affirmative action is still needed remains uncertain.

Lynette Parker

See also Academic Freedom; Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; Higher Education Act of 1965

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AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Children's books that are written and illustrated by African Americans are labeled African American children's literature. Before the 20th century, children's books that included African American characters generally reflected an oppressive depiction of the lifestyle of the African American while White characters were seen as superior in the story. These books did not have the African American child in mind as the reader, but in many libraries, these were the only books African American children had an opportunity to read. Over the course of the 20th century, however, African American artists and writers have contributed to a growing literature, summarized in this entry.

Early Publications

One of the first books written for African American children was published in 1905 by a scholar, the Reverend Silas X. Floyd, DD, and illustrated by John Henry Adams. *Floyd's Flowers: Or, Duty and Beauty for Colored Children* comprised 326 pages of text and illustration that provided lessons on manners, moral stories, verses, and biographies of famous African Americans all for the delight of African American children. After *Floyd's Flowers*, it was not until the 1920s that others recognized

the importance of planting positive images into the minds of African American children through books. W. E. B. Du Bois and Jessie Fauset produced *The Brownies' Book*, a youth magazine that was inspired by the youth section found inside *The Crisis*, the magazine that was formulated for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Renowned African American writers contributed stories, poetry, history and geographical essays to *The Brownies' Book*. This magazine contained photographs of African American children from all across the United States that detailed their achievements. Even though this magazine was published for only 2 years, it became the model for other magazines and it inspired African American authors to write positive books for African American children.

Few African American writers in the 1930s were given the opportunity to publish children's books through mainstream publishing houses, but in 1932, Arna Bontemps and Langston Hughes, both successful writers from the Harlem Renaissance era, collaborated to write *Popo and Fifina*. This book was about the everyday life of two Haitian children. It was received well and started both writers on the path of writing many other books for children.

Bontemps continued to dedicate his writing to children with *You Can't Pet a Possum* in 1934, and in 1937 under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, he wrote *The Sad-Faced Boy*. One of Bontemps most popular books for youth was *The History of the Negro* (1948), which received many awards including the Jane Addams Children's Book Award; it was also a runner-up for the Newbery Award.

Educator and father of five children, Bontemps was aware of the importance of good-quality books that would reflect positive African American images. He omitted in his books the heavy dialect that supposedly represented the speech of African American people. Bontemps took it upon himself, a writer, not only to create stories for his children's enjoyment but also to produce books that would entertain and build up the self-esteem of young African American readers throughout the United States.

The same year *Popo and Fifina* was published, Hughes published his first children's poetry collection, *Dream Keeper*. Throughout Hughes's literary career, he wrote numerous poems for African

American children along with an abundance of nonfiction books that included *The First Book of Negroes* (1952), *The First Book of Rhythms* (1954), *The First Book of Jazz* (1955), and *Famous Negro Music Makers* (1955).

Creating Criteria

By the 1930s, many African American authors, scholars, and librarians recognized the lack of proper children's picture books for African American children to use to build a firm understanding of their culture. Augusta Baker, an African American librarian in the Children's Department at the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, noticed the problem of negative images of African American characters in children's books and decided to make a change. Baker removed from the shelves books that depicted African American characters as impoverished, lazy, happy plantation dwellers with exaggerated facial features that spoke in such a difficult-to-read dialect that it caused these books to be uninviting for African American children visiting her library to process.

Baker joined with Arthur Schomburg, James Weldon Johnson, and community organizations in Harlem to improve the children's section of the 135th Street Branch Library. The group's desire was to acquire material that would positively inspire children and they proceeded to make a difference in children's book selection policies. They also gave the library a financial gift dedicated to the purchase of 40 books that could meet three specific criteria. The most important element in the criteria concerned insulting caricatures of African Americans and inappropriate representations for the young "New Negro."

The next important criterion focused on language that covered the problem of dialect. This criterion also included the rejection of derogatory names such as *darkie*, *nigger*, and *pickaninny*. The imbalanced imagery within the literature and the constant use of dialect showed the blatant evidence of White supremacy.

The last criterion that needed attention was that the themes of the story not include a helpless African American character being saved by a White person. Many of the books prior to this displayed the African American as somewhat childlike, always in need of assistance.

Influential Writers

By 1938, 40 books were selected for the 135th Street Branch Library children's section that reflected at least positive imagery or theme or cleaned up the dialect in the text. By the time the books were collected, two of the main supporters had died: Arthur Schomburg and James Weldon Johnson both passed away earlier that year. The collection dedicated to African American children was named the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection for Children. Very few books could meet all three requirements in the late 1930s and early 1940s, but the group did the best that they could with the material available.

By the 1940s, more African American voices were raised to push for the publishing of books about African American life even though there was an economic boycott by most Southern booksellers and schools. Charlemae Rollins, an African American librarian in charge of the Children's Department at the George C. Hall Branch, Chicago Public Library (1932 to 1963), contributed to the uplifting of African American children's books by writing her first book, *We Build Together* (1941), published by the National Council of Teachers of English, which was a list of appropriate books for African American children. Rollins recommended 30 books that she found appropriate for African American children to read.

During this early stage of African American children's literature, African American writers such as Shirley Graham, Bontemps, and Carter G. Woodson wrote many biographies on famous African Americans. Woodson's publishing company, Associated Publishers, produced many educational books for African American children to be placed in African American schools throughout the segregated United States. Woodson's books included biographies, history, and folklore so that children would be informed about their cultural origins. Mainstream publishers strayed away from African American children's fiction due to fear of offensive illustrations during the World War II era. The strong dedication by African Americans who fought for their country caused an awakening throughout the country that assisted in getting more African American authors published by mainstream publishers.

The Civil Rights Era

By the late 1950s, many picture books that included African American images were done with photographs instead of drawn illustrations. The country was slowly changing; the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision helped to make a large difference in the world of African American children's literature. Although libraries were forced to open their doors to African American patrons, publishing companies began to feel the pressure of the civil rights movement. The fear of fiction lessened while author Lorenz Bell Graham and truant officer turned children's author Jesse Jackson began to write new African American junior novels that did not shy away from racist issues, but faced them by conveying true-to-life images of African American life during an era still filled with many restrictions because of race.

The 1960s was a time of fast advancement for African American children's books when the first children's book that contained an African American protagonist won a Caldecott Medal. *The Snowy Day*, written and illustrated by Ezra Jack Keats, was published in 1962. Because Keats was White, this book caused controversy about the image of Peter, his protagonist. Many suggested that Peter was just a brown-shaded White boy. Keats did not degrade Peter, but gave him freedom to be a little boy without racial conflict, but the story was missing the voice of the African American child.

This book lit a fire underneath African American artist John Steptoe, who at the age of 16 sat down and wrote and illustrated *Stevie* (1969). Steptoe became one of the pioneers of African American children picture books in the late 1960s through his illustrations and writings that reflected the new era of African American identity. *Stevie* is one of the most monumental African American children's books still in print today. Steptoe caused controversy with the "Black baby talk" used to narrate several of his books. The language was not degrading, but an amusing and enjoyable narrative from the voice of a African American child, a voice that had never been heard before in literature. Steptoe captured the true essence of the language that many African American children use. He was able to create difference while at the same time expose children to experiences from African American

culture that were very similar to those of children of any race.

The civil rights movement brought forth the Black arts movement and many African American writers and illustrators of children's books. These books were saturated with positive words and imagery to continue to uplift African American children and to expose other children to the African American culture. Artists such as Steptoe, Tom Feelings, Jerry Pinkney, George Ford, Ashley Bryan, and Cheryl Byard brought forth images of African American characters and settings that reflected a variety of cultural experiences spanning historical, folkloric, poetic, and contemporary topics; they were able to expand the African American child's imagination. These artists celebrated the beauty of their culture through the visual by complying strongly with the illustrated criteria in the beginning. These books enlightened many African American children who were confused or ashamed because of the open hatred reflected through media coverage across the nation of riots, restrictions, and racial demonstrations. Literary and visual artists showed African American children how beautiful they were and how proud they should be of their heritage.

Family Themes

African American children's books have always included the history, folklore, and creativity of African American culture. Many authors include their own family stories to develop books that provide children with a more expansive view of life in the United States. Virginia Hamilton's *Zeely* (1967) linked African American culture to African culture through a coming-of-age story of a young girl who identifies African beauty and royalty within a young woman that the protagonist meets while visiting her uncle's farm for the summer. Hamilton did not include a European description to model this character by, but brought forth an African presence to weave together the folklore and culture of Africans and African Americans.

Mildred D. Taylor created a historical saga of the Logans, an African American family's generational journey dealing with U.S. life beginning with *Song of the Trees* in 1975 to the prequel *The Land* in 2001. Taylor's award winning books are some of the first African American children's books to

become a part of the U.S literary canon, being read in classrooms throughout the United States.

The work of Feelings spans over four decades of dedication to African American children's books. His art has been accompanied by the words of many poets including Maya Angelou, Eloise Greenfield, Nikki Grimes, and Kwame Dawes. From *Bola and the Oba's Drummers* (1967) to *I Saw Your Face* (2004), the imagery of children in the work of Feelings crossed continents and emotions while celebrating the visual imagery of African American children around the world.

Faith Ringgold created from her own memories into a fictional story that brings in African American myth and tradition through the hopes and dreams of Cassie Lightfoot, an African American girl living in New York. Ringgold used a traditional medium of the quilt to display her story, *Tar Beach* (1991). Upon the rooftop of the apartment building, Cassie lies while dreaming of the day when she will be able to fly over the city and own the building that has denied her father union rights and steady employment because of racism.

Giving Honor and Awards

The number and recognition of African American children's books have grown over the past 40 years. Awards have been given in recognition of the artistry of many of these books, and many awards have been created to recognize their artistic cultural existence; the Coretta Scott King Award is one of the most renowned awards given to an African American writer and African American illustrator each year for a children's book. The John Steptoe Award for New Talent follows the same criteria as the Coretta Scott King Award, and both are given through the American Library Association.

Many publishing companies across the United States heard the call of Baker, Rollins, and others and have produced many books throughout the years by African American writers and illustrators, but many of these books go out of print quickly. There is still a huge imbalance between the large quantity of yearly publications of children's books compared to the very small amount that is created by African Americans. Publishing companies dedicated only to the production of multicultural children's books or African American children's books

contribute to the growth each year of more African American children's books, yet there are only a few of these publishing companies. Just Us Books, a publishing company that publishes only African American children's books, has proven their dedication to the literature by producing innovative books for the past 20 years.

The field of African American children's literature is still progressing through the dedication of African American authors and illustrators who heard the call, took pen or the paintbrush in hand, and produced literature that contained strong positive messages to celebrate the existence of African American children.

Nancy D. Tolson

See also *Crisis, The*; Du Bois, W. E. B.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Woodson, Carter G.

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AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES

African American studies are academic units that focus on the systematic investigation of people of African descent in their contacts with Europeans, their dispersal throughout the diaspora, and the subsequent institutionalization of racism and oppression as means of economic, political, and social subordination. From the outset, these studies had both an academic and a social mission.

Although there is a lengthy history of individuals advocating a relevant education for African Americans—with various perspectives on what was

relevant—it was not until the 1960s that there was a large outcry for relevancy in the universities by a generation of African Americans who participated in the civil rights movement and Black power movement eras. That outcry, in the midst of pervasive campus unrest, led to the initiation of African American studies, alternatively called Africana studies, Black studies, Pan African, Afro-American studies, Africology, Pan African studies, Afro-Caribbean studies, and African world studies.

The variety of identifying labels generally reflects different geographic areas concentration such as African, African American, and African Caribbean studies. Diaspora studies is sometimes used to describe studies of populations of acknowledged African descent not located on the African continent. The term *acknowledged* African descent is deliberately chosen to avoid unnecessary controversy about lines of human descent, as there is solid anthropological and genetic evidence that the roots of humanity are common and African. Although African American studies is the name that has been commonly used, Africana studies and Black studies are the terms increasingly used interchangeably by those who identify with the new or emerging discipline. Because of the new and evolving nature of African American studies as an intellectual enterprise, there is a debate about whether African American studies is a distinct discipline in the traditional sense as sociology or psychology or an area of inquiry to which one brings tools from selected disciplines and applies them to a particular subject matter.

Although this discussion continues, there has been a move to institutionalize African American, Africana studies and Black studies in higher education over the last 4 decades, and as such, these efforts and struggles paved the way for inclusiveness of other formerly invisible groups who seek incorporation into academia. This entry looks at the historical roots of African American studies, its emergence as a field, its characteristics as a research and teaching enterprise, and its mainstream impact.

Historical Background

Although contemporary African American studies as an interdisciplinary curriculum is a product of the 1960s, it draws much of its academic content from earlier times. The origins of the study of the Africana experience can be traced back to ancient

Africa and to ancient African universities. The formal emergence of the field, however, is anchored in the 19th century among thinkers and writers such as Anna Julia Cooper, Maria Stewart, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, George Washington Williams, Henry McNeal Turner, and Martin Delany.

In the early to mid-20th century, many of the forerunners of contemporary African American studies functioned largely outside the academy, including W. E. B. Du Bois, J. A. Rodgers, Arthur A. Schomburg, Zora Neale Hurston, Amy Jacques Garvey, Carter G. Woodson, Lorraine Hansberry, Jacob Lawrence, Charles S. Johnson, and Alain Locke. The formal introduction of the African American experience within and across disciplines in the academy can be linked to the work of Du Bois at Atlanta University, Johnson at Fisk University, and Woodson with the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (presently ASALH), the *Journal of Negro History* and the Annual Negro History Week Celebration, currently the annual Black History Month celebration.

The activities of all of the aforementioned set the stage for the institutionalization as a distinct field in the 1960s through the efforts of those who are the pioneers of contemporary African American studies in higher education. The earlier advocates prior to the 1960s demonstrated a commitment to the integration of scholarship with a commitment to fostering constructive social change, which is one of the fundamental values of contemporary African American studies. Understanding the historical underpinnings is important because many inquiries into the emergence and status of African American studies have interpreted the field simply as an outgrowth of the Black liberation movement of the 1960s without recognizing or acknowledging the field's historical roots.

An Emerging Field

There was substantial overlap in visions among the contemporary pioneers of African American studies to position it as a systematic field of inquiry. At least four distinct views about the nature of African American studies were espoused in the 1960s:

1. An academic conception, whereby the mission of African American studies is to research African American history and illuminate the contributions of African Americans

2. An ideological political conception, whereby African American studies is seen as an instrument of cultural nationalism that promotes models of African values and beliefs
3. An instrumental political conception, whereby African American studies is considered a vehicle for social change with a functional relationship to the African American community
4. A Marxist approach or explanation of conflict in human society as based upon economic inequities and class struggles

African American students of the 1960s were confronted with an absence or distortion of the African American experience in the higher-education curriculum and a sense of cultural alienation generated by the predominantly White colleges and universities they entered. They demanded recognition in the form of an increase in African American faculty and staff, African American academic programs, African American students, necessary financial aid, and African American history courses. It quickly became clear, however, that African American history was simply a beginning and that a broader demand would and did emerge for a comprehensive interdisciplinary curriculum with history at its center.

Intellectual Perspectives

As in any dynamic field, there are schools of thought or intellectual perspectives in African American studies. Although some schools of thought or intellectual perspectives within the field may be more or less intent on counterbalancing the traditional Eurocentric bias characteristic of traditional U.S. scholarship in the field, the central tendency of African American studies is to investigate, illuminate, and celebrate the African world experience in its own right. That is, it places that experience at the center of study and analysis rather than as an appendage or add-on feature of longer-established fields or disciplines.

It is commonly agreed that the diversity of perspectives or ways of approaching an understanding in the field is critical to its vitality and creativity. Some scholars declare African American studies a discipline in which, like sociology, scholars look at different areas of the human experience—be it history, politics, or family—through the same lens.

Such advocates call the discipline Africology. Some scholars consider African American studies to be an interdisciplinary field of focused study to which, like the field of education, scholars bring a variety of disciplinary lenses—be they anthropological, psychological, or historical—to study the African world experience. Still others would argue for a multidisciplinary or nondisciplinary label.

African American studies is more than a territory to which scholars bring disciplinary lenses. It rather describes an evolving intellectual enterprise carefully observing traditional, traditionally ignored, contemporary, and future ways of knowing. For example, one characteristic of the field's approach is the recognition of indigenous cultural knowledge that lies outside the traditional boundaries of humanistic and scientific discourse, such as that attainable through visual and oral accounts.

As previously stated, all academic disciplines have different schools of thought that contribute various perspectives to the collective enterprise. There is, however, always an overarching worldview and a set of values that includes theories and research methods, for example, that are shared among schools of thought. One value that links different schools of thought within African American studies is the commitment to producing a perspective that reflects the beliefs, values, culture, and interests of peoples of African descent. The terms *African centered* (or *Afrocentric* or *Africentric*) are used in contemporary discourse to convey this value.

Critics of African American studies have attempted to denigrate the field by attaching specific interpretations of this value expressed by some particular authors. Such specific formulations are confused with the generalized and fundamental value for the discipline. These terms are used in a general rather than limited sense. African-centered thought is grounded within a historical tradition that can be understood by recognizing internal dialectics and contradictions that have persisted over time within the field and the society. Accordingly, it may be argued that, far from being an ideological position, African-centered thought exists regardless of whether or not it is called African centered.

Each school of thought within African American studies has its own particular interpretation of what constitutes African-centered thought and

how that thought should be linked to other intellectual traditions. Within each school of thought, there are subtle, but important distinctions. At the same time, it is possible to compare the treatment of core theoretical constructs and approaches to social change across different schools of thought.

Core Theoretical Constructs

The marginalization of peoples of acknowledged African descent and other similarly situated groups spurred the development of a school of thought that is heavily influenced by Marxist thought and practice. The collective of scholars associated with this school of thought were, in fact, responsible for institutionalizing the commitment of the National Council for Black Studies to the linkage between scholarship and activism as expressed by the organizational adoption of the motto "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility."

As there is varying emphasis on social responsibility by institutions, there is also an emphasis for focus upon the female gender. Accordingly, the treatment of gender within African American studies has precipitated increasing examination and debate. Though the African American studies movement addressed some very real shortcomings such as paucity of African American faculty and omission and distortion of curricular content and programmatic resources in the academy, only in the last decade has it begun to be sensitive to the unique experiences of women of African descent in the United States, on the continent, or throughout the diaspora. Throughout the United States, African American men and women speak to the existence of racism in women's studies and sexism in African American studies in courses on campuses, in professional organizations, and in scholarly publications. It is important to note, however, that African American women do have a rich legacy in these areas, though they have been numerically smaller as well as reluctant to voice their own accomplishments. African American women have been actively involved in the initiation, continuity, and development of African American studies.

Women's Perspective

African American women students and African American women faculty, along with African

American women community activists, joined with their male peers in those protests and other efforts that contributed to the establishment of what is now emerging as a distinct discipline of African American studies. Those women, like their male copartners, understood the difficult task of creating a meaningful area of African American studies with strong academic foundations within higher education. There are two distinct tendencies within this movement for appropriate inclusion of women, and both have been instrumental in exposing and countering the sexist tendencies of some nationalist ideologies that have positioned women into inferior roles to those of males. Some scholars have called for the application of feminist constructs for the analysis of the experiences of African American women and have critiqued cultural nationalism as a belief system that is inherently antiliberating because of what are perceived as inescapable sexist tendencies. In contrast, many African American womanist scholars urge the redefinition of the partnership between African American men and women in pursuit of intellectual and political objectives. Proponents of this view generally identify with and contribute to the overall effort to establish African American studies as a discipline.

Although in a distinct minority, numerous women were founders of African American studies units at their institutions, and like men, they have provided leadership as program directors or as department chairpersons and are doing so in even greater numbers in the new millennium. African American women have also been significant as leaders in efforts to professionalize the discipline. They are among those persons who have served in the top leadership positions of the major organizations for African American studies including National Council for Black Studies, ASALH, and the African Heritage Studies Association. Such names as Bertha Maxwell Roddey, Carlene Young, Delores P. Aldridge, and Charshee McIntyre are to be recognized along with those of William Nelson, James B. Stewart, James Turner, John Henrik Clarke, and Leonard Jeffries for their strong leadership initiatives in national organizations. In fact, it was during the administrations of Young and Aldridge in the 1980s that much debate occurred over the uniformity of a name for this new discipline. They advocated for the usage of Africana studies.

The Intellectual Enterprise

As relevant as leadership is to the development of a discipline, perhaps, as important if not more so, is the scholarship of its members. Of course, much of this research has reflected traditional methods and has been published in traditional organs. But a distinct body of knowledge has been generated that is associated uniquely with African American studies as a self-standing intellectual enterprise. Some of this work has been published in professional journals that have been created to serve scholars in the field including publications such as *The Journal of Black Studies*, *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, and *The International Journal of Africana Studies* (the official organ of the National Council for Black Studies). Special issues or sections of other periodicals have also served as publication outlets such as *The Black Scholar*, *Phylon: Review of Race and Culture*, *The Journal of Negro Education*, and *The Journal of Black Psychology*.

Both women and men have contributed significantly, although the men have been more visible with scholarship involving theoretical models and paradigms that were not gender specific. Though much of the work of the women has not been gender specific either, it has tended to be more specific in conceptualizing and analyzing issues. And as a result, the work of women, with the exception of a few, has enjoyed less prominence.

Noteworthy is the fact that the character of the research published has changed as the academic training background of faculty has changed. The first generation of faculty in African American studies units were trained solely in traditional disciplines, and they tended to approach the study of the African American experience through their various disciplinary lenses. Those who have developed other African American ways of seeing have had to do so through self-development at professional meetings, symposiums, and institutes. Such scholars tend to publish both in traditional and specialized African American studies publications. However, as more graduate programs have recently produced new faculty trained specifically in the field, alternative methodologies are being introduced both in the classrooms and in the journals.

Some of this new scholarship introduces ways of knowing and methods of analysis that either fail to meet, challenge, or transcend the expectations

of traditional journals. Thus, while bringing fresh and new energy and vision, these scholars run the risk of not meeting traditional standards when measured by traditional criteria. Both the journals that would publish their works and the units in which they reside in the university remain not fully convinced. This dilemma speaks to the need for African American studies units to retain or attain, whether through achieving departmental status or another arrangement, the right to be significantly involved in tenure and promotion decisions that allow scholars to continue in their positions.

Different ways of knowing and approaching knowledge are critical to the development of the distinct enterprise of African American studies. This contributes to the widespread agreement that there are many forms of cultural knowledge necessary to understand the complexity of the African American experience. In the sense that thought precedes speech, which precedes literature, indigenous knowledge sometimes precedes scientific acceptance. For example, many so-called folk cures for illness have subsequently been found to have a foundation in science and are then declared acceptable in medical practice. Similarly, African American studies is open to other ways of knowing.

Another central tendency in the field is the rejection of the notion of pure objectivity as an attainable neutral space from which scholars might analyze the human experience without bias. Although recognizing the value of the scientific method as a tool useful for minimizing bias, African American scholars deem it dangerous to make claims of pure objectivity. The illustration of the danger is akin to looking through a pair of binoculars from the wrong side and getting the illusion of distance. In sum, this tendency maintains that the use of the longer standing traditionally recognized disciplinary tools along with other ways of knowing—such as oral communications, spirituality, and intuition—may generate richer and fuller descriptions of many phenomena.

Existing within the field is a positive creative tension, both within and among the units even as African American studies scholars share the pursuit of scholarly knowledge and social responsibility. Admittedly, there is great variation in the means by which these dual goals of academic excellence and social responsibility are pursued. However, the ends are important and usually justifiable. Given

the change-agent mission characteristic of many African American studies units, this tension is perhaps inevitable. The paradox may have been best expressed by Martin Luther King Jr. when he asserted that no change is possible without creative tension.

Furthermore, because of the unique cluster of methodological approaches and emphasis on service to students and community espoused by and expected of scholars in the field, African American studies challenges the traditional elite model of scholarship, which often advocates scholarship for scholarship's sake. In contrast, African American studies generally seeks praxis in advocating what might be called applied scholarship. Thus, performance evaluations for tenure and promotion, when controlled by the units themselves, reflect this centrality of service to students and community. This difference in performance expectations and subsequent method of faculty evaluation has been a source of friction between the units and higher university evaluation bodies over the differing criteria, especially when the African American studies unit has not acquired the autonomous rights that come with departmental status.

The Teaching Role

Some universities have recently announced a new commitment to teaching and mentoring students and have committed to making such activity more central and commensurately rewarded in faculty assessment and promotion decisions. African American studies scholars have always been student centered. Such dually committed scholars have often found that the time and energy spent on student- and/or community-centered activity has reduced the kind of scholarly production traditionally valued within universities. However, these experiences position the discipline, by example, to provide leadership in facilitating the development of student centeredness in universities.

Pedagogical or teaching approaches associated with African American studies instruction at the undergraduate level are designed to expose students to the ideas, philosophical orientations, and benefits of the variety of schools of thought. Instructional strategies are designed to transmit critical analytical skills that allow students to make their own sense of the world. Instruction is generally delivered

through organized units, usually departments, programs, centers, or institutes using faculty with various types of affiliations within the institution. The range and orientation of instruction generally reflect the mission, faculty expertise, and general focus of the academic unit, for example, African American or diasporic studies.

African American studies courses are often included in general education curricula, increasing the numbers and variety of students in classes. Among opportunities offered in African American studies for students, in addition to classroom exposure to a variety of professors and perspectives, are learning activities conducted away from campus. Study abroad opportunities in Africa and the Caribbean and field experiences in local community agencies are offered.

Unique teaching models and strategies have been employed to provide students in African American studies with a wide range of intellectual and personal experiences at home and abroad. Additionally, there is a growth of graduate programs. And increasingly, there is concern for initiating guidelines for institutions of higher education for outreach activities, particularly to traditionally ignored underserved populations not only locally, but also regionally, nationally, and internationally.

Mainstream Impact

Although the academy has been the center of African American studies, there is no question that what can be described as popular African-centeredness has permeated various popular culture media, most notably film and music. However, this phenomenon has virtually no relationship to formal efforts to develop African American studies into a disciplinary matrix-driven enterprise. Popular African-centeredness draws heavily on self-published works produced by people largely outside the academy. Although, as discussed previously, there is a long history of African-centered thought generated outside the academy, during the current period, the locus of development has been and remains solidly inside the academy.

In the first decade of the 21st century, the United States can be characterized by a great number of individuals with different cultural origins. This changed demographic makeup, particularly with the numerical explosion of Spanish-speaking people

(Hispanics or Latinos) and growing visibility of women, demands a new look at the academic marketplace. As the trailblazer for advocacy of the inclusion of many different kinds of experiences into the educational landscape, African American studies has a pivotal role in culturally democratic education.

There is little question that women, minorities, and the disabled need to be represented in all institutions and reward systems of this country. They deserve their representation since they have also been excluded from the narration of a complete history of this country. Their entry in significant numbers to the university came as a result of the civil rights struggle, but was a more welcomed inclusion than African American studies, which served as a trailblazer. These groups and programs were generally sustained with less formal resistance or acrimony and often were provided greater allocation of resources.

Nonetheless, at some point in time, a critical analysis of the involvement of these groups, as a presence in the university and voice in the sociopolitical arena, must include acknowledgment of a debt owed to African Americans, who led the change and opened the doors of the university to those who had not previously been allowed entry.

The future has roots in the past as the present serves to prepare for it. Responses to current issues and challenges create the stage for ensuring the survival and continuation of relevant African American studies in academia. There is no strong future without a strong present.

Delores P. Aldridge

See also National Council for Black Studies

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AFRICANA STUDIES

See African American Studies

AFRICAN-CENTERED EDUCATION

African-centered education is the process by which the characteristics of African culture are developed and advanced along with the knowledge and skills needed to maintain and continue it. African-centered education contributes to the education of African Americans by providing for the development of their sense of history, pride, and collective belonging through a reinforcement of their culture. African-centered education is a process dependent upon human perception and interpretation; therefore, it can be facilitated only by

people who are consciously engaged in African-centered personal transformation. Following the same thought, a curriculum cannot be African-centered independent of an educator's capacity to perceive and interpret it in an African-centered manner. Both complex and straightforward, African-centered education facilitates recognition of the continuity of African cultural history, commitment, personal transformation, and recognition of the future of African people. It facilitates preparation for African life, self-determination, a link between spirituality and liberation, a bond connecting family and nation, and an acknowledgment of cultural artifacts and their meanings.

Foundations of African-Centered Education

Several major assumptions underlie the principles of African-centered education. First, it acknowledges that African spirituality is an essential aspect of African American's uniqueness as a people and makes it an instrument of liberation. Second, it emphasizes the fundamental relationship between the strength of African American families and the strength of their communities and nations. Third, it ensures that the historical role and the function of the customs, traditions, rituals, and ceremonies that have protected and preserved African American culture are maintained and perpetuated. Fourth, it facilitates African American spiritual expression. Fifth, it ensures harmony in social relations between African Americans and others. Finally, it prepares African American youth to meet their responsibilities as adults.

African-Centeredness and the African Worldview

The philosophy of African-centered education is founded in two schools of thought—African-centeredness and miseducation. African-centeredness is the interpretation of reality from perspectives that are centered by and within the processes that maintain and perpetuate the life and culture of people of African descent. African-centered education is part of the same process of cultural restoration and promulgation that is inherent to African-centeredness. African-centered education is the outcome of the *African worldview*, a term coined by Senegalese anthropologist Cheikh Anta Diop.

Diop's thesis is that European and African cultures represent opposing worldviews. Instead of a universal hierarchy of cultures in which Western European culture represents the epitome, Diop suggested that African and European cultures developed within two obvious and divergent cradles of civilization. The environmental harshness of Europe gave rise to individualism, possessiveness, and forms of social organization reflective of the scarcity of natural resources within the European environment. Conversely, the warmth and fertility of Africa and the absence of moral and material misery produced a sense of collectivism and benevolence among precolonial Africans. African worldview literature identifies the following attributes of precolonial Africans:

1. An emphasis on the family as a source of personal identity and reference
2. A far-reaching and abiding spirituality
3. A respect for elders and ancestral figures
4. A preference for communal and societal arrangements
5. A live-and-let-live philosophy of coexistence and cooperation among individuals, communities, and cultures
6. An optimistic and holistic disposition toward life

It is important to mention that African-centeredness differs from earlier worldview constructions such as negritude, Black nationalism, and early Pan Africanism. Although they all share an emphasis on the need for people of African descent to resist the Western cultural hegemony, African-centeredness sets its focus on the recovery and restoration of the African worldview as a means of locating and centering present conceptions of reality and analyses of phenomena.

Miseducation

Miseducation can be defined as an educational process that methodically socializes African Americans to adopt and value Eurocentric beliefs, customs, behaviors, and knowledge base. Carter G. Woodson coined the phrase in his classic 1933 text, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. According to Woodson, schools are among the institutions through which the process of cultural assault upon

African Americans has been facilitated. Miseducation dually forces African American students to accept the inferior status assigned to them in larger society and to accept a second-class socioeconomic rank in the very communities that they have been taught to despise, condemn, and reject.

African-Centered Schools and the Council of Independent Black Institutions

African-centered education has the ability to eliminate the patterns of rejection and alienation that engulf so many African American school children, especially African American males. The ultimate realization of this theory is the creation of independently operated and funded schools by African Americans for African American students that utilizes African-centered curricula.

Community Control

A common thread in desegregation and African-centered literature is the conflict between the equalization of educational opportunities and community control. It has been argued that the fundamental flaw of integration was that it allowed the same authorities that managed school segregation the power to manage school desegregation. That same segregationist authority made the decisions about which schools would be closed, which teachers would be fired, what schools children would attend, and the pace at which that changes would be made. The community control of public schools movement was an attempt by African Americans in large urban cities to gain control over schools in African American communities. Community control refers to authority over a school's staff, curriculum, and administration by groups or individuals in the community.

Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI)

In the late 1960s and 1970s, several independent Black institutions (IBIs) were created out of the concept that school desegregation was ineffective in changing the balance of power relationships of schooling and education. Over a course of several Black power conferences, these IBIs would form CIBI. An umbrella organization for independent African-centered educational institutions, CIBI uses the African-centered institutional-building model to

seek power over education and schooling. CIBI member schools incorporate a Pan African philosophy of education based on a cultural value system (i.e., the *Nguzo Saba*). In addition, CIBI schools represent organized partnerships of parents, educators, and community residents who are collectively engaged in building and maintaining institutions of learning. CIBI has maintained standards of self-governance and self-reliance and has addressed education as a cultural imperative that cannot be divorced from family, community, and national contexts.

*Berlisha M. Ricard, Mwalimu J. Shujaa,
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See also Council of Independent Black Institutions; Freedom Schools; Woodson, Carter G.

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Web Site

Council of Independent Black Institutions: <http://www.cibi.org>

AFRICAN FREE SCHOOL

The New York African Free School, founded in 1787 to serve the city's growing free African

American population, was among the first non-denominational charity schools in U.S. cities. The African Free School provided a valuable route to formal education for a generation of leaders that included Henry Highland Garnett, James McCune Smith, and Alexander Crummel, among others. The struggles over control that swirled around the school were a foreshadowing of the challenges that would face African American education in the future. But the resolve exhibited by the city's early African American community was a demonstration of the attitude that would make schooling a focal point for social equality in generations to come. The African Free School grew into a system functioning at seven locations at its high point of influence in the early 19th century. In the 1840s, the schools became part of the newly established New York Public Schools, even though they were supervised by an independent African American board of visitors. This entry looks at the history of this important institution.

Early Years

The New York African Free School was established by the New York Manumission Society to divert African American children from the slippery paths of vice. Throughout its history, the school's trustees were dedicated to teaching free African Americans industry and sobriety, virtues calculated to make them more orderly and tractable as they emerged from enslavement. But the African Free School did more than teach African American children their place in society. Unlike White charity schools, which were reserved for the poor exclusively, the African Free School became a focal point of African American community aspirations for a better future.

The African Free School expanded steadily through the opening decades of the 19th century. In 1809, the trustees hired Charles Andrews, an Englishman, to adapt the school to a Lancastrian system of education. This method used student monitors to supervise large classes under the direction of a single master, providing an inexpensive means for schooling large numbers of children. The school expanded quickly, enrolling hundreds of students in the 1820s.

As New York's African American population grew, schooling became a matter of controversy. In

the late 1820s, New York's African American community leaders demanded a say in the determination of educational policies at the African Free School. The conflict that resulted may have been the nation's first struggle for community control of urban public schools. Like countless others that followed, this effort to win a voice in African American children's future met with only limited success, but it presaged conflicts that would mark the progress of African Americans in education for decades to come.

African Americans in New York had long taken a close interest in the African Free School. The earliest public examinations were attended by interested parents and various leaders of the African American community. In addition, African Americans also attended examinations staged for city officials and foreign dignitaries, even though they were required to sit in the rear. In 1827, the school's trustees approached leaders of the African American community to garner support for expanding the schools and improving attendance. Samuel Cornish resigned as editor of *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first African American newspaper, to serve as agent for the Manumission Society, visiting homes to promote support for the schools. A group of women, African Dorcas Society, was formed to supply winter clothes to needy African American school children.

Changing Leadership

Freedom's Journal became an enthusiastic source of support for the schools. Articles urging African American families to send their children to school appeared regularly. The Manumission Society began placing advertisements for the schools in the paper and continued them on a regular basis up to the closing issue in 1829. African American support for the schools, however, was far from unequivocal. Keenly conscious of political issues facing the nation's free African Americans, community leaders kept a close watch on the content of the curriculum.

In January 1832, the Manumission Society suddenly announced Andrews's resignation. Andrews, who had long expressed disappointment with the plight of free African Americans, apparently drew the ire of community leaders by suggesting that African Americans leave the United States under

the auspices of the colonization movement. The trustees were urged by the leadership of the African American community to dismiss him. There also had been a precipitous decline in enrollments. The level of community interest in the African Free School was great enough to force the resignation of their most prominent teacher. Moreover, upon the advice of African American leaders, Andrews was replaced by James Adams, an African American teacher, and within 3 months, enrollment soared past 600.

This started a period of remarkable expansion in the schools. Under African American teachers, combined attendance at the African Free School climbed above 500 in 1832 for the first time, while enrollment passed 1,000. African American assistant teachers, all graduates of the schools, were hired to help, and by early 1833, registration stood at more than 1,400, while attendance approached 600. If the magnitude of this turnabout is any indication, concern over the content of education and the importance of African American teachers was widespread among community members.

The following year, the Manumission Society decided to transfer the schools to the Public School Society, which operated charity schools for White children. A fresh conflict erupted when the new management discharged most of the African American teachers, leading to another drop in enrollment. This time negotiations between White school leaders and the African American community proved difficult, as the Public School Society was considerably less willing to heed the advice of African American leaders. As a consequence, African American private schools drew enrollments away from the Public School Society's institutions. Following 2 years of continuing enrollment declines, the Public School Society finally agreed to rehire the African American teachers, and enrollments started back up. Eventually, responsibility for managing the schools would pass to a committee of African American trustees, including many former students of the African Free School. This would be yet another chapter in the history of segregated African American schooling in New York.

John L. Rury

See also Roberts v. City of Boston

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AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (AME) CHURCH

The educational ministry of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church should be viewed in several larger contexts. These include the earliest organizing of nominally free Africans in the United States in both the secular and sacred realms, the reason there are African American and White churches in the country, debates around anti-intellectualism in the African American church and African American life generally, debates about the nature of the best education for African American people, Methodist Episcopal polity and leadership, and tensions between education for assimilation versus education for liberation. This entry explores the origins of organized religion for African Americans in the United States and the relationship between the church and education in the this context, including African American colleges.

Foundations of Religion

If the importation of nearly two dozen Africans as indentured servants in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, that was the point of origination for 246 years of chattel enslavement is taken into account, most Africans began as non-Christians and unfree. There was no serious proselytization or conversion of Africans to Christianity until the second great awakening of the latter 18th century.

However, in the late 1700s, a spiritual revival among Whites emphasized a more personal, emotional, and direct spiritual connection to Christ as opposed to a staid, liturgical, overly intellectual

worship. Africans saw connections between their African spiritual heritage and a more egalitarian status before God in the second great awakening. As they began to convert, they went to the same churches with Whites and at the same time. They may have been seated in the rear or in the balcony, which was commonly called “nigger heaven.”

To understand why there are African American and White churches in the United States and why 11 o’clock Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in U.S. public life, one must realize it is not simply or mostly a matter of cultural worship differences. Distinctively African American and White churches in this country grew out of specific historic acts of White supremacist racism (the only effectual racism there is) in the White church. Most precisely, it was an incident at the Stebeurger Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1792. The most prominent leaders of the African American community in Philadelphia were Richard Allen, later to become the founding bishop of the AME Church, and Absalom Jones, who became the first ordained Episcopalian African American priest in the United States. In most Methodist churches, it is standard operating procedure to have individual silent prayer at a long altar rail at the front of the sanctuary. African Americans were told this was the “non-Negro” time to pray. According to Allen,

We had not been long on our knees before I heard considerable scuffling and loud talking. I raised my head and saw one of the trustees, H — M —, having hold of the Rev. Absalom Jones, pulling him off his knees and saying, “You must get up, you must not kneel here.” Mr. Jones replied, “Wait until prayer is over.” Mr. H — M — said, “No, you must get up now, or I will call for aid and force you away.” Mr. Jones said, “Wait until prayer is over, and I will get up and trouble you no more.” With that (H — M —) beckoned to one of the trustees, Mr. L — S —, to come to his assistance. He came and went to William White to pull him up. By this time, prayer was over, and we all went out of the church in a body, and they were plagued no more by us in the church. (Handy, 1902 p. 101)

This became the founding incident of the AME Church. All over the nation, African American

congregations, and eventually denominations, came into existence because African American people grew weary of racism in White churches.

Education and the Church

Paul R. Griffin’s significant book, *The Struggle for a Black Theology of Education: Pioneering Efforts of Post Civil War Clergy*, outlines a serious strand of anti-intellectualism in the African American community at large and within the African American Church in particular.

Griffin highlights the work of the education paragons in each of the historically African American Methodist Churches: Daniel Alexander Payne for the AME, Joseph Price for the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), and Isaac Lane for the Colored Methodist Episcopal (later named Christian Methodist Episcopal; CME). Payne is the founder of Wilberforce University in Ohio for the AME, Price is the founder of Livingston College in North Carolina for the AMEZ, and Lane is the founder of Lane College in Tennessee for the CME. All three of these clergymen encountered substantive opposition to their work in each of their respective denominations.

Of course, many of the early preachers in each branch of African American Methodism had no access to early education. Most Southern states had outlawed African American education. Even though sales of the *Book of Discipline* were going very slowly in 1833, by 1834, the African Methodist Episcopal Church made clear a pro-education mandate:

The subject of education is one of high importance to the colored population of the country; it shall be the duty of a every minister to establish schools . . . and to insist upon parents of children that they send them to school; and that a sermon should occasionally be preached expressly upon that subject . . . every preacher who neglects to do so to be subject to the censure of the (General) Conference. (Payne, 1891, p. 100)

This is a policy, at the highest level of the church, that reflects the leadership of Reverend Payne, who became a Bishop in 1852. Three years later, in 1937, the General Conference, again led by

Payne, issued this dictum, which sought to close the piety-learning gap:

Education is the only sure means of creating in the mind those noble feelings which prompt . . . piety, virtue and temperance and elevate us above the condition of brutes by assimilating us to the image of our Maker. (Payne, 1891, p. 115)

Four years later, in 1841, Payne and the African Methodists turned their attention to the education of clergy:

We recommend to all our elders and deacons, licensed preachers and exhorters, the diligent and indefatigable study of the following branches of useful knowledge. English Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, Rollins' ancient History, Modern History, Ecclesiastical History, Natural and Revealed Theology. (Payne, 1891, p. 141)

This level of academic rigor was vigorously resisted by the anti-intellectual folk preachers who claimed a calling from God was all sufficient without interference by worldly learning. These debates raged on at every level of the church for years; some would say they are still going on in the first decade of the new millennium. Bishop Paul Quinn, after whom an African Methodist college in Waco, Texas, is named (1885), held that the ambassador of the Cross was a most intelligent man because he held such an important position with significant responsibility.

The Church and Black Colleges

The AME Church, under the leadership of now-Bishop Payne, established the first African American owned and operated institution of higher learning, Wilberforce University in Ohio, in 1856. White Presbyterians had established the first college for African American people, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, a couple of years earlier. These are two of the very few historically Black colleges founded in the enslavement era.

Most Black colleges were established by African American and White churches after the Civil War ended in 1865 and before the turn of the 20th century (1900). The Christian Educational Department of the African Methodist Church was inaugurated in 1876.

Among the AME colleges established during this period were Morris Brown College; Allen University was founded in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1880; and Kittrell College in North Carolina, founded in 1887; Edward Waters College, Jacksonville, Florida, in 1883; Western University, Quindaro, Kansas, in 1887; Shorter College, Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1886; Campbell College, Jackson, Mississippi; Daniel Payne College, Birmingham, Alabama, in 1889; Turner Normal College, Shelbyville, Tennessee, in 1885; Payne Institute, Macon, Georgia, in 1888; Lampton College, Alexandria, Louisiana, in 1889; Bethel College, Montgomery, Alabama; and Payne Theological Seminary, Wilberforce, Ohio, in 1891. Some institutions were established after 1900, including Flipper-Key-Davis College in Tallahassee, Oklahoma, in 1917.

The AME Church also established international educational missions. These included schools in Port-au-Prince, Haiti; Collyman Rock, Barbados; Georgetown, British Guyana; Paramibo, Dutch Guiana; Evaton, South Africa; Sierra Leone; and Liberia.

The Role of Education

During the post-Reconstruction period (1880–1920), AME educator G. M. Elliot, who was principal of a normal school in Selma, Alabama, in 1885, argued for education and good stewardship of money. Elliot wrote in the AME *Christian Recorder* that delayed gratification would lead to eventual success, self-reliance, self-respect, and self-control. Elliot believed that Black unity, inclusion in mainstream United States, and true understanding of Christianity all come through education.

Richard R. Wright, also writing in the *Christian Recorder*, observed that neither the federal nor the state government would protect the lives of African American people, so education would be the key to self-reliance. In 1899, Wright stated that African Americans need both industrial and higher education. He believed that emigration out of the country or migration out of the South would not work, so African American civil rights would have to be protected by education. Young African American men, in particular, must develop their full intellectual potential to secure full participation in U.S. life, including developing potential in business, Christian ministry, medicine, and agriculture.

In the debate between Booker T. Washington, who advocated industrial education, and W. E. B. Du Bois, a supporter of liberal arts education, Will M. Jackson wrote in the *Christian Recorder* in 1888 to 1889 that African Americans needed industrial education because not everyone can become a minister, lawyer, or other professional. Jackson also believed that civil and human rights would come via industrial and technical skills. He saw skilled workers as perhaps lower in status or prestige than professionals, but significantly higher than common laborers.

Jackson's pro-Washington views were counter-balanced in the AME *Christian Recorder* by Charles Cook, who wrote in 1909. Cook said African American people needed classical (liberal arts, humanities, social and natural science, and higher mathematics) education the most. He claimed classical education as the most rigorous and, echoing Du Bois, observed some of the industrial education was already obsolete. Cook also suggested that ultimately the market place would determine the type of education most needed. He was gracious enough to remark that Washington was not creating this educational dichotomy and prescient enough to conclude that there would be a convergence of the views of Washington and Du Bois.

Beyond this Washington–Du Bois debate, the AME Church engaged in educational conversations on the need to seek excellence, to combat anti-intellectualism, to include character education, to be concerned for the education of women, to debate separate versus integrated education, to include global education, and to include African and African American people in all history curricula.

Led by Bishop Payne, who abhorred Negro spirituals and called them cornfield ditties, the AME Church has wrestled with notions of education, race, and culture. Payne clearly loved African American people and loved education, but eschewed much of most African-based Black culture. In the postbellum era, a major African religious practice was called the ring shout, written about by Sterling Stuckey of Northwestern University and loosely portrayed in the movie *Glory*. Payne sought to eliminate this practice in the AME church. An old, illiterate African American man got up to say to Bishop Payne that he was a great man and a great educator. Both the AME Church and African Americans in general have to

resolve a tension of education for assimilation and education for holistic (sociocultural, political-economic, and religious) liberation.

Carlton A. G. Eversley

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Religious-Based Education

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AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Agricultural education in the United States started with the establishment of agricultural institutions 145 years ago. With the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, making public universities open even to students without means, agricultural education became significantly more common. An expansion of the Morrill Act in 1890 provided separate, but equal land grant institutions for African Americans, also with an emphasis on agriculture as well as mechanical arts. The United States presently has 104 land grant universities, colleges, and technical institutions, of which 53 are historically White institutions established as a result of the original Morrill Act of 1862, 18 are historically Black institutions founded as a result of the 1890 legislation, and 33 are Native American tribal land grant institutions established under the extension to the

Morrill Act passed in 1890. As the result of systematic work by the land grant institutions in agricultural teaching, research, and extension activities, agricultural productivity in the United States has become the envy of the world. This entry provides an overview of the Morrill Act and its impact on African Americans.

The Morrill Act

On July 2, 1862, the U.S. Congress passed legislation drafted by a Vermont Representative, Justin Smith Morrill, to create at least one higher education agricultural institution in every state of the Union. Morrill was interested in higher-education institutions because he was financially unable to afford college study and instead spent most of his adult life as a shopkeeper until he was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1854 and to the Senate in 1866.

These new educational institutions were mandated to be accessible to the common person and were required to teach agriculture, military science, and mechanical arts—not to the exclusion of classical studies—so that members of the working class might obtain a practical education. These institutions are now known as land grant institutions.

In the South, under the premise of legal separation of the races, people of African descent were not allowed to attend most institutions established under the first Morrill Act of 1862. By actions of state legislatures, however, the current Alcorn State University, Lincoln University, Prairie View A&M University, and South Carolina State University were established under the provision of the first 1862 Morrill Act for the benefit of African American youth. These institutions were not classified as land grant institutions and did not receive sufficient financial state support to initiate agricultural, home economics, mechanical arts, or military tactics curricula. Also, most of them were not awarded public lands equivalent to the acreage provided to the 1862 land grant institutions.

Twenty-eight years later, the original Morrill Act was amended to initiate separate, but equal land grant institutions in southern and border states, and these institutions were relegated exclusively toward education of people of African descent who were unable to attend the 1862 land grant institutions at the time. The amended 1890 act further clarified the

language in the 1862 bill by adding the following statement to the 1890 amended bill: “The appropriated funds could be applied only to instructions in agriculture and mechanical arts, the English language and various branches of mathematical, physical, natural, and economics science, with special reference to their application in the industries of life, and to the facilities for such instruction.”

Impact on African Americans

Although the law provided for separate but equal facilities, the 16 institutions for African Americans that were established by the 1890 legislation did not receive sufficient resources to initiate effective vocational agriculture, teacher training, research, or extension programs until 1967. In that year, they received the first Cooperative State Research, Extension, and Education Services of the United States of Department of Agriculture’s (CSREES/USDA) research appropriation of \$283,000. This amount was divided among the 16 land grant institutions of 1890, each receiving \$10,000 basic allocation plus additional resources ranging from \$2,413 for Delaware State University to \$12,424 allocated to North Carolina A&T University.

At the time, Tuskegee University was a private non-land-grant institution, and West Virginia State University did not have its land grant designation. Presidents of the 16 1890 institutions later voted unanimously to include the then-Tuskegee Institute to share in CSREES/USDA research allocation starting with the 1972 appropriation.

Known today as the 1890 land grant universities, most of these institutions started out as vocational schools teaching practical agriculture. When more African Americans started to attend segregated primary and secondary schools, most of the institutions were mandated to train African American teachers and were designated as normal schools. And as a large number of African Americans begun completing high school, the 1890 institutions were permitted to develop a 4-year college curricula, eventually evolving into full-fledged colleges and universities. Today, these 18 land grant institutions graduate 52% of the nation’s African American agricultural degree recipients.

*Seyoum Gelaye, Thomas H. Terrill,
and Brou Kouakou*

See also Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU); Tuskegee University

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ALEXANDER V. HOLMES COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education (1969) was one in a series of cases that followed on the historic *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) ruling that declared segregated schools unconstitutional. More than a decade after that ruling, several Southern states had yet to take any meaningful steps toward ending segregation. In *Alexander*, the Supreme Court ordered one Mississippi school system to stop its delaying tactics and dismantle its dual school system for White and African American students immediately. The justices said that there was no longer any justification for postponing the achievement of unitary schools where no students were barred on the basis of race or color. This entry looks at the context of the case, the actual case, and its components.

Historical Context

After the Civil War, Mississippi had to face the mandate of free African Americans. The emancipation revitalized the issue of education of African Americans. Freedom and the losing of the Civil War undermined the long social relations between African Americans and Whites. The newly freed African Americans knew the key to a better life was education. Almost every African American in

Mississippi wanted to learn to read and write. They clamored for schools; once the war ended, the desire for education intensified.

Post–Civil War

African Americans would take great pains and render any service to people willing to assist them in education. Even though the newly freed African Americans had little, they pooled their resources to pay for teachers and schools. This effort, combined with the newly established Freedman’s Bureau and northern religious societies by the summer of 1867, built 61 African American schools in 50 Mississippi communities. Although African Americans believed education was the cornerstone to a successful transition to freedom, White Mississippians did not see the benefit of African American education.

Whites offered two reasons why educating African Americans would be a waste of time and money. One reason was that Whites believed that African Americans did not have the capacity to learn. Other Whites reasoned that an educated African American would not want to work in the fields and therefore educating African Americans would not be profitable. Although the majority of White Mississippians opposed educating African Americans, there were few delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1868 who held this view. The convention was set up to establish a post-Confederate government for the state. There were 16 African American delegates to the convention.

The most controversial article in the constitution was Article VIII, which called for public education. Most delegates supported some form of public education. It was how the students would be educated that caused the controversy. The African American delegates supported two proposals. The first required that all public schools would be integrated. The second called for compulsory education for every child. These two proposals were defeated along with the proposal to have segregated schools. In the end, the convention agreed to let the legislature decide the specifics of the educational system.

In 1870, the first postwar legislative session took place. The legislative group was similar to the constitutional convention group. This group consisting of African Americans and Whites created a

system of free public schools for all children ages 5 to 21 years old. The legislature left the question of desegregation to the local districts. Neither the African American nor the White legislators mentioned interracial schools. The African American legislators did not mention desegregated schools because they knew that the alternative to desegregated schools meant no schools for African Americans. Left to the local districts, there were two schools in Mississippi that were desegregated in 1871. In 1872, all schools were one race only.

As Mississippi was recovering from the Civil War, property values that were the basis for tax collection had fallen dramatically. With public funding shrinking, counties struggled to raise money for teacher's salaries. White taxpayers did not support the notion of public schools and certainly did not support educating the newly freed African Americans. Whites resented the idea that their tax dollars were going to educate African Americans.

In 1878, a more conservative legislature was elected. They introduced a new public education system. Laws were passed separating the races. Not only was segregation of public schools the new law, but the African American school buildings also had to be 2 miles away from the White school buildings. In the decades that followed, White supremacy was established through public education. As African Americans had less control over their schools, funding for African American education decreased.

The Civil Rights Era

After World War II, the civil rights movement emerged. The South, which had only denied African Americans equality, embraced inequality. The separation of the races was so complete White Mississippians had no idea as to the level of inequality of schools. From the salaries of the classroom teachers, number of days in the school years, the difference in attendance and enrollment, the number of volumes in the library, or the condition of the building—the schools were unequal in every category.

In June of 1954, Mississippi Governor Hugh White and his all-White Legal Education Advisory Committee (LEAC) met with a small group of African American leaders to discuss school segregation in

light of the *Brown* decision. Governor White was attempting to garner support for his plan to equalize the segregated school system. The governor's yet to be funded plan was to increase the spending on the African American schools. Before the governor would commit to a spending increase, he wanted assurance from these African American leaders that they would agree to keep the schools segregated. While not denouncing the *Brown* decision, the leaders would welcome increased funding for the schools.

On July 30, 1954, the governor met with 85 to 100 African American leaders to convince them that his equalization plan would work. Prior to this meeting with the governor, the African American leaders met to come to consensus and present a united front. As the meeting began, the African American leaders realized they were seriously divided; there were leaders who supported the *Brown* decision but who wanted more money for African American schools. There were leaders who wanted total desegregation. After several hours, the group came up with a compromise statement that called for a firm commitment to the *Brown* decision and a plan for a nominally desegregated school system. This plan would keep most schools segregated, yet equalized. Once presented to the governor, the plan was wholeheartedly rejected.

Governor White and the LEAC moved on plans to resist the *Brown* decision using every method at their disposal. Although the *Brown* decision was meant to end dual public school systems, White Mississippians made it clear that no attempts to abandon the dual system would be tolerated. In blocking attempts to desegregate the schools, Mississippi resorted to private and state sanctioned economic and physical intimidation. From 1954 to 1964, Mississippi ignored the *Brown* decision by promoting its equalization plan and intimidation of African Americans.

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy realized that while the federal courts were instrumental in desegregation cases, counting on the federal courts to achieve desegregation would not work. President Kennedy first authorized the attorney general to bring lawsuits on behalf of the complaints. This led to complainants being intimidated and was not an efficient way to achieve desegregation.

In 1964, the federal government took a more active role in desegregation of the public schools.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 barred racial discrimination in any activity or program receiving federal funds. The act was controversial and an unprecedented federal enforcement measure. The act also authorized the withholding of funds to schools that did not comply with the federal guidelines.

The Case and Ruling

After 16 years of fighting with the federal government and token desegregation, a steady stream of legal action finally toppled Mississippi's dual education system. African American parents and federal intervention brought to an end 95 years of segregation in the school system. In *Alexander*, these African American parents set out to end segregation in the school system once and for all. The suit was against all 33 Mississippi school districts.

The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had determined that 16 years of deliberate speed was enough, and Mississippi must begin desegregation of the public schools immediately. The Department of Justice and the Department of Health Education and Welfare under President Richard M. Nixon asked the Fifth Circuit Court to reconsider its ruling. The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit suspended its own order and postponed the date for submission of a plan to desegregation. The African American parents appealed, and the U.S. Supreme Court granted certiorari.

The U.S. Supreme Court in essence ruled that enough was enough and vacated the order of the appeals court. The court remanded the case back to the court of appeals for the issuance of an order immediately desegregating the schools in Mississippi. The Supreme Court required every school district to end the dual system at once and to operate one school system. In its per curium decision, the Court in a unanimous opinion held that all motions for additional delays should be denied. The Court further ruled that all deliberate speed is no longer acceptable.

After the *Alexander* decision, White Mississippians still refused to desegregate the public schools. In January of 1970, Governor John Bell Williams held a television news conference in which he told parents that it was totally understandable if they chose to withdraw their children from public schools. Other White leaders kept the

promise of segregated schools by promoting the freedom of choice plan in spite of the Supreme Court decision. The White leaders still held rallies promoting this plan.

Some White Mississippians believed in the idea of public schools and joined with African Americans to establish organizations to promote public education. Still others started all White private schools as a way to keep the dual system. These private schools would receive a tax exemption; 61 such schools were formed after the *Alexander* decision that were private and White only.

Holmes County African American parents again petitioned the federal courts, arguing that giving all White private schools tax-exempt status defeated the purpose of *Alexander*. The Internal Revenue Service agreed and required all private schools to present a statement of nondiscrimination before receiving tax-exempt status.

With the tax-exempt status only available to schools that did not discriminate, the benefits of trying to exclude African Americans lost its appeal. White Mississippians were forced back to public schools.

Michael L. Spotts

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; White Flight

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ALSTON V. SCHOOL BOARD OF CITY OF NORFOLK

In *Alston v. School Board of City of Norfolk* (1940), an African American teacher and the Norfolk

Teachers Association challenged a pay system that provided greater compensation to White teachers than to African Americans. In a 1940 decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals struck down the disparate salary schedules, setting off substantial protest and ongoing legal action. This entry explores the historical backdrop, the facts, and the significance of the case.

Historical Context

By the mid-1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had initiated a campaign for dismantling government sanctioned racial disparities in the area of primary and secondary education. Rather than mount a direct assault upon the doctrine of separate, but equal enunciated in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), NAACP lawyers first challenged inequalities based upon race in teacher salaries, school facilities, and per pupil expenditures.

In the year before the *Alston* case was heard, two cases with similar facts were decided: *Mills v. Lowndes* (1939) and *Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County* (1939). In the rulings on these lawsuits, a Maryland statute prescribing separate salary scales for persons teaching in White schools and for those teaching in African American schools was declared unconstitutional. The plaintiff in the *Mills* cases was the African American principal of an African American school who had 10 years of teaching experience. Yet he was paid less than the lowest salary paid to principals of White schools. The issue was whether a qualified teacher has the right to pursue his occupation or calling free from the imposition of discriminatory legislation on account of his race. The judge reasoned that there was likely no difference in the pedagogical qualifications of teachers since for some years state schools had trained African American teachers under the direction of Maryland's board of education.

Because the plaintiff in the first *Mills* case failed to sue the county's board of education, which was responsible for implementing the state's statute, the district court dismissed the complaint but permitted the plaintiff to amend it to include the necessary defendants. Following a hearing in the second *Mills* case, the district court found a violation of plaintiff's civil rights on account of race and

enjoined the local board of education from continuing the discriminating practice. As Maryland had a system that permitted local boards to supplement those salaries provided pursuant to the state's pay schedule, this scheme could be utilized to remedy the salary inequity, and the court in *Mills*, therefore, saw no need to strike down the Maryland pay statute.

Facts of the Case

Melvin O. Alston had been employed as a teacher since 1935 and was in his 5th year at Booker T. Washington High School. He was a graduate of Virginia State College, which the court described as "an accredited college maintained and operated by the State of Virginia for the instruction and preparation of Negroes as teachers in the public schools for the State" (112 F.2d at 994). He held a collegiate professional certificate, the highest certificate issued to teachers by Virginia. Yet, while under the schedules, White male high school teachers with the same qualifications and duties were paid a starting salary of \$1,200 per year, Alston was receiving an annual salary of \$921, the pay fixed for male African American high school teachers in their 5th year of teaching.

Alston and the Norfolk Teachers Association brought suit against the Norfolk School Board and the Norfolk's Superintendent of Schools, challenging the city's policy of maintaining one salary schedule for White teachers and a separate, lower salary schedule for African American teachers. The plaintiffs alleged that over a long period of years, defendants maintained a policy and custom of paying African American teachers and principals less than their White counterparts in violation of the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Judge Luther B. Way of the U.S. District Court, for the Eastern District of Virginia, dismissed the lawsuit on the ground that Alston and the School Board were the only real parties with an interest in the action and that Alston had forfeited these constitutional claims when he entered into a written contract with the school board to teach at the scheduled rate.

On appeal, however, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit determined that the fixing of salary schedules for teachers involved action by the

State of Virginia and thus was subject to limitations prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In this regard, the court noted that the Virginia Constitution required that its legislature create and maintain a statewide system of free public schools. The Virginia Assembly, therefore, adopted the Virginia Code of 1936, Chapters 33 and 35, pursuant to which the City of Norfolk's school system was established and authorized to pay the salaries of its teachers. Although the code also provided for separate schools for White and African American persons, all teachers were required to hold teaching certificates. African American and White teachers met the same qualifications for certification by the Virginia Board of Education and, upon qualifying, were issued identical certificates.

In striking down this system of disparate salary schedules, the U.S. Court of Appeals announced that this was "as clear a discrimination on the ground of race as could well be imagined" and "falls squarely within the inhibition of both the due process and the equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment." In its opinion, the Court quoted *Gibson v. Mississippi* (1896), a case in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that the government's exclusion of African Americans from grand jury service in the trial of an African American solely on account of race violates the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Gibson*, Justice John Marshall Harlan wrote,

The United States, in its present form, forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the general government, or by the states, against any citizen because of his race. All citizens are equal before the law. The guarantees of life, liberty, and property are for all persons, within the jurisdiction of the United States, or of any state, without discrimination against any because of their race. Those guarantees, when their violation is properly presented in the regular course of proceedings, must be enforced in the courts, both of the nation and of the state, without reference to considerations based upon race.

The plaintiff in *Gibson* had alleged that for a number of years no African Americans had ever served on a grand jury despite the fact that 7,000 African Americans were eligible for jury service in Washington County, Mississippi, compared with

only 1,500 Whites. Notwithstanding its due process and equal protection language, the *Gibson* court invoked a procedural irregularity to affirm the state court's denial of *Gibson's* petition. Rather than moving to quash the indictment, *Gibson*, instead, had improperly sought to transfer his case from the Mississippi court to federal court.

The Fourth Circuit, echoing the *Mills* rulings, concluded that teachers holding certificates issued by the State of Virginia acquired professional status and, once selected for employment by school authorities, were entitled to have their compensation fixed without discrimination on account of race. The Court of Appeals, in *Alston*, reversed and remanded the case to the district court, directing that if discrimination is established, an injunction be issued restraining school authorities from discriminating on the basis of race in the fixing of teachers' salaries.

Impact of the Ruling

School districts throughout the State of Virginia ignored the Fourth Circuit's ruling in *Alston*. As a consequence, the NAACP brought actions in Newport News, Chesterfield, and other jurisdictions to enforce the law. A number of African American teachers and principals who were activists in the Negro Teachers' Association and the Virginia Teachers Association were fired during the struggle to equalize teachers' salaries.

Also, in response to *Alston* and similar decisions, Southern states replaced race-based pay schedules with educational attainment and ostensibly neutral, standardized tests, such as the National Teachers Examination, to maintain salary disputes.

Gloria M. Dabiri

See also *Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, established by northern Baptists in 1832 to conduct missionary activities on the U.S. frontier, made outstanding contributions to the drive for literacy among African Americans in the wake of the Civil War and played a continuing role in their education. This entry looks at the history of the society's educational work with and for African American people.

After the Civil War

In 1832, the American Baptist Home Mission Society was organized. Between 1839 and 1842, the Southern Baptist Home Mission Society was organized. Before or during the Civil War (1861–1865), several U.S. Protestant denominations split into northern and southern factions with the primary issue of contention being the enslavement of African American people.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society's educational work with African Americans took off after the Civil War. The society played an important role in improving the literacy rate among the African American population from 10% in 1865 to 70% by 1910. This was one of the great literacy movements of any people. Booker T. Washington, in his autobiography *Up From Slavery*, noted that at the time, it seemed like the whole race was being educated. Anyone who could read was teaching someone who could not, regardless of the age of the instructor or the instructed.

White involvement in this process was an amalgam of genuine altruistic Christian idealism and brotherhood-sisterhood, guilt, and paternalistic-maternalistic White supremacist racism. No matter

where any individual White educator fell along this spectrum, the positive contributions of New England school marms coming South to teach African American people are undeniable. Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, in both *Souls of Black Folk* and *Black Reconstruction*, gives due deference to these heroines.

Just as in the political-commercial realms where White northerners coming South were called carpetbaggers, there was tremendous White Southern resentment and resistance to White Northern educational missionaries coming South and African American self-help educational efforts. Southern Baptists and the American Baptist Home Mission Society, however, agreed to cooperate on building and maintaining schools for freed persons at the primary, secondary, and collegiate levels.

At the higher-education level, the American Baptist Home Mission society was the primary founder of the following schools for African Americans: Richmond Theological Seminary (Richmond, Virginia, 1867), Shaw University (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1865), Atlanta Seminary (1867, originally in Augusta, Georgia), Roger Williams University (Nashville, Tennessee, 1864, which was later absorbed by Lemoyne-Owens College in Memphis), Leland College (New Orleans, Louisiana, 1870), Benedict College (Columbia, South Carolina, 1887), Bishop College (Marshall, Texas, 1881), Selma University (Selma, Alabama 1878), State University (Louisville, Kentucky, 1873), Hartshorn Memorial College (Richmond, Virginia, 1884), Florida Institute (Live Oak, Florida, 1873), Spelman Seminary (Atlanta, Georgia, 1881), Arkansas Baptist College (Little Rock, 1887), Home Institute (New Iberia, Louisiana, 1888), Mather School (Beaufort, South Carolina, 1868), and the Bible and Normal Institute (Memphis, Tennessee, 1888).

Some of the schools are now defunct; for example, Leland and Bishop College lost accreditation in the late 1980s. The most famous American Baptist Home Mission Society colleges are Morehouse and Spelman in Atlanta. Morehouse College is the only all-men's historically African American college in the country, and Spelman College is one of two (along with Bennett in Greensboro, North Carolina) all-women's historically African American colleges. Dr. Henry Lyman Morehouse was field secretary of the American

Baptist Home Mission Society from 1893 to 1917. He had worked closely with John D. Rockefeller's wife, Laura Spelman. Rockefeller significantly increased his charitable giving in 1914. The Rockefeller Foundation received \$100 million, and \$50 million went to the General Education Board, supporting Baptist colleges. Two new buildings went up at Spelman. John D. Rockefeller Jr. dedicated the chapel at Spelman in 1927.

The General Education Board was interdenominational and included Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Baptists. Between 1908 and 1928, the board gave the American Baptist Home Mission Society about \$2.5 million for African American schools. By 1950, out of 100,000 African Americans attending American Baptist Home Mission Society schools, there were 10,677 academic graduates (high school); 2,436 college graduates; 860 theological graduates; 4,015 ministers; 422 college professors, administrators, and presidents; 20,135 elementary and secondary school teachers; 197 dentists; 212 lawyers; 914 physicians; 255 pharmacists; 74 editors; 26 authors and other Christian workers in Black communities, North and South, among the 3 million African American Baptists in thousands of churches.

Independent Black Baptist Schools

The first attempt at a national denomination of African American Baptists ended up as a regional grouping of African American Southerners called the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention. This group had an educational association that supported elementary and secondary schools in the former Confederate states from 1866 to 1879.

By 1895, the National Baptist Convention, USA, emerged as the largest African American organization in the world. There have been two other major national African American Baptist denominations that have split off from the National Baptist Convention, USA. They are the National Baptist Convention of America (1915) and the Progressive National Baptist Convention (1961).

Independent African American Baptist schools began with Guadalupe College in 1884. Then came Houston College (Houston, Texas, 1885), Virginia Theological Seminary and College (Lynchburg, 1888), Walker Baptist Institute (Augusta, Georgia,

1888), Western College at Independence, Missouri (1890), Friendship Baptist College (Rock Hill, South Carolina, 1891), Meridian Baptist Seminary (Meridian, Mississippi, 1897), Central City College (Macon, Georgia, 1899), Central Texas College (Waco, 1905), East Texas Normal and Industrial Academy (Tyler, 1905, but renamed Butler College in 1924), Morris College (Sumter, South Carolina, 1905), Lee and Hager University (Baltimore, Maryland, 1914), Williams and Jones University (Baltimore, Maryland, 1928), and Maryland Baptist Center and School of Religion (Baltimore, 1942).

Eventually African American Baptists negotiated shared governance and then predominant takeovers of the American Baptist Home Mission Society schools. These included Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina; Roger Williams University in Nashville, Tennessee; Leland University in New Orleans, Louisiana; Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina; Bishop College in Marshall, Texas; State University of Louisville in Louisville, Kentucky; Selma University in Selma, Alabama; Butler College in Tyler, Texas. African Americans and Southern Baptists ran the American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee (1924).

Carlton A. G. Eversley

See also Board of Missions for the Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Morehouse College; Spelman College

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AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

The American Missionary Association (AMA) was a leading interdenominational and abolitionist society organized in 1846. Most noteworthy was that its members founded and/or supported more than 245 churches and 500 institutions for primary, secondary-normal, and higher education and commissioned 45 ministers in the United States. The AMA was restructured along with the United Church of Christ in 1999. Its influences are still seen in Black higher education today; however, historically Black colleges and universities it founded have received other forms of philanthropy from other societies, organizations, and corporations.

Historical Background

Primarily supported by White New England mission workers and churches, the AMA grew out of the Amistad Committee, which fought to defend enslaved African Americans who mutinied against the crew of the Spanish vessel *Amistad* in 1839. It later aligned itself with the Congregational Church (now the United Church of Christ). Its initial purpose was to establish missions for the previously enslaved overseas; however, after 1850, it focused on antislavery activity using religious, political, and educational mediums.

As Union forces defeated Confederate troops during the Civil War, the AMA missionaries and teachers followed, founding churches and schools for freedmen when the military situation permitted. Most of the teachers hailed from New England, yet some came from New York, Michigan, and Ohio. A few teachers were African American, educated at Oberlin College, an institution that educated a significant number of Blacks in the North. In the South, AMA teachers were ostracized or assaulted by Southern White communities. They endured violence because they taught Northern social ideas where African Americans and Whites were equal, a far cry from the former old South culture that viewed African Americans as chattel.

As the South recovered from ruin brought on by the Civil War and established public school systems, the AMA turned over its primary and

secondary-normal schools to Southern public systems and focused on enhancing Black higher education. The AMA's educational process was continuous, from ABCs to PhDs. It is difficult to surmise the number of secondary-normal schools as well as colleges founded by the AMA. Many schools are defunct; however, evidence indicates that the AMA founded approximately nine Black colleges and 12 secondary-normal schools for teaching.

Secondary normal schools founded were Avery Institute, Charleston, South Carolina; Ballard Normal, Macon, Georgia; Washburn Normal, Beaufort, North Carolina; Trinity School, Athens, Alabama; and Gregory Normal, Wilmington, Delaware in the 1865 to 1866 academic year; Emerson Institute, Mobile, Alabama; Storrs School, Atlanta, Georgia; and the Beach Institute, Savannah, Georgia, in 1867; Burrell Normal, Florence, Alabama, and Eli Normal, Louisville, Kentucky, in 1868; Lincoln School, Marion, Alabama, in 1869; and the Albany Normal, Albany, Georgia, in 1890.

Colleges founded were Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, in 1865; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, and Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama, in 1866; Howard University in 1867; Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, in 1868; LeMoyne College (later LeMoyne-Owen College), Memphis, Tennessee; Straight University (later part of Dillard University), New Orleans, Louisiana, and Tugaloo School and College, Jackson, Mississippi, in 1869; and Tillotson College (later part of Huston-Tillotson College), Austin, Texas.

Achievements and Criticisms

The AMA promoted liberal arts and professional education for the purpose of training African American intellectuals, lawyers, physicians, dentists, and storekeepers. It was convinced that liberal arts education was necessary for building an autonomous Black community. Unlike industrial education, the AMA, as well as some Black leaders of the time, believed that liberal arts curriculum would produce the much-needed leaders for Black communities.

The AMA's mission seemed to be a liberal one; however, many White Southern leaders at the end of Reconstruction supported Black disenfranchisement and anticipated African Americans' position on the lower stratum of the South's occupational

ladder. Although most White Southerners felt that education would ruin Blacks, some believed in the importance of universal education and held deep faith in the powerful capacity of moral and industrial education to socialize Blacks to understand and accept their disenfranchisement and to make them more productive laborers. In exchange for universal schooling, industrial education became part of a continuing new South ideology that sacrificed Black social and political interest to the need for Black workers in an economy based on agriculture. This model of Black industrial education was on a collision course with the AMA institutions of Black higher education whose philosophy was just the opposite. However, there were numerous critiques of the AMA's philanthropy and its agenda.

The first and least influential of these critiques was that the Reconstruction South deemed the AMA and other philanthropic societies as agitators. As such, the issue over African American education dealt heavily with the influence of Northern Yankee missionaries upon Southern Blacks, from which Southern lawmakers made sinister claims charging Northerners with fostering jealousies and hatred towards Whites. Southern Whites frowned upon the practice of social equality between AMA White teachers and Black pupils.

The second critique presented the AMA as paternalistic entity with no regard for African American culture. This critique asserts that successful AMA teachers tended to become too influential on Black pupils, setting White, New England, middle-class culture as the standard of success. New Englanders considered themselves to be culturally superior to Southerners, and for African American pupils at AMA institutions, students were trained to be more alienated from African American community and culture and, with it, from African American identity and self-esteem.

Finally and most importantly, with the establishment of educational institutions, the AMA's overall goal of securing educational access for African American communities and training teachers was manifested. AMA schools provided a solid educational foundation for religion and citizenship for Black school children, while AMA trained teachers who subsequently staffed schools in the South. For example, in the city of Atlanta alone, it was estimated that at least 75% of the city's teachers were Atlanta University graduates. The AMA's

educational institutions provided Black elites with a shared social experience that established and continually reinforce the importance social connections that were central in the formation of an upper class among select families, churches, and schools.

With this, tensions based on class within African American communities brewed surrounding access to private education versus public education. This tension suggests that Reconstruction legislatures that supported public higher education set a course for Black servitude in the political economy of the new South, whereas private education sustained by Northern philanthropic organizations promoted an autonomous community. As such, Black elites and middle classes were drawn to private institutions because of their wealth, the institutions' exclusivity, and New England puritanical teachings, for which they felt to be more acceptable in the presence of White social stratum.

Archival materials for the AMA are housed at the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Maurice J. Hobson

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education

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AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY

The American Negro Academy (ANA), the first learned society for African Americans, was founded in Washington, D.C., on March 5, 1897, by several prominent Black male leaders, including Rev. Alexander Crummell, its first president. Born in New York City and educated at London's Cambridge University, he was an Episcopalian minister, educator, writer, and one of the most prominent 19th-century Black intellectuals. Limited to 50 members, the ANA remained an all-male organization during its 31-year existence.

According to its constitution, it is "an organization of authors, scholars, artists, and those distinguished in other walks of life, men of African descent, for the promotion of Letters, Science, and Art." Its objectives were to eradicate racism, publish scholarship about the Black experience by Black authors, foster higher education and intellectual projects, and create a Black intellectual elite, which W. E. B. Du Bois, its second president, would later conceptualize as "The Talented Tenth."

Historical Context

Although the 1890s are characterized by historians as the Progressive Era, African Americans experienced a different reality. Although the 19th century was a period of struggle for human rights on a variety of fronts, including the anti-enslavement and women's suffrage movements, the late 19th and early 20th centuries were disillusioning and demoralizing years for Blacks in the United States. The South, home for the majority of African Americans, had been devastated by the Civil War, embittered by the demands of Reconstruction, and plagued by the fate of 4 million former slaves still in its midst. The obstacles facing them only 20 years out of bondage were tremendous, for the majority were impoverished, landless, and illiterate.

The last decade of the 19th century and the opening decades of the 20th marked the nadir in the history of African Americans, according to historian Rayford W. Logan. The notion of the inherent inferiority of Blacks was accepted broadly as their political, legal, and social rights continued to erode. The 1890s was an especially dismal decade as Blacks witnessed the defeat of the Blair Bill for

federal aid to public education and the Lodge Bill for federal supervision of federal elections. In addition, the Southern states amended their constitutions, starting with Mississippi in 1890, and the disenfranchisement of Blacks was accomplished by 1910.

The Supreme Court in the famous 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case gave legal sanction to the already widespread practice of Jim Crow when it ruled that separate, but equal public facilities were constitutional. African Americans, concentrated in the rural South, were being lynched in record numbers, and between 1900 and 1910, six major race riots occurred throughout the nation, which signaled growing racial hostility in the North and South.

Founding Years

This is the sociopolitical backdrop during which the first Black think tank emerged whose membership included some of the most influential middle-class Black male intellectuals, ministers, lawyers, and activists. They included, in addition to Crummell, W. E. B. Du Bois, William Croghan, Paul Laurence Dunbar, James Weldon Johnson, Carter B. Woodson, Alain Locke, Arthur Schomburg, John W. Cromwell, Kelly Miller, and Archibald and Frances Grimke. Additional racial uplift organizations emerged during the same period, organizations which included the Colored Press Association, the Bethel Literary and Historical Association, the National Medical Association, and the National Association of Colored Women.

Since the ANA was conceptualized as an elite research institute for the Black intelligentsia in the United States and around the world, a major goal was the production of scholarly works that would assist in the global struggle for racial equality. Twenty-two occasional papers would be published between 1897 and 1928. Members met annually in Washington, D.C., usually in late December, to hear papers they had generated. The wider public was also invited. Howard University Professor Kelly Miller produced the first paper, "A Review of Hoffman's Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro." The second paper was produced by Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races," followed by Crummell's, "Civilization, the Primal Need of the Race." Archibald Grimke, the most prolific member, produced seven publications, including "The Sex Question and Race Segregation."

Despite its commitment to eradicating racial inequalities, the ANA reflected prevailing gender attitudes. At the first organization meeting, a member argued that women should be admitted and was assured by other founding members that women could join, but no efforts were ever made to recruit African American women. At the second annual meeting in 1898, Crummell invited Brooklyn teacher Maritcha Lyons to present a paper, but she was unable to attend, so another woman was invited to read “Afro-American Literature.” Despite the contributions of many Black women intellectuals and reformers—among them Anna Julia Cooper, Mary Church Terrell, Frances E. W. Harper, and Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin—none was invited again to present a paper or become a member.

Forty years later, the Black Academy of Arts and Letters (BAAL) was chartered in Boston on June 12, 1969, by a group of scholars, historians, artists, journalists, musicians, actors, and writers, though their headquarters would later move to New York City. They included educators Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, chair; Dr. Benjamin Quarles; Dr. Martin Kilson Jr.; and Dr. Vivian W. Henderson; artists and writers Julian “Cannonball” Adderly; John Oliver Killins; John A. Williams; Romare Bearden; and Arthur Mitchell; Dr. Oliver Cromwell Cox; Floyd Coleman; Dr. Adelaide Cromwell Hill; Doris Sanders; Robert Hooks; Dr. Alvin Poussaint; and Chuck Stone. Though BAAL has been touted as a successor to ANA, there was no direct link between the two organizations.

Although the ANA and BAAL had a relatively short life span, their histories and missions underscore the importance of sustaining Black organizations committed to documenting and preserving the rich intellectual and educational traditions of people of African descent.

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See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Woodson, Carter G.

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ANNA T. JEANES FOUNDATION

The Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, also known as The Fund for Rudimentary Schools for Southern Negroes or the Negro Rural School Fund, was founded in 1907 by Anna Thomas Jeanes (1822–1907), a wealthy Philadelphia Quaker who had a keen interest in the small rural schools of the South. It gave birth to and supported the Jeanes teacher movement, which was developed and directed by Virginia E. Randolph, a veteran African American teacher in a one-room schoolhouse. The teachers and supervisors, most of whom were women, helped to improve the educational environments and programs for the South’s African American children and teachers. Eventually, the Jeanes Foundation was merged with other foundations that had similar purposes. During the period from 1908 to 1937, it had achieved the purpose its founder had envisioned. This entry discusses its founding, implementation, and growth.

Laying a Foundation

In early 20th-century United States, Jeanes was one of a number of insightful men, women, and organization leaders who became increasingly conscious of the South’s great need for educational reform for its African American residents. Jeanes had given \$200,000 to support extension programs at Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) in Virginia and Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University) in Alabama, both of which aided small rural schools for African Americans.

The cabin-type, one-teacher schools for African Americans prevalent in the South distressed Jeanes. In 1907, she set aside \$1 million to aid and promote rudimentary education in such schools. She proposed a board of trustees comprised of Booker T. Washington, Andrew Carnegie, Hollis Burke Frissell, George Foster Peabody, and William

Howard Taft (who was not yet president of the United States). Jeanes signed a deed of trust on April 22, 1907, establishing the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation and then declared that the newly established fund was to be known as The Fund for Rudimentary Schools for Southern Negroes or the Negro Rural School Fund. The certificate of incorporation was signed on November 20, 1907. Although the proposed board held several informal meetings, it was not until February 29, 1908, that the 17-member board met and declared its own character. This was also the only foundation of its kind that placed African American leaders on its board of trustees.

The endowment that Jeanes had established would be used solely for rural, community, or country schools for African Americans in the South and not for large institutions. The aim was to support rudimentary education and to promote peace and good will among men, which Jeanes believed would come through moral influence and social refinement.

During the first years of its existence, the funds were used for salaries of industrial teachers, to extend school terms in particular areas, to support travel, to underwrite conferences, and to maintain summer schools for teachers. In a few cases, however, funds were used to erect buildings and to provide equipment. Between April 1907 and June 1922, those states that benefited from the Rural School Fund were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The Jeanes Plan

The inventors of the real Jeanes plan were Jackson Davis, superintendent of schools in Henrico County, Virginia (near Richmond), and Virginia E. Randolph. On October 26, 1908, Davis hired Randolph, a 12-year veteran teacher who worked at Mountain Road School, a one-room rural school in Henrico County, Virginia. Randolph (1874–1958) became the first real Jeanes teacher. Davis had observed Randolph as a devoted, patient, and humble teacher and recommended that the county school district hire her as a county-wide industrial Jeanes supervisor. Later, she supervised Jeanes teachers, as they came to be known,

in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, becoming the first supervisor of African American public education in the South.

Jeanes teachers were influential and powerful educators who built local support for the schools, raised funds for school projects and buildings, held countywide field days activities, organized commencement programs, visited homes, taught Sunday school in local churches, organized improvement leagues and mothers' clubs, and sponsored a number of activities that brought together the community, community leaders, families, students, and teachers.

By 1912, philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck Company and Tuskegee Institute founder and educator Washington began a rural school building program for African Americans in the South that would further enhance education. Administered through Tuskegee Institute, the school's officials would encourage communities to match funds that Rosenwald provided. Monies from both Jeanes and Rosenwald were used to hire field agents to help communities organize for new buildings. Later, grants from Rosenwald replaced the Jeanes construction funds.

As the Rosenwald Rural Negro Schools Program expanded, Jeanes teachers were supplied to aid the school programs. The results of the Rosenwald Fund were seen in the erection of 5,358 rural schoolhouses, shops, teachers' homes, and other buildings for African Americans, some due to the efforts of the Jeanes teachers. Appropriations from other philanthropies—such as the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the General Education Board, and the Slater Fund, and church and missionary boards—also contributed to the improvement of education for rural African American youth through efforts such as paying teachers' salaries, building county training schools, and so on. The cooperation of these agencies was due in great measure to James Hardy Dillard, at one time president and director of the Jeanes Foundation.

Growth and Evolution

The Jeanes Fund extended its Visiting Teacher Plan abroad, reaching countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. A prominent feature of that plan was an administrative method that allowed

the Jeanes teachers to help local teachers by friendly visitation to their schools. Their teaching methods either supplemented or displaced existing methods. Next, the Jeanes teachers abroad stimulated and assisted teachers to adapt their educational activities to the needs of the students and the community, often resulting in transforming education from academic information to education for life.

By the mid-1930s, the educational programs and services of the original Jeanes Foundation were expanded significantly when the organization merged with a number of well-known and successful educational funds. One of these was the Virginia Randolph Fund—founded on December 17, 1936, to honor Randolph, the first Jeanes teacher. Another, the George Foster Peabody Fund, established on February 7, 1867, focused on industrial, intellectual, and moral education in destitute portions of the southern and southwestern states. The John F. Slater fund was founded on April 25, 1882, to uplift and emancipate residents of the southern states.

Thus, on July 1, 1937, these funds merged to become the Southern Education Foundation (SEF) based in Atlanta, Georgia. SEF continues to foster programs to improve education and living conditions in the South, working through public and private schools and their officials. It also has a special interest in the needs of African American people. For her success in making education for rural African Americans in the South a reality through the foundation that she established, the South has honored Jeanes by naming schools, colleges, and office buildings in her honor.

Jessie Carney Smith

See also Rosenwald Fund; Rural Education

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ARTHUR V. NYQUIST

Arthur v. Nyquist (1983), a school desegregation case that arose in Buffalo, New York, is significant in the education story of African Americans because it was one of the earliest cases to be upheld on appeal in which the court ordered a systemwide plan to desegregate the public schools. Notably, this desegregation plan included aspects of suburban-urban student reassignment, staff-faculty layoffs, busing, and court monitoring to address de facto and de jure segregation. This desegregation plan was later called into question as an acceptable remedy going forward because most courts have pronounced school systems as unitary despite serious remnants of segregation. This entry discusses the historical backdrop and the court rulings, appeals, and significance of the *Arthur v. Nyquist* case.

Historical Background

Like so many other cases (e.g., in Georgia, Kentucky, and Ohio), this one began early in the 19th century. African American parents in Buffalo sought better education for their children by petitioning for desegregated schools as early as 1840. The unsuccessful petitions eventually resulted in superintendent-decreed desegregated schools in Buffalo by 1872 that were not, however, executed by the school board. A number of schools had been desegregated after the Civil War in the South and North. These included Phillips School, the first in Boston, which was desegregated by legislation passed in 1855; some schools in Georgia in 1865; many in Alton, Illinois, from 1873 through 1897; some in Ohio in 1890; some in Kentucky in 1898; and some in Tennessee in 1901.

In cities where school systems had been desegregated or integrated, these schools resegregated under The Black Codes, the ending of Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and legalized second-class citizenship of African Americans (including housing covenants to promote segregated public schools became the tools for resegregation in the North and South).

In New York State, efforts to desegregate the public school system became official policy in 1947. That is, New York had state laws by which the New York State Department of Education and the State Board of Regents mandated desegregated public schools throughout the state. The ineffectiveness of the mandates was obvious when, almost 20 years later, in 1965, African American parents appealed to the State Commissioner of Education, claiming Buffalo maintained segregated schools. These parents pointed to the school system's factual segregation realities, demonstrated at the elementary school level and in the system's discriminatory policies in recruiting and placing African American teachers. Notwithstanding the commissioner's ruling in favor of the African American parent plaintiffs in 1966, the assigning of teachers based on race never changed in Buffalo.

Shortly after this ruling, the Buffalo school system began a voluntary desegregated program of one-way busing. The school board initiated a policy of busing African American junior high school students to White schools, but not a policy of busing White students to African American schools. By 1968, Buffalo schools were still not desegregated because less than 10% of the 27,000 students were in desegregated schools. The impact of that 10%, or 2,700 African Americans in desegregated schools, was nullified when the Buffalo Board of Education essentially allowed the same number of White students to transfer from desegregated schools to White schools. Then, in 1972, some 7 years after the state commissioner of education officially ordered the Buffalo schools to desegregate, the commissioner acknowledged that these schools were more segregated than they had been in 1968. In fact, out of 96 schools, 20 were 90% African American and 29 were 90% White. The Buffalo Board of Education ignored the state commissioner's request for a revised desegregation plan because of the findings of more segregation in the Buffalo public school system. Within 2 months,

the Buffalo Board of Education replied that it could not comply. The state commissioner then sent a special task force to Buffalo with the goal of creating a plan that was submitted to the board in 1973; the plan was summarily rejected.

All earlier efforts—legal, legislative, and otherwise—provided a plethora of documentation of the persistent denial of equal education to African Americans in the Buffalo Public School System, as guaranteed by law and mandated under various state policies.

In 1972, African American parents, White parents, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Citizen Council on Human Relations joined in bringing a lawsuit alleging both de facto and de jure segregation in the Buffalo Public School System. The filings asserted a violation of the Constitution based on the Supreme Court ruling in the 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). Defendants included the Buffalo Board of Education, The Superintendent of Schools, the Buffalo Common Council, the New York State Commissioner of Education, and the New York State Board of Regents.

Court Rulings

In a series of rulings stemming from the initial filing, the district court, under John T. Curtin, laboriously documented the systemic and systematic segregation in the Buffalo Public School System, ruled on its unconstitutionality, and monitored equitable relief through recurrent appeals with a goal of avoiding the chaos of Boston's school desegregation process. Curtin also aimed to harness the involvement of all stakeholders in refashioning the city's public school system to a model constitutional one. Every ruling by Curtin that was appealed acted as a retardant on the remedial power of the court to legally achieve the educational entitlements and expectations of African American public school children and their parents. Of the seven major decisions in the case, the first ruling, which is the case at hand, found for the parents.

The First Decision

District court Judge Curtin ruled in *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1976) that the defendants had intentionally

created and maintained a persistent segregated public school system. In this first *Nyquist* case, the district court determined, after a complex and fervently contested 4-year-long case, that the Buffalo Public School System had deliberately segregated the public school system along racial lines. The court found this to be true in spite of the fact that the system was never legally mandated (i.e., *de jure*) to operate as a segregated public school system even though it operated as a *de facto* one. The evidence of a segregated public school system was overwhelming and had persisted for a long time.

The district court came to its decision in this case by narrowly focusing the question it would consider and address in the lawsuit. It based its reasoning for such a narrow focus on its judicial duty under the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause to guarantee all residents equal protection under the law citing a Kansas decision in *Stapleton v. Mitchell* (1945), which acknowledged the federal courts' special role to always adjudicate human rights issues. In the *Nyquist* lawsuit, this meant rendering a decision after deciding the facts using the evidence submitted to the court and applying the existing law from the U.S. Supreme Court and from the Second Circuit.

Judge Curtin recognized there to be but one question before his district court, namely, whether any of the defendants in the lawsuit behaved in a way so as to segregate the Buffalo Public School System. By focusing on just this one question in the lawsuit, the district court also declared that it would not address any questions not presently before it such as any issues of remedy or what would constitute appropriate action if the Buffalo Public School System was found to be segregated.

Thus, by a straightforward review of the system, and by connecting the applicable law to the presented facts, the court found sufficient intent to segregate where defendants' acts created an organic methodology causing the unconstitutional result, regardless of supposed neutral neighborhood school policies. He ordered the system desegregated and then directed defendants to submit a desegregation plan.

The Buffalo desegregation plan occurred in several phases. Phase I lasted from 1976 to 1977, and the plan submitted and approved by the court closed 10 schools and opened two magnet schools in the city. Phase II covered 1977 to 1978 when

eight more magnet schools were scheduled to open. The next phase was in two parts: Phase III mandated a systemwide percentage for each race in the schools, and Phase IIIX revised the earlier plan and added a variety of programs to enhance the desirability of desegregation.

The First Appeal

Curtin's decision, a landmark in the scope and breadth of findings included in the record, was appealed. The case was affirmed in the decision *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1978) in a decision that also ruled—due to insufficiency of evidence—that neither the New York State Education Commissioner nor members of the Board of Regents were liable as defendants. Both of these defendants were subsequently removed from the case.

The decision handed down by the Second Circuit confirmed Judge Curtin's finding that deliberate segregation had occurred in the Buffalo Public School System. The Second Circuit also confirmed the district court's authority to order desegregation of the school system. The Buffalo Teacher's Union's appeal had argued that the district court was exercising excessive equitable powers in this case. The union asserted that in so doing, the district court was impinging on the New York state statutory and contractual rights of teachers who had not determined the segregation policies of the school system.

The Second Circuit Appeals Court did not find the union's state law argument persuasive. Rather, the appeals court ruled that the district court, as the trial court, did indeed have the authority to enforce the Constitution. This ability was especially so where—as in this set of facts—segregation of a public educational system had persisted due to both intentional and documented discriminatory staffing practices. Here, where fundamental Constitutional rights protected under the equal protection clause were at risk, state law could not trump federal law. Further, the Second Circuit ruled that such a Constitutional violation could not be overruled by state law.

Subsequent Action

Then followed a number of specific rulings that together composed the remedial desegregation

plan for the Buffalo school system, along with appeals. Two significant appeals, essentially companion cases, were argued (April 6, 1983) and decided (July 22, 1983) on the same day before the court of appeals—Circuit Judges Newman, Kaufman and Timbers.

The first of these later appeals was *Arthur v. Nyquist* (Nyquist, 1983a), which concerned the Buffalo Board of Education (whose basic appropriation came from the Mayor and Common Council of Buffalo) lawsuit in support of its annual budget request for 1982 to 1983. The budget request essentially appealing an earlier decision (*Arthur v. Nyquist*, 1982) by the Buffalo Board of Education was for an additional \$7.4 million increase over the previous year's budget allocation of \$150.6 million in order to implement the Phase IIIX plan. Failing to reach a compromise agreement, the board of education initiated this routine litigation that was a last effort in the fiscal year to fund its desegregation mandate.

Since the authority of the district court to order implementation of a remedial plan was recognized for this case as well as to require the commensurate expenditures to support it, the appeals court addressed two narrow and less defined issues. Initially, it considered whether the additional funds requested were necessary to implement the remedial plan or impermissibly went further and used the remedial plan to justify general improvements desired by the board of education architects responsible for voluntarily desegregating the Buffalo citywide public school system.

The appeals court ruled, on this question, that the district court was entitled to mandate funding for programs that materially accrued as a benefit to the overall success of the desegregation effort because a program that redresses an aspect of unconstitutional segregation is not disqualified simply because it also improves the quality of education available in the entire school system. Assessing whether the board of education is really (because it can) suing for additional funds as a revenue stream for programs upgrading the education system, but not closely related to remedial desegregation, or whether the funds requested are central to the desegregation effort requires some good faith deference by the court to the board of education.

The final issue considered by the court of appeals in this appeals case was whether there was

an adequate basis provided by the district court's factual findings upon which it could rule that the additional funds, requested and subsequently granted, were permissible. It found that District Court Judge Curtin was entitled to credit the board of education testimony with respect to how the cuts in funding would impact the desegregation effort without requiring the board of education to indicate (say by line-item budget detail) how the appropriated funding would be used. This was not problematic because Judge Curtin was using caution to preclude the city defendants from micro-managing the educational system any more than warranted under state law. Therefore, the appeals court, in upholding the district court's order, indicated that in future disputes of this nature the record would be best helped by including a detail of proposed expenditures without the funds requested. A neutral third party with school budgetary expertise was required.

The second of these later appeals was *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1983b) concerning the Buffalo Teacher's Federation challenge to the treatment of laid-off permanent teachers in the latest plan. The district court had already mandated a systemwide desegregation remedy in *Arthur v. Nyquist* (1979). In this appeal, what was specifically questioned was the district court's authority to overrule seniority rights of teachers as it fashioned a plan for ending vestiges of racial segregation in the faculty ranks of the public school to provide desegregated education to the students. Although these issues had been raised in an earlier case, both concerns were not addressed because only the federally protected right to equal education was reviewed. This time, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the desegregation Plan IIIX was unnecessarily harsh in its treatment of these two groups.

The original plan devised by the district court addressed the three types of teachers in the system: tenured, probationary, and temporary. In addition, the plan addressed the mechanism by which they advanced through the ranks. Both probationary and permanent teachers were on the tenure track, and openings on the tenure track system under the collective bargaining agreement required that probationary teachers be appointed for 3 years before becoming a permanent faculty member. Further, the probationary appointees were selected from a list of eligible applicants and ranked according to

their passing and numerical score on a board-administered examination.

The third type of teacher, the temporary (and long-term temporary), was hired from year to year filling vacant, sabbatical, and sick leave positions. Temporary teachers were typically ineligible for the permanent or probationary list because they had not passed the board-administered exam or had failed to score high enough. However, in hiring replacement teachers each year, past temporary teachers were the first to be considered if the eligibility lists of qualified teachers failed to fill the vacancy.

Under New York law, seniority guided all reductions in tenured positions. Essentially, the last or junior teacher hired in an academic area became the first teacher laid off. Such excess teachers were placed on a super or preferred eligibility list and became the first to be reinstated for permanent positions and also had the right of first refusal for temporary positions. Although temporary teachers had no job guarantees, layoffs affected them because of the preferred eligibility lists created and the increased likelihood that they would not be rehired when the Board downsized the tenured faculty in the system.

The district court plan from March 1979 ordered one-to-one hiring of African American teachers until the threshold of 21% in the system had been reached. Plan details required three applicant lists: a preferred eligibility list, a current eligibility list, and a qualified applicant list (including candidates who had not passed the board examination). Filling tenure track vacancies required the board to first determine whether it should be a White or African American hire and then select the highest ranked candidate from the preferred eligibility list; second, the current eligibility list; and third, the qualified applicant list. No probationary appointments were permitted under the Court mandate, although temporary appointments were made.

The remedial plan required temporary appointments to follow the same scenario plus an added step. Under the remedial plan, the district court tried to prevent a repeat of the 1978 to 1979 layoffs and the corresponding reduction of the African American teacher ratio. Many of the excess teachers ranked high on the various eligibility lists, and rehiring them reduced the African American ratio in the system.

The remedial plan attempted to prevent this from occurring again by tying layoffs to the ratio of White teachers to African American teachers in each tenured area. Further, the board was required to determine the percentage of the African American teachers with probationary positions in the tenured area subject to layoffs and in permanent positions, which if below the 21% threshold amount signaled that layoffs could occur. Of course, these layoffs would be from first probationary positions and then from permanent positions.

The appeals court supported the percentage layoffs formula despite its impact on the contractual and statutory seniority systems during force reduction periods because they agreed with the district court that it was necessary as stated in *Green v. Country School Board* (1968), to eliminate root and branch of the old Buffalo segregated school system. However, the appeals court, this time, did not approve of the remedial plan treatment of probationary and permanent teachers who were laid off. Therefore, the appeals court reversed with respect to the plan's focus on granting instantaneous relief to African American teachers where it had not been mandated nor explicitly demonstrated.

Further, the appeals court, in its remand, detailed how the district court should modify the remedial plan it had approved. Specifically, "excessed" teachers were to be placed on the preferred eligibility list as had been done in the 1978 to 1979 forced reductions. The appeals court would not permit even for a short period, the right of laid-off teachers to get new temporary permanent positions under the collective bargaining agreement to be eliminated even though they recognized that this would reduce desegregation by putting White teachers back in positions vacated and at higher percentages than African American teachers.

Impact on Schools

The district court defined a complete systemwide desegregation as each school in the Buffalo Public School System having no less than 30% and up to 55% of either race. The phase IIIX plan that was implemented was a systemwide plan that contained a variety of programs to achieve desegregation, including magnet schools, early childhood centers, special schools, pairing and clustering of schools, and upgrading of the entire school system.

It was an important strategy to help parents become invested in the desegregation of the Buffalo Public School System.

The update of the school system contained in the phase IIIX plan was critical because the historical fact and legacy of racially segregated schools translated into a legacy of unequal funding for schools for resources within the system based on their racial composition. Unequal funding over the years created very dated facilities and very old materials and resources that served African American public school students. Discriminatory funding was also reflected in the lower salaries African American teachers and staff had been forced to accept. Yet this case demonstrates that when the desegregation remedy, like under the phase IIIX plan here, required improved facilities, salaries, and other resources, a recalcitrant school board or whatever entity funded the school system would find it impossible to provide sufficient funding. Funding any systemic remedy of unconstitutional segregation was a challenge that always seemed to end up back in court.

The various programs submitted by the school board as part of the plan were approved by the court but required funding. Securing the necessary funding often required extraordinary intervention into the budgetary allocations of the city and state.

Later cases addressing the issue of segregated public schools have mostly failed to support such a broad-based, wide-ranging, complex, districtwide plan to desegregate a school system. Moreover, the fact that most courts monitoring public school systems for compliance with a court-ordered desegregation plan are now ruling that the school systems are in compliance or are unitary so that the court's involvement can end regardless of whether the system provides for its students the promised educational opportunity. Judicial or legal responsibility in fashioning a constitutional remedy to school desegregation since 1954 has been inconsistent and will continue to be so. It remains to be seen what other methods will be employed by the courts and other entities in the United States to continue to support equal educational opportunities throughout the public school system.

Aama Nahuja

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); White Flight

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ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE AND HISTORY (ASALH)

The Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) was born in Chicago, Illinois, early in the 20th century as the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. The purpose of the organization was to collect historical and sociological data on people of African descent with the goal of publishing books and magazines on various topics related to African Americans. It became the means by which founding Director of Research and Editor Carter G. Woodson created an African American history movement that earned him lasting eminence and went far to achieve the group's goal of enhancing the image of African Americans. Black History Month is part of his and the organization's legacy. This entry looks at the group's record, with special attention to Woodson's contributions, and notes its ongoing influence.

The Founding Years

Five men were instrumental in the establishment of this organization: Woodson, Dr. George C. Hall, J. E. Stamps, W. B. Hartgrove, and Alexander L.

Jackson. Their initial meeting took place in the office of the executive secretary of the Wabash Avenue Department of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Based on their conversations and discussions, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was founded on October 9, 1915. These men—all of them leaders in the African American community—believed that their efforts to highlight the significant contributions of African Americans would lead to improved race relations by humanizing individuals who had long been overlooked and negated in society.

At the time that the Association for Negro Life and History was founded, African Americans were still suffering under abject conditions due to oppression and racism within the United States. Lynching of African American men was prevalent, and Jim Crow segregation ruled the South. The idea that African Americans had something to offer the world was a crucial element in their development of the organization. Hall, a local physician and prominent activist involved in the Chicago Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the vice president of the National Urban League, was elected as the first chairman and president. The first secretary-treasurer was Jesse E. Moorland, a minister and former president of the Washington, D.C., chapter of the NAACP. A well-known bibliophile, Moorland would later donate his collection of papers on African American history to Howard University and spearhead what would later become the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at that institution.

The enduring legacy of the association, however, has always been intricately tied to that of its first director of research and editor of its major publications, Woodson. His story is an important part of the history of the organization.

Woodson's Role

Woodson was a historian and educator whose direction of the association would make him one of the most influential African Americans of the 20th century. Due in large part to his affiliation with the association, to books that he authored, and to his work during his 35-year tenure as the major editor and researcher of ASNLH publications, he has

often been referred to as the father of African American history. Woodson was the first African American born to enslaved Africans to earn a doctorate in the United States. He was born in New Canton, Virginia, on December 19, 1875, to James Henry and Anne Eliza Riddle Woodson.

Woodson attended various schools, including Berea College and Lincoln University. He completed both his bachelor's and master's degrees in European history at the University of Chicago. He later enrolled at Harvard University and was the second African American to complete a PhD at this institution in 1912. (W. E. B. Du Bois was the first African American to receive a PhD from Harvard University in 1897.)

During the early part of his career, Woodson taught in the Philippines and in the United States. Based on these experiences, he came to believe that one way to improve relations between the races was by educating each group about the contributions of the other. A lofty goal from the start, it was one that was rooted in a mission that Woodson believed to be extremely important: to highlight the many ways that African Americans had been misinformed about their own history in the world. Moreover, he and the others also hoped that by educating African Americans in this regard, they could help train future scholars to disseminate these truths to others.

As Woodson engaged young scholars in the process of collecting data and in disseminating truth, he also sought to find ways to provide substantive evidence of these truths through a variety of means. Under the guidance of this audacious leader, the ASNLH would become known as simply the association for many years. In January of 1916, Woodson set out to broaden the reach of the association through the publication of the *Journal of Negro History*. The journal existed to meet the original objectives with a broad dissemination and distribution throughout the United States.

Woodson published this journal without the approval of the other members of the executive council and caused tension among the group. He financed this initial endeavor and many others out of his own pocket by selling his own life insurance policies and using his salary as a teacher in his early days. After he quit his teaching position to work full-time with the association, he worked hard to raise money from a variety of sources to be

sure that the publication continued. This dogmatic approach often raised the ire of many of his contemporaries, although Woodson did not seem to care much about these challenges.

The Organization Grows

Annual meetings of the association began to take place in 1920, with the first one held in Washington, D.C. Around the country, clubs were established to educate African Americans about their own history and importance. These clubs operated through numerous associations, churches, social welfare agencies, and existing societies. In some cases, they were organized by men and women in small towns who had heard of the work of the association and wanted to be sure to familiarize their children and peers with it.

After the first meeting in Washington, D.C., the association continued to meet nationally in the following years. Those first meetings were held in cities throughout the Southeast, but later expanded to other cities as the organization became better known. Lynchburg, Virginia, was the site in 1921; Louisville, Kentucky, followed in 1922; Atlanta, Georgia, in 1923; Richmond, Virginia, in 1924; Washington, D.C., in 1925; Baltimore, Maryland, in 1926; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1927; St. Louis, Missouri, in 1928; Washington, D.C., in 1929; Cleveland, Ohio, in 1930; New York City in 1931; Atlanta, Georgia, in 1932; Washington, D.C., in 1933; Houston, Texas, in 1934; and Chicago for its 20th anniversary in 1935. One scholar pointed out that in just 20 years, the association had made its way around the country for its annual meetings. The association also held spring conferences each year in many eastern cities.

Early meetings were attended by young academicians and historians who would go on to become leading historical figures and well-known scholars. Presenters included members of the association such as Mary McLeod Bethune, Lorenzo Greene, Charles H. Wesley, and Rayford W. Logan. White scholars also attended and presented at these meetings. Arthur M. Schlesinger, a historian and former president of the American Historical Association, once noted that the presentations represented some of the best work that he had seen by scholars in the field of history. Other presenters at meetings during the early days of the association included

Sadie T. M. Alexander, John Hope Franklin, and Zora Neale Hurston.

Many African Americans viewed the association as a source of important and pertinent information to improve the conditions of their race. In 1935, the highly esteemed educator and activist Bethune spoke at the 20th anniversary celebration of the association. She lauded the organization for its persistent efforts to highlight the truth and equality of African Americans through the documentation of facts and systematic dissemination of research on the omission of African Americans from history. An endorsement such as this one from Bethune was one that intimated the importance of this particular organization. She would become president of the association for the next 15 years.

National History Week

Woodson has most often been credited with being the founder of what is now known as Black History Month. Although this fact is not disputable, what is rarely understood is how integral his work with the association was to the evolution and advancement of this cause. This organization became the vehicle by which Woodson would spread the message of African American history.

Woodson began to generate the notion of a Negro History Week in the journal and convinced his fraternity, Omega Psi Phi, to host the first Negro History and Literature Week. Woodson had previously worked with Mary Church Terrell through two organizations that she was affiliated with—the National Association of Colored Women and her sorority, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Incorporated. Her sorority had previously paid tribute to celebrated abolitionist Frederick Douglass on the day that he marked his birthday, February 14.

Woodson chose the initial celebration of Negro Achievement Week in February to coincide with the birthdays of celebrated abolitionist Frederick Douglass and former President Abraham Lincoln. He hoped that this would generate interest among interracial audiences. Omega Psi Phi members celebrated the first Negro Achievement Week in 1924. Two years later, Woodson sent word out via circulars to advertise the national celebration of Negro History Week in 1926.

As word spread of this new celebration, many responses came into the ASNLH offices.

Educators and librarians sought out information from the association to share. New chapters of the association were quickly started to meet the demand. Members of the association in chapters around the country were instrumental in hosting events rooted in African American history. For many years, the Negro History Week celebrations were most popular in colleges and urban high schools, but this began to change as the association began to spread its reach farther around the country through its publications of the *Journal of Negro History* and later through Woodson's creation of the *Negro History Bulletin* first published in 1937.

Other Achievements

Woodson worked tirelessly to get the journal and the bulletin out to numerous people through a variety of young researchers and vanguards for the publications and the association throughout the 1930s. One such person was Greene, whose diaries revealed the various distances he traveled and efforts he exhausted to get the publications out and increase membership in the association. The young men who toured through states such as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi traveled through the heart of the South to spread the word and the publication at a time when it was not safe for young African American men to travel the country touting the cause of African American historical awareness. The Howard University students sold books supported by the association to schools and vendors in areas around the Southeast in spite of threats to their safety.

These men were instrumental in the establishment of new African American history study clubs and often found support from African Americans in the cities that they ventured to for this purpose. The role of African American women in promoting the activities of the association was also particularly important because of the numerous female teachers, club women, and librarians who championed the cause of African American history. One educator, Nannie Helen Burroughs, required her students to study African American history and more importantly, to pass examinations based on their studies to meet the requirements for graduation.

Much of the early work of the association was financed by Woodson and later supported by White philanthropists, including Julius Rosenwald, who were impressed by his commitment. Woodson also secured funding from the Carnegie Foundation, the General Education Board, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation. Their support created more tension for Woodson since he refused to be swayed by their influence and was undaunted by their disapproval of some of his research.

The foundations wanted Woodson to link his publications to a historically Black college, and his refusal to do so frustrated foundation leaders. Woodson's book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, was unapologetic and no doubt garnered more concerns from White philanthropists about his unwillingness to change his message. Foundation support for the association began to wane in the 1930s and 1940s as Woodson consistently rejected any attempts to control the publications he edited. White philanthropists argued that Woodson's work had become less scholarly and more propagandist. Although, these criticisms were found to be untrue, this still presented a financial challenge for Woodson.

Fortunately, African American support for the association never wavered, and Woodson continued to be considered a well-respected leader. Meanwhile, the association's presidents included many of the leading historical figures of the time. Besides Hall, early presidents included Robert E. Park, John R. Hawkins, Hope, Bethune, Wesley, and Greene. When Woodson passed away suddenly in April of 1950, Howard University Professor Logan, who had worked under Woodson as a researcher and who had published in the journals, assumed the position of executive director of the association.

After Woodson

The organization continued to grow and maintained the vibrancy of the original leadership by consistently attracting charismatic and involved leaders. By the 1950s, mayors in cities across the country were issuing proclamations in honor of Negro History Week. The 1960s were also a pivotal time in African American history, and as the consciousness movement arose and the historic legacy of Woodson became more fully actualized

by young and old, the association continued to thrive.

In 1972, the association changed its name officially from the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History to the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History and later the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. ASALH still holds national academic meetings each fall in October. Scholars from around the world attend and present at the conference.

The association officially moved from celebrating Negro History Week to honoring Black History Month in 1976. At this same time, Woodson's home was designated a national historic landmark. Black History Month has been a nationally recognized holiday since this time. Each year, presidents of the United States issue proclamations for this month-long celebration. The association continues to meet, and both the *Journal of Negro History* (now known as the *Journal of African American History*) and the *Negro History Bulletin* are still published. Through the visionary leadership of one man, an organization was created that literally transformed African American education, and through the support of countless African Americans, this organization remains important today.

Kijua Sanders-McMurtry

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Greek Letter Organizations; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League; Woodson, Carter G.

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ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES

The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (ACSSN) was founded in 1934 in Atlanta, Georgia. From 1934 to 1965, the ACSSN played a significant role in attaining regional accreditation for African American colleges and secondary schools located in the South. By 1945, its membership included more than 500 African American colleges and secondary schools in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia that were denied membership in the all-White regional accrediting body, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). This entry looks at the organization's history and achievements.

Historical Background

The ACSSN's predecessor, the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth (ACNY), was founded in 1913 at Knoxville College. The ACNY focused on raising entrance requirements, improving standards for graduation, and controlling the transferring of dismissed students to other institutions. In 1925, long dismayed by SACS's neglect of African American schools, the ACNY petitioned SACS to rate African American colleges and secondary schools.

In 1929, funded by a \$35,000 grant from the General Education Board (GEB) and the Rosenwald Fund, SACS adopted a process to evaluate and rate African American schools. At its annual meeting that year, SACS appointed a committee known as the Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools, to inspect and rate African American schools. This committee was responsible for visiting African American colleges, reviewing supportive documents submitted by school administrators, and making rating recommendations to the SACS executive committee.

In 1930, SACS issued its first listing of regionally approved Black colleges. One college, Fisk University, received the highest rating of A. Six colleges were given a B rating: Johnson C. Smith University, Morehouse College, Spelman College,

Talladega College, Virginia State University, and Virginia Union University. The list of approved colleges was published annually in SACS's organ, *The Southern Association Quarterly*.

Secondary schools were channeled through a different process with state committees assuming the responsibility of recommending them for approval. The first listing of approved African American secondary schools appeared in 1931.

Though rated by SACS African American schools could not hold membership in the organization. African American schools that met SACS' standards were approved rather than accredited. Because accreditation qualified schools for SACS membership, only White schools were granted that designation.

In 1934, the GEB announced its intention to discontinue its funding of SACS Negro Approval Process. Unwilling to assume the costs, SACS announced that it would no longer inspect and rate African American colleges and secondary schools. In response, the ACNY reorganized as the ACSSN and considered developing a plan to accredit its member institutions. At the time of reorganization, 37 African American colleges and 60 secondary schools had been approved by SACS. Concerned that other regions did not have segregated accrediting bodies and that self-accreditation would not move its members toward membership in the nationally recognized regional accreditation body, the ACSSN again petitioned SACS to continue its approval of African American schools. The ACSSN would serve as the representative organization for African American colleges and secondary schools seeking SACS approval, assume costs of the SACS approval process through its membership fees, and manage the logistics associated with coordinating the approval process. Membership in the ACSSN would be limited to schools with approved status by SACS.

Despite the initial scare, the GEB and the Rosenwald Fund continued to fund the SACS Committee on the Approval of Negro Schools until 1938. Upon expiration of the philanthropic funding, the ACSSN paid from \$1,500 in 1938 to \$6,000 by 1950 to SACS for providing the rating service.

Achievements

From 1929 to 1965, the ACSSN worked closely with SACS to coordinate the regional inspection

and rating of African American colleges and secondary schools serving as an advocate organization for its membership and their constituencies. The ACSSN's organizational structure mirrored SACS. Its work was carried out by a Commission on Colleges and a Commission on Secondary Schools. It sponsored studies on issues relevant to African American education. It published proceedings of its annual meetings that were usually held on the same date and in the same city as the SACS annual meetings.

Although the pending cessation of approval by SACS was the impetus for its founding, the ACSSN not only provided a vehicle through which regional approval was gained, but also provided support to its member institutions by assisting them in preparing and successfully negotiating through the approval process.

In 1957, SACS voted to accept African American educational institutions as members. All ACSSN member schools were required to be reinspected, including schools that had been previously approved as well as schools seeking initial approval.

In 1961, SACS unanimously voted to accept 18 African American colleges as full members. Although 59 colleges had been previously approved by SACS, only 18 African American colleges were identified as having met all accreditation standards and were accepted as SACS members. From 1961 until it disbanded in 1965, the ACSSN continued to assist its members in gaining regional accreditation.

Melanie Carter

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Southern Association of Colleges and Schools

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AYERS v. FORDICE

Ayers and the United States v. Fordice (1992) represents the first time the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the question of precisely what remedial measures were required to eliminate the vestiges of de jure racial segregation in public higher education. Previous higher-education desegregation lawsuits decided by the nation's highest court focused only on the question of the rights of African Americans as individuals to attend previously all-White state universities. *Ayers v. Fordice* promised to answer long-standing questions about the implications of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) for higher education, including the constitutionality of historically Black colleges and universities.

Facts of the Case

In 1975, a group of African American Mississippians filed a class action lawsuit against the state of Mississippi in federal district court. The suit accused the state of maintaining a racially separate and unequal system of higher education in Mississippi in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In particular, the plaintiffs complained that the state had systematically discriminated against the state's public Black universities (Jackson State University, Alcorn State University, and Mississippi State University) in terms of funding, the breadth of their academic programs, and the quality of their physical plants. They sought a judicial order compelling the state to make substantial improvements on the state's Black campuses. Their leading plaintiff, Jake Ayers Sr., was a longtime civil rights activist who had been a member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Although he died in 1986, the suit still bears his name.

The state of Mississippi conceded that it, like other Southern states, had established and maintained legal segregation in higher education. However, it maintained that it had broken with its segregated past, and its current policies in higher education had been promulgated on a nondiscriminatory basis. The U.S. Justice Department intervened in the case on the side of plaintiffs.

After 12 years of negotiation failed to end the impasse, the case went to trial. The district court ruled for the state, finding that racially neutral hiring and admission policies constituted sufficient compliance with its duty to eliminate the effects of legal segregation in higher education.

A three-judge panel of the U.S. Fifth Circuit reversed the district court's ruling, holding that significant remnants of the former de jure system of racial segregation still persisted in Mississippi higher education. Subsequently, the full Fifth Circuit reversed the judgment of the three-judge panel, upholding the district court's original judgment. The African American plaintiffs and the U.S. Justice Department appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Lower federal courts had issued conflicting rulings with respect to the remedial measures states were required to make to eliminate the vestiges of legal racial segregation. For example, in *Alabama State Teachers Association v. Alabama Public School and College Authority* (1968), the district court held that "as long as the State and a particular institution are dealing with admissions, faculty, and staff in good faith," its constitutional duty to remedy the effects of past discrimination is satisfied. This ruling contrasts sharply with *Norris v. State Council of Higher Education* (1971) in which the district court, borrowing from the public school context, declared that there should be no "White schools or Negro schools, just schools." In a third case, a district court in *Adams v. Richardson* (1972) admonished states to take into consideration the unique role of historically Black colleges when crafting remedies to address decades of discrimination in higher education. Given these conflicting precedents, it was unclear how the Supreme Court would rule in *Ayers v. Fordice*.

Lawyers, educators, scholars, and laypeople across the nation eagerly anticipated the Supreme Court's ruling in this case. Its implications extended far beyond the future of higher education in Mississippi. At stake in *Ayers* was the legality or permissibility of remedies and proposals that other states with similar desegregation dilemmas had either considered or adopted. Consider, for example, the potential ramifications of a Supreme Court ruling that agreed with the state of Mississippi that the enactment of nondiscriminatory admissions and higher education and race-neutral missions

designations for universities were the extent of the state's affirmative duty to desegregate. The Court was not obligated to stop there: The justices could have also struck down the enhancements of Black colleges as unconstitutional because they are no different from the discredited separate, but equal doctrine in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Such a ruling would have direct consequences for states such as Louisiana, Tennessee, and North Carolina, where courts had ordered increased funding, new programs, and new capital outlay projects on their historically neglected Black college campuses. Such a ruling would deal a serious blow to public Black colleges and universities. Although not calling for their outright closure, if the Supreme Court outlawed special compensatory measures to enhance Black colleges, such a decision would place many of them on perilous footing.

A Separate Issue

Always lurking beneath the surface in higher-education desegregation cases is a less overt, but nevertheless significant challenge to the constitutional status of publicly financed historically Black colleges and universities. When the Supreme Court held in *Brown v. Board of Education* that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal, its ruling may have called into question the constitutional status of publicly funded historically Black colleges and universities. For the first time in their history, public Black colleges were forced to justify their right to exist. As public school desegregation orders began to be implemented in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the issue of precisely what steps would be required to integrate dual systems of higher education in the states became unavoidable.

To complicate matters, this issue had to be addressed during the peak of the Black power era. During this period, many African Americans were having second thoughts about the virtues of desegregation. After more than a decade of struggle to realize the hope of *Brown*, the reality of desegregation left much to be desired for many African Americans. Black students confronted calcified White resistance to their very presence on campus. In places where they were successfully admitted, they were forced to endure racist treatment on the part of teachers, their classmates, and other members of the community. Many had difficulty

keeping up academically, and Black students were disproportionately labeled as disciplinary problems or were assigned to special education classes. Too often, desegregation orders in the public school context resulted in the closing of Black schools and the firing and demotion of Black teachers and principals. Supporters of historically Black universities feared that their institutions, as well as the constituencies who depended on them, would suffer the same fate if desegregation only strategies were implemented in higher education. They worried that unless policymakers took into account the consequences of discrimination that Black students had experienced in K-12 education, the desegregation process might actually serve to reduce higher educational opportunity for African Americans.

At the crux of the controversy is a basic question: Are historically Black colleges and universities needed to ensure that African Americans have equal educational opportunity, or are they the unfortunate sacrificial lambs that will be required to put the nation's record of racial discrimination in the past? Moreover, if public Black colleges can continue to exist, does an equitable desegregation remedy require that states be mandated to enhance them to compensate for a century of underfunding and neglect?

The Court's Ruling

In *Ayers v. Fordice*, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs by an 8 to 1 vote. The Court held that a state does not satisfy its burden to eliminate the vestiges of legal segregation in higher education until it eradicates all policies traceable to de jure segregation that (a) continue to have segregative effects, (b) can be practically eliminated, and (c) lack sound educational justification. The Court concluded that the admissions standards at Mississippi's state universities as well as the mission designations assigned in 1981 to its higher-educational institutions, while giving the appearance of being racially neutral, were in fact traceable to the state's racially segregated past.

In particular, the Court found fault with the state's insistence on ACT scores as the sole criterion for automatic admissions to its universities, given the fact that African Americans on average scored lower on the ACT than their White counterparts. The majority also determined that the mission designations of the state's universities too

closely followed the historical patterns of differential financial and programmatic endowment that particularly favored the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State University, and University of Southern Mississippi.

The Court, however, refused to order the upgrading of the state's Black campuses; rather, it remanded that issue to the district court. The Court worried that ordering the upgrading of the state's Black campuses would be a resurrection of the discredited doctrine of separate, but equal issued in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It remanded the question of whether enhancement of Black universities is a necessary component to an equitable desegregation decree to the lower courts.

Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Clarence Thomas wrote separate concurring opinions. Justice O'Connor argued that the lower courts had been too willing to accept at face value the state of Mississippi's assurances that its current policies in higher education were race neutral and had been enacted in good faith. Given the state's history of racial discrimination, the burden should be on the state to show that its current policies were no longer out of compliance with Title VI. In an additional concurring opinion, Justice Thomas, citing the distinction between *Ayers v. Fordice* and earlier decisions by the Court involving grade schools rather than universities, wrote that while the Constitution does not compel the states to enhance Black universities, it does not prevent them from doing so if they choose. He further asserted that because of the important roles that historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have traditionally played in Black life, it would be an ironic consequence of the desegregation process if the very institutions that sustained African Americans during the Jim Crow era were themselves eliminated in the struggle to eliminate its vestiges.

Justice Antonin Scalia, in dissent, argued that the standard announced in *Fordice* resembles the Court's doctrine in K-12 desegregation requiring states and school districts to eliminate dual systems "root and branch" so that there are no "White schools or Negro schools, just schools." However, the principles applied to desegregation in K-12 desegregation do not apply to higher education, he said.

For the *Ayers* plaintiffs, the ruling represented a partial victory. The Supreme Court overturned the

lower court decisions in *Fordice* that ruled that Mississippi's so-called facially neutral, nondiscriminatory admissions, hiring, and governance policies were sufficient to meet their mandate to dismantle the vestiges of segregation in higher education. Yet the ruling made it unclear what policies would satisfy that mandate, thereby providing an invitation for further litigation.

The Court flatly refused to consider the principal goal of the litigation: to force the state of Mississippi to financially and programmatically compensate for more than a century of underfunding and neglecting its Black colleges. The justices' majority opinion appeared preoccupied with the fear that by ordering the desired enhancement, they would be agreeing with the principles of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The failure of the Court to address the issue of enhancement of Black universities not only served to prolong the *Ayers* litigation for another decade but also left in doubt the legal standing of existing or future higher education desegregation settlements in other states that included plans for the upgrading of Black schools. Furthermore, under the *Fordice* standard, the very existence of public historically Black colleges could be interpreted as a policy traceable to the period of de jure segregation, which continues to foster segregation and therefore, should be eliminated. Thus, it does not foreclose the possibility of future attempts to merge Black colleges with other institutions or to close them. In 2008, for example, a Georgia lawmaker cited the state's budgetary constraints and the *Fordice* standard as justification for his call for the merger of Albany State University and Savannah State University with nearby White schools. In summary, *Fordice* raised almost as many questions as it answered about desegregation in public higher education.

The *Ayers* lawsuit finally came to an end in 2004 after the state and the parties agreed to a settlement, and the appeals from disgruntled members of the plaintiff class were finally exhausted. The plan calls for Mississippi to commit \$503 million over a 17-year period to upgrade Black institutions. Specifically, the state will allocate \$246 million toward adding and strengthening programs at its HBCUs, appropriate \$75 million for facilities at the Black campuses, and create endowment funds for these institutions. The plan specifically stipulates that these funds are to be additional

revenues. In other words, the state of Mississippi should not use the settlement dollars as a justification for allocating a smaller share of the normal appropriations that the state's Black universities are entitled to receive.

Albert L. Samuels

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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B

BENNETT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

Bennett College for Women is a small liberal arts college, one of the two historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) for women in the United States. Bennett is located on 55 acres in Greensboro, North Carolina. The college boasts a proud heritage of producing well-educated women with a commitment to spirituality, to professionalism, to activism, to community service, and to Bennett that lasts a lifetime. It offers 24 areas of study in the natural and behavioral sciences, education, the social sciences, the humanities, and mathematics. In addition, Bennett collaborates with North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University (A&T) to offer degree programs in chemical, electrical, and mechanical engineering and with Howard University to offer a degree in nursing.

Home to an average student body of 600 or more women yearly, Bennett has produced more than 5,000 female scholars since 1930, many of whom are renowned leaders in their respective fields. The first African American mayor of Greensboro, the first African American woman to serve as president of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the first African American woman to serve as a television news director in the United States, and the first African American district attorney in North Carolina are all Bennett College alumnae. Bennett's instructional programs are accredited by the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, the National Council for the Accreditation of

Teacher Education, and the Council on Social Work Education. The college is affiliated with the United Methodist Church, The College Fund, and the Women's College Coalition as well. Today, Bennett is ranked 21st among HBCUs by *U.S. News & World Report*. This entry explores the historical development of Bennett College, its involvement in the civil rights movement, and its contemporary reality.

Historical Background

Bennett College offered its first classes in the basement of Warnersville Methodist Episcopal Church (now named St. Matthews Methodist Church), and 70 African American male and female students received elementary and secondary level instruction in 1873. Within the first 5 years, previously enslaved Africans purchased property at Bennett's present site. New York businessman, Lyman Bennett, for whom the college is named, provided the necessary capital to build a permanent campus.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church assumed responsibility for the school in 1874 and continued to oversee the programs at Bennett for the next 50 years. In 1889, under the leadership of the first African American president, Rev. Charles Grandison, Bennett received its charter as a 4-year college. Student enrollment in the college rose from the initial 11 undergraduates to approximately 300 in the first 20 years.

Eight individuals led Bennett from 1874 to 1926:

W. J. Parker, Principal (1874–1877)

Rev. Edward O. Thayer (1877–1881)

Rev. Wilbur F. Steele (1881–1889)

Rev. Charles N. Grandison (1889–1892)

Dr. Jordan Chavis (1892–1905)

Rev. Silas A. Peeler (1905–1913)

Professor James E. Wallace (1913–1915)

Rev. Frank Trigg (1915–1926)

The aftermath of World War I ultimately influenced Bennett in that options for women were greatly expanded. In 1926, the Women's Home Missionary Society in partnership with the board of education of the church made the decision to make Bennett a women's college. Since its inception, the college has supported women and encouraged and nurtured independent thought and social consciousness, and with new opportunities available for women, the transition to a women's college was simplified.

Dr. David Dallas Jones, the first president of the new women's college, led Bennett through the Depression and retains the record for the longest tenure, 29 years. Under the leadership of Jones, the college discontinued its high school course offerings and enhanced both its academic curriculum and its cultural consciousness. Jones established many traditions at the college and partnered with close friend and colleague, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, to maintain relationships between Bennett and Morehouse College. The interactions between the two presidents established Bennett as the sister college to Morehouse. Each year for more than 60 years, the Morehouse College choir performed at Bennett around Thanksgiving, and Bennett's choir journeyed to Morehouse. The brother-sister relationship continues today in a variety of venues. When Jones died, Dr. Willa B. Player became the 10th president of Bennett in 1956.

Civil Rights and Beyond

Player was the first African American woman to lead a 4-year college or university. The historic appointment proved to be an excellent decision. During her tenure, Bennett became one of 15 HBCUs to be admitted to the Southern Association

of Colleges and Schools. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted Player's invitation to speak at Bennett in 1958. Player fully supported the civil rights movement and the Bennett women who participated in civil rights protests. When Bennett students were beaten and arrested with their counterparts from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University (North Carolina A&T), Player took the students' assignments to jail to prevent the incarcerations from inhibiting their studies. Plans for the famous sit-in by the A&T Four were conceived at Bennett and fully supported by Bennett women. North Carolina A & T students Ezell Blair, David Richmond, Franklin McCain, and Joseph McNeil staged a sit-in at the Woolworths in downtown Greensboro, North Carolina, an act which combined with similar demonstrations in major cities across the United States resulted in Woolworths being desegregated by July 1960 and heralded into law the Civil Rights Bill of 1960.

Player's influence was positive in other venues as well. Author Linda B. Brown in her book *The Story of the Presidency of Willa B. Player at Bennett College* noted Player's activism and her determination to combine functional skills with values and to empower the students. Bennett belles were taught to be assertive while simultaneously presenting their ideas with etiquette and femininity. Because the college practiced symbolism, ritual, and tradition and because people were often charmed by the women, people called it the Vassar of the South, a finishing school, and elitist; thus, Bennett earned its reputation. The activist president was indeed a lady, a scholar, and a renowned leader. Player left Bennett in 1966, and Bennett welcomed its 11th president, Dr. Isaac H. Miller. Maintaining the Bennett ideal in the midst of the social revolution of the 1960s was no easy task for Miller. During the 1967 to 1968 school year, freshman students organized a walk-out, which required each class to leave dormitories 1 minute after curfew. The students took over the student union to demand changes in Bennett's discipline policies and curfews. Miller responded to the student protest by surrounding the building with campus security guards, bringing family and sleeping bags to the student union, and ordering hot chocolate and doughnuts for the protesters. Unlike similar protests at other institutions that resulted in student deaths and injuries, the Miller response turned the protest into a sleepover.

Miller's 21-year tenure at Bennett continued to prove that his scholarship, administrative skills, and dignity added value to the college's unique history. His collaborations with neighboring A&T and the historically White colleges and universities in Greensboro resulted in the addition and implementation of a six-college consortium that expanded Bennett's program offerings. The Bio-Medical Research and Interdisciplinary Studies Programs were added during his administration, along with a bridge program in conjunction with Meharry Medical College. Working with other HBCUs presidents, Miller aided in the development of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education and served on its first board of directors.

His vision and plan for growth included the formal organization of Bennett alumnae as both a material and fiscal resource. While upholding Bennett's traditions, some social aspects of the college changed under Miller's leadership. In 1969, Bennett hosted step shows as Delta Sigma Theta, Alpha Kappa Alpha, and Zeta Phi Beta inducted the first on-site sorority members. Bennett's endowment grew 327%, and four new buildings were added to the campus during his tenure. The man who had come to Bennett with the promise to move the college forth in excellence would leave having accomplished his mission. Upon Miller's retirement in 1987, Dr. Gloria Randall Scott, the 12th president, became the second woman to head the institution.

Scott embraced many aspects of the Bennett ideal and broadened the spectrum of the traditional college circle. Scott's inclusive approach involved the active recruitment of nontraditional Bennett women and advanced the notion of the phenomenal woman as the true Bennett belle. Her international collaborations with African counterparts served to broaden Bennett's existing connections and to create new venues within which African American women could function together. During Scott's tenure, the main campus was declared a national historic site and was placed in the National Registry. In addition, during her presidency, former First Lady Barbara Bush, Senator Carol Moseley Braun, and Dr. Maya Angelou took part in campus activities.

The mass communications major was added to the course offerings and the Sociology and Social

Work Departments were fully accredited during the Scott years. Two new buildings were erected to house the new technology and support instruction, a telecommunications center and a service center. In addition, major renovations to two buildings were completed, and the college endowment increased as well. In 2001, Scott resigned her position, and for 7 months, Dr. Althia P. Collins assumed the role of college president. When Collins resigned, an interim president, Dr. Charles Fuget, led the college while a search began for a new leader. The college was in dire financial straits with tremendous debt and critical infrastructure problems.

A Fiscal Crisis Overcome

The leader credited with bringing Bennett out of its worst crisis and back from the brink of closure was Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole, the 15th president of Bennett. Previously, she had served as president of the only other historically African American women's college in the United States, Spelman College in Atlanta. Under her leadership, Spelman's endowment grew to become the largest endowment of all HBCUs. The Cole appointment was welcomed by faculty, alumnae, parents, and students. Cole, sister president (as she was often called), had the ability to organize, raise funds, enhance instruction, and establish positive relationships with students, parents, faculty, businesses, and politicians. Cole had already established herself as a world leader in education prior to her arrival at Bennett, and she was able to use her established celebrity to help the struggling institution in a variety of ways.

When Cole was appointed in 2002, the market value of Bennett's endowment was a little over \$7 million. In 2007, when Cole retired, the market value of the endowment had been raised to more than \$12 million. Cole brought former President Bill Clinton and former Senator Bob Dole in to lead fund-raising efforts as well. Oprah Winfrey, Bill Cosby, Tom Joyner, and other celebrities joined Cole in fundraising. The 1926 Society (alumnae and friends who give \$1,926 or more per year to Bennett) was established, and Bennett alumnae rallied in support of the effort, providing millions of dollars for the college. Cole brought her unique personality and boundless energy to Bennett and raised income, awareness, and a commitment to excellence back to the college.

In 2007, Julianne Malveaux was named the 16th president of Bennett. The college continues its heritage of providing the highest level of undergraduate education in an environment that supports, according to its mission statement, “open inquiry where teachers and students are immersed in educational processes that build community, foster authentic research, create knowledge, and advance scholarship” (<http://www.bennett.edu/mission.htm>).

Judith Brooks-Buck

See also Black Females in College; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Spelman College

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BEREA COLLEGE V. COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky (1908) was significant because the U.S. Supreme Court came down on the side of states rights in upholding the state of Kentucky's right to prohibit a private educational institution, incorporated under state law, from admitting and educating both African American and White students at the same time in the same place. After reviewing the historical context, this entry discusses the facts of the case, the Supreme Court ruling, and its long-term impact.

Historical Background

Berea College was a private educational institution founded in 1855 in Madison County, Berea,

Kentucky. It was an outgrowth of the Southern abolition movement and anti-enslavement churches throughout the country. Rev. John G. Fee, a native Kentuckian from a slave-holding family, attended Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he was transformed into a leader in the anti-enslavement church movement.

Accepting an invitation from General Cassius M. Clay to relocate, he established an antienslavement church in Berea, Kentucky. He soon secured annual funding from the American Missionary Association that enabled him to establish 20 more anti-enslavement churches. Next, he helped establish an educational institution that was nonsectarian, nonracial, and open to both male and female students. It listed as part of its mission serving local young, promising, poor students, in particular those from Appalachia.

Initially, the school consisted only of primary grades. Then normal (high school), academy (high school with a trade, technical, and apprentice focus), and college-level studies were added. The student body, however, was almost exclusively White students and included many offspring of enslavers.

Berea College had a difficult time accomplishing its mission. The faculty and students were run out of the county at least twice, coinciding with the anti-African American sentiment prevalent in a period when John Brown mounted an insurrection at Harper's Ferry and later Edmund Kirby Smith's command of Confederate troops in the Kentucky area resulted in major setbacks and deaths of many Confederate soldiers. Berea College faculty and students were also run out of the county because they were viewed as Whites who loved African Americans. However, despite repeated interruptions, they always resumed operations.

Then following the Civil War, Berea College reopened with a revamped admission policy, enrolling all African American students who qualified for admission. Initially, many White students withdrew to protest this policy, but most returned quickly. Berea College enrolled both White and African American students, eventually attaining a population of almost 300, with two thirds of them African American. The philosophy with respect to race and the provision of educational skill sets had a significant impact, evidenced by Berea College graduates and attendees who became leaders in the state of Kentucky and the surrounding region.

They spread the mission and philosophy of the college back to their home communities and states.

Proponents of the Civil War and enslavement deeply opposed the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments and Reconstruction (1865–1877) and supporters of the civil rights of African Americans. Rejection of those rights took the form of reenslavement of African Americans through a series of legislative rules and judicial decisions designed to replicate those in the colonial United States that systematically designated African American citizens inferior, disenfranchised them, and declared them not entitled to the basic rights of citizenship. In the Black Codes, enacted from 1800 to 1866, legislation was used to exploit African American labor and dehumanize African Americans. In addition, Jim Crow laws were enacted that mandated racial segregation at every level until the 1960s. Moreover, such laws were approved by the courts and conclusively supported by most of the Supreme Court decisions during this period, decisions which always found in favor of a states rights prerogative.

The Berea College case was no exception where states rights were concerned. The case represented the tension between former Confederate supporters—sometimes called royalists by the anti-enslavement Christians—and Christian supporters of the Union and represented the tension between state's rights advocates and federalists or Union supporters. The compromise presidential election of 1877 placed Rutherford B. Hayes in office; his administration officially ended federal military enforcement of Reconstruction and disenfranchised African Americans by ensuring a resurgence of Southern political power.

By 1896, the Reconstruction promise to African Americans of full participation and services in the U.S. society was in complete retreat. Citizenship rights and privileges were denied with renewed vengeance throughout the South and its border states under both Jim Crow laws and the Black Codes. Kentucky exhibited the same trends; the Ku Klux Klan had been organized in neighboring Tennessee by Confederate Army veterans to resist Reconstruction in 1866 and along with the White Citizens Council boasted of membership and support from most Southern city and state legislatures. This resulted in lower funding of African American education by underfunding existing schools set up for African Americans and by closing others.

Increasingly, states adopted laws against educating African American and Whites in the same school, resegregating school systems, and ceasing funding for high schools for African Americans in favor of elementary institutions (only rudimentary education was needed for African Americans to be good laborers).

Facts of the Case

In 1904, the State of Kentucky passed a statute called the Day School Law, which prohibited any individual, corporation, or association from educating Whites and African Americans together at the same in the same place in Kentucky. A later amendment to the statute permitted instruction in separate facilities that were at least 25 miles apart. The penalty for violation was an institutional fine of \$1,000 per day plus \$100 per day of operation upon conviction. It was specifically aimed at the one private educational institution, Berea College, that educated Whites and African Americans simultaneously. Both the federal district court and the court of appeals (Tenth Circuit) ruled in support of the state. This case was an appeal of the lower court rulings.

Berea College's appeal of its conviction of violating the statute asserted three reasons why the statute should be struck down as unconstitutional. First, its lawyers argued the statute violated the privileges and immunities guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment for the college's trustees to direct the private money and labor to build and maintain a private institution engaged in the worthy goal of educating others, the teachers to engage in their profession of teaching in the state, and the citizens of the country to engage in being educated as a character-building exercise and a method of self-improvement and elevation. Second, the college maintained that Kentucky was depriving trustees, teachers, and citizens of past and future property rights without due process of law: The trustees would have to use their money to pay fines rather than maintain the institution, the teachers were being denied their legal livelihood of teaching, and all students were prevented from seeking education and a learned status. Finally, Berea College stated that by enacting such a statute—which was selectively aimed at private educational institutions and did not apply to churches, factories, and common gathering on the street—the state denied it the equal protection of the laws.

The trial and appeals court agreed with the state that the statute was an appropriate exercise of state police powers in valuing the greater right of the collective and its welfare over individual liberty and individual rights. The statute was, according to the attorney general, a clear statement of Kentucky's public policy of racial purity to prevent racial amalgamation, a policy supported in various other Kentucky statutes and the Kentucky constitution. The attorney general also pointed to the plethora of laws in Kentucky and other states prohibiting such joint racial activities—the separate-but-equal rule handed down in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case had been applied to public transportation and public schools and had been repeatedly upheld as not only reasonable, but also not violating the privileges and immunities of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court found no violation of the Fourteenth Amendment either under the equal protection clause or the due process clause protection of life, liberty, or property.

The Supreme Court Ruling

The Supreme Court supported the state attorney general's position in a seven to two opinion written by Justice David Josiah Brewer (1837–1910) that addressed the single question of whether the Kentucky statute violated the U.S. Constitution. He found that it did not.

First, Justice Brewer addressed the severability of the statute by noting the power of Kentucky to regulate its corporations in ways that violate individual federal rights of citizens under the U.S. Constitution. The Supreme Court ruled that because the state creates a corporation, it does not have to guarantee or extend to corporations the same rights as its citizens enjoy. In fact, the Court ruled that the state legislature can limit the rights of its corporations if it deems those rights are not in the best interest of the state. Thus, the Supreme Court continued to favor states' rights and ensure White supremacy in Southern states whose subjugation of African Americans was legally codified using the states' rights rubric.

The Court was endorsing (as *Plessy* did) a conflict to the U.S. Constitution by saying that a state law was valid even when part of it conflicted with the constitutional protection of individual rights by validly making illegal the same

rights of a corporate entity created by the state. Thus, the U.S. Constitution was deemed valid for one class, but invalid for another. In discounting the argument by Berea College that the statute either stands or falls as a whole, Judge Brewer found that even if the statute is invalid to individuals, it could be upheld as valid regarding the artificial corporate entity created by the state. The Court ruled that the change in the statute by amendment to the original act, which placed further time and place limitations of 25 miles distance and required that Whites and African Americans cannot be educated under the same roof—resulted in the statute being invalid. In fact, the Court provided blatant evidence of its desire to embolden the unity of the South after it lost the Civil War. It said that if any part of a statute could be interpreted as valid, then the Court would save it.

Justice John Marshall Harlan wrote an elegantly clear dissent. He first noted that the state legislature clearly intended to bar the teaching of African American and White students in the same institution at the same time by the institution's instructors. The goal was to preclude the association of Whites and African Americans. Justice Harlan thought the Court should address the larger question of whether the Kentucky statute as a whole was constitutional or unconstitutional. To act only against private educational institutions where White and African American students are instructed simultaneously violated the property and liberty rights of Berea College under the Fourteenth Amendment, he said.

Impact of the Ruling

The impact of the Supreme Court decision was immediate. Other states now recognized they had a court-sanctioned right to limit biracial education of African Americans in private institutions as well as in public schools. Thus, following the Supreme Court ruling, state legislatures moved to re-segregate, close, or severely reduce resources allocated to schools educating African Americans. Some 40 years later, in 1950, the Day School Law in Kentucky was amended to permit (voluntary) integration. This predated by 3 years the Supreme Court's 1953 landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954),

which would strike down racial segregation in public schools as unconstitutional.

Aama Nahuja

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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BETHUNE, MARY MCLEOD (1875–1955)

Mary McLeod Bethune, an African American educational leader and stateswoman, had the ear of five U.S. Presidents (Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower) and inspired African Americans during her heyday to dub her first lady of the race, mother of the race, and the female Booker T. Washington.

With early roots as a schoolteacher, Bethune is the first and only woman to both found and serve as president of a historically African American college, Bethune-Cookman, which continues to thrive in Florida one century since its inception as the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls. A primary contribution of Bethune-Cookman College to African American education was its production of African American teachers in what were then the mostly segregated school systems of Florida.

As the first woman president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, the forerunner of the African American-established American Teachers Association, Bethune led initiatives to professionalize the African American teaching force and raise academic standards in African American schools. Her appointment in

1936 under President Franklin D. Roosevelt as the director of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration catapulted her influence to a national level, resulting in noteworthy increases in resources to historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Her stature and legacy are outstanding among educators of her time and our own. This entry emphasizes Bethune's far-reaching influence on African American education, particularly among African American girls; on African American higher education; and on teacher education.

Early Life

Born on July 10, 1875, in Mayesville, South Carolina, to poor, but upwardly mobile ex-enslaved Africans, Samuel and Patsy McLeod, Bethune was the 15th of 17 children. Her dual privilege as a latter-born sibling in a large family and as a child of the liberating and promising era of Reconstruction foreshadowed a life of magnanimous firsts. Bethune was the first of her family to be free-born and the first to be literate.

Her parents valued education for their children, but the public schools in their town did not admit African American children. Although Bethune's family was Methodist, her parents sent their daughter to Trinity Presbyterian Mission School for Negroes, the only school in their vicinity that would admit African Americans. Bethune's talents in music and oratory captured the attention of school founder Emma Wilson, who put her in touch with a benefactor, Mary Crissmon.

A teacher by profession, Crissmon supported Bethune as she matriculated through Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina, long before the two ever met face-to-face. Devoutly religious in nature, Bethune believed that God's grace afforded her the opportunity to attend the alma mater of her first mentor, Wilson. Following her graduation from Scotia and 1 year at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Bethune aspired to become a missionary in Africa, but no church was willing to sponsor her. Never one to be defeated, Bethune resolved that her life work was in her own country and turned her missionary zeal to the education of African Americans.

Several individuals influenced Bethune to devote her life's work to education. Her formative

experiences with Wilson at Scotia Seminary, with its integrated curriculum of academic and vocational training and its philosophy of African American female uplift purposed to educate girls in community leadership, became a model in the establishment of her own schools. Lucy Craft Laney, the founder of Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia, with whom Bethune apprenticed from 1896 to 1897, was also influential. Bethune and Laney were kindred spirits in their belief that African American women should bear the burden of family and racial uplift by providing moral Christian leadership at home and in their communities. But Bethune believed that the boundaries of African American women's influence should extend well beyond the home and into the realm of national politics and policy through their empowerment as activists in their own right.

Institutional Building

After marrying Albertus Bethune in 1898 and giving birth to her only son, Albert, in 1899, Bethune tried her hand at establishing a school. Following a stint as an insurance agent, Bethune opened a mission school in Palatka, Florida. The pursuit of better economic prospects lured her to Daytona, Florida, in 1904, where at age 29 she founded the Daytona Educational and Industrial School for Negro Girls.

The Daytona School

During that time, African American men were being exploited as cheap labor on a new railroad. The railroad men and their families were living in conditions that were comparable to and in some instances, worse than enslavement. Determined to follow the path of her educational mentors Wilson and Laney, Bethune rented a run-down two-story frame house in this community and furnished the new school with hand-me-down furniture she rummaged from trash dumps and door-to-door solicitations.

Bethune's spouse supported the school initially and was documented as a member of the trustee board in 1906. Bethune's untiring devotion to her school at a time when women were relegated to second-class citizenship both in the public and

private spheres, no doubt, strained the marriage. Albertus abandoned the family in 1907 and returned to South Carolina. The couple remained estranged, but never legally divorced. Albertus died in 1918.

Bethune's first class at Daytona included five female pupils and her young son. Her pupils' parents could pay little or nothing for their education, but Bethune managed to make do with what she had. Her students studied at makeshift desks and used ink made of elderberry juice. Two years after its inception, the number of pupils in the school had increased to 250. Bethune enlarged the building, hired two teachers—although she could barely pay them—and solicited the support of numerous volunteers.

Requiring more space, Bethune purchased a town dump for \$200 with only a \$5 down payment. This acquisition set in motion her long-term effort to acquire suitable buildings, furnishings, and school supplies. Committed to keeping their school open, Bethune's industrious pupils sold homegrown vegetables and homemade ice cream and sweet potato pies and sang spirituals to Whites in upscale resort hotels. Bethune also solicited donations for the school by giving speeches at White churches and women's meetings.

Growing Support

Her efforts galvanized strong support from both the White and African American communities. She organized an interracial board of trustees and solicited support from wealthy Whites who vacationed or wintered at Daytona Beach. Among these donors were prominent businessmen such as James Gamble of Proctor and Gamble, John D. Rockefeller, and Thomas H. White, the president of White Sewing Machines. Some wealthy donors left money for the school in their wills. Even with generous donations, Bethune was not too proud to ride her bicycle through Daytona Beach to solicit donations for her financially struggling school.

The school continued to grow. By 1915, high school courses were being offered at the school. The increasing need for people who could teach a more advanced curriculum prompted Bethune to concentrate on teacher education. She renamed the school Daytona Normal and Industrial School and served as its principal until 1923. In a desperate

effort to stabilize the school financially, the Daytona School merged with the all African American and male Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, Florida, in 1923.

Now falling under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the new institution, which changed names several times, evolved into what is now known as the 4-year coeducational Bethune-Cookman College. Bethune served as president until 1942. She resumed the presidency for 1 year, from 1946 to 1947, when Richard V. Moore became the institution's third president. Even under the aegis of the Methodist Episcopal Church, lack of money remained a perennial problem for Bethune. Her greatest financial achievement for the school was a donation from Rockefeller in 1935 in the amount of \$62,000.

Educational Philosophy

Bethune's educational philosophy must be considered within the context of her biography, historical location, and social milieu. As the daughter of previously enslaved Africans who toiled to acquire property from White landowners, Bethune believed strongly in the principles of self-help and industry. Her devout religiosity and deferred dream to become a missionary in Africa explain the centrality of Christian and moral education in her curriculum. Furthermore, she was influenced by the industrial educational philosophy of her older and prominent contemporary, Booker T. Washington, who had established the thriving and successful Tuskegee Institute. In fact, she used their similarities to her advantage as she made written financial appeals to both Washington and his wife, whom she was known to address in her correspondence as "My dear Big Sister."

Like Washington, Bethune had to walk a tight-rope between, on the one hand, Southern White racists who did not want to see African Americans emancipated through education and, on the other hand, paternalistic Northern White philanthropists who wanted a skilled, but not necessarily an empowered workforce. In turn, both Bethune and Washington had to keep a pulse on the cacophony of voices and competing interests of members of their own race who wanted freedom now. Bethune and Washington both had critics who were put off by their emphasis on vocational versus professional

careers. Some critics were also chagrined by the two leaders' craftiness at hobnobbing with wealthy Whites to garner support for their respective institutions.

Bethune's primary goal to educate African American girls and young women was inspired by her early schooling experience at Scotia Seminary, which emphasized the African American female's unique burden to uplift the race. The curriculum of the Daytona Beach school emphasized the unique needs of African American girls in the early 20th century. Bethune was convinced that book learning must be complemented with solid vocational training. To fulfill their prescribed roles as future wives and mothers, Bethune believed it was crucial for young women to learn the skills necessary to become good homemakers, workers, and citizens. These skills included problem solving, creativity, a strong work ethic, and high standards for domestic duties. Her students were expected to excel not only academically, but also at cooking meals, house cleaning, dressmaking, planting and harvesting vegetables, and other "female" life skills. The curriculum focused on the three streams of English, Biblical, and industrial education; a 1910 to 1911 course catalogue exemplifies the school's industrial aim to guarantee women leaders well trained in homemaking skills and in the Christian faith.

Bethune's Legacy

Bethune died of a heart attack on May 18, 1955, at age 79, in Daytona Beach. She is entombed on the grounds of Bethune-Cookman College. Her son, one grandchild, and 11 great-grandchildren survived her. One of her most revered writings is "My Last Will and Testament." In this document, Bethune described her philosophy of living and serving her people.

Among Bethune's many legacies grounded in love, hope, and faith, she leaves two charges expressly related to African American education: a thirst for education and a responsibility to young people. Bethune believed that a thirst for education was the sine qua non for the advancement of the African American race. Bethune also saw African American adults as stewards of a world that belongs to young people. Thus, adults are charged with the awesome responsibility of inspiring youth to work to build a better world.

Bethune believed that young people should be encouraged to aspire to greatness while humbly acknowledging and addressing the plight of those who are less fortunate. Older alumni of Bethune-Cookman College recalled her references to them as beautiful African American boys and girls, as very uplifting and instilling great pride in both their heritage and identity as African Americans. Today, the college continues to bear out her legacy to educate young African Americans to build a better world.

Tondra L. Loder-Jackson

See also Black Females in College; Black Teachers; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; Washington, Booker T.

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BLACK CODES

The Black Codes originated from Slave Codes and were analogous to Jim Crow laws. They hindered the social, economic, political, and educational

progress of African Americans. Black Codes' purpose was to define the civil status of free African Americans throughout the United States. Black Codes undermined African American civil protection and excluded African Americans from public institutions including churches, theaters, and even cemeteries. Most significant, they excluded or limited African Americans' participation in equal educational opportunity.

Although many people in the United States comprehend the meaning of Jim Crow, the Black Codes are less known. Even fewer people in the United States know of Slave Codes. All three of these legal practices proscribed the civil status of enslaved Africans and free African Americans prior to and after the Civil War. Depending on the historical era or geography, African Americans were subjected to these discriminatory measures that limited their rights as U.S. citizens and as human beings. These racially discriminatory practices impacted African Americans' access to equal educational opportunity. This entry looks at the historical context of Black Codes and their impact on education.

Historical Context

During the colonial period, enslavement existed in all colonies. Slave Codes determined how enslaved Africans lived among White citizens and protected Whites' rights while relegating enslaved Africans to subordinate positions of control and discipline relative to their enslavers and to the White population in general. Slave Codes addressed every aspect of enslaved Africans' lives, including their rights in court, their interaction with free African Americans, and their ownership of property. The codes prohibited their ownership of firearms and limited or banned their education. They evolved into Black Codes, which ensured the inferior status of newly freed African Americans.

Black Codes restricted the civil status of African Americans, they existed in all states, and their depth of discrimination and implementation varied. In the South, they inhibited free African Americans' rights pertaining to the ownership of property, voting, jury duty, militia duty, and education. In the North, East, and West, they curtailed African American migration, access to churches, jury duty, voting, assembly, militia duty, housing,

theatre entrance, lecture halls, restaurants, cemeteries, employment, and education. Black Codes truncated African American civil rights and advancement. As the common school movement spread during the antebellum period, a key element for African Americans and all citizens' advancement was education.

Impact on Education

The earliest Black Code related to education was established in the state of South Carolina and addressed the education of free African Americans. Before the Civil War, all states ascribed to African Americans' educational disenfranchisement through Black Codes. Black Codes were added to state constitutions or instituted in the beginning regarding African American access to education. Free African Americans, however, deemed education as a means to advancement. One of the most important avenues for progress was access to education. African Americans found themselves excluded from the free tax-supported public developing school system or relegated to segregated education by state statute.

The implementation of Black Codes created four possible educational outcomes for African Americans. First, they were relegated to segregated education by law; second, they had access to mixed schools depending on locale; third, they were excluded from schools; and fourth, they created their own private educational institutions with or without the support of tax dollars and often through the support of philanthropic or religious White institutions. The particular outcome varied from state to state and even within states as local dynamics quickly determined African American opportunities for education.

Beginning in the late 18th century and continuing into the 19th century, states such as New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, and California either provided segregated education or no education at all for African Americans. Because a wide range of educational opportunities existed, many enslaved Africans and free African Americans secured an education. Consequently, many African Americans challenged the Black Codes.

The first legal suit to seek to dismantle de jure segregated education was *Roberts v. City of Boston*

(1849). Benjamin Roberts sued Boston's Board of Education over school segregation, which required his daughter, Sarah, to pass several White schools to get to the segregated African American school. Although the *Roberts* case failed to dismantle segregated schools, in 1855, the African American community succeeded in eradicating Massachusetts' segregated school law. Throughout the 19th century, African Americans challenged segregated education; as a result of their protests, many states, particularly after the Civil War (including Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois), overturned de jure segregation in education.

Whereas African Americans valued education, divergent ideas in their communities concerning segregated or desegregated schools existed. The primary reason for disagreement within the African American community over what kind of educational context African American children should have, segregated or desegregated, ensued due to poor treatment of African American children in desegregated schools, the fears over the displacement of African American teachers, and the loss of control over the kind of curricular content offered in the schools. Many northern states outlawed de jure segregated schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Desegregated education, however, did not last long because of some Whites' resentment and belief in White supremacy, which led to political and judicial chicanery. As a result, African American children were relegated to de facto segregated education through the primary vehicles of residential segregation, neighborhood school placement, and gerrymandering. In many states—particularly Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio—the norm would become de facto segregated education. Consequently, in the 20th century, a dual system of de facto and de jure education existed across the United States.

Although there were no laws mandating segregated education, customary practices through de facto means became the norm in northern, western, and eastern states throughout the 20th century. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) mounted a legal campaign against de jure segregation in the South culminating in the *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, de facto segregated education, the resultant discriminatory policies, was allowed to stand. After *Brown*, subsequent

legal decisions such as the *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education* (1971), *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), and the *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado* (1973) decisions thwarted de facto segregation and implemented desegregated education. Today, many African American youth experience resegregated education.

Adah L. Ward Randolph

See also Jim Crow; *Milliken v. Bradley*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Resegregation; *Roberts v. City of Boston*; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education*

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BLACK COLLEGE REBELLIONS OF THE 1920s

During the 1920s, a wave of rebellion engulfed many of the leading African American colleges. The African American collegians of that era were in revolt against a vocational emphasis in the curriculum and against the paternalistic spirit that had characterized an earlier period in African American college education. Prompted by a larger ambition and a growing racial consciousness, they demanded a higher type of curriculum and a greater degree of control over their colleges. They turned their backs on the limited educational program of trade training and proposed to speak

for themselves and to be represented by leaders of their choice. This entry looks at the issues and outcomes of this rebellion.

Vocational Versus Academic Education

The upheaval began in 1922 at one of the most prominent vocational colleges, Florida A&M. It started as a protest against the governor of Florida, Cary Hardee, who was shifting the emphasis at the school from training teachers to training tradesmen. African American students regarded this as a plan to relegate African Americans to a subordinate status, and in response, they not only went on strike, but also burned down the Mechanical Arts Building. Similarly, at Lincoln Institute in Missouri, there was a decade-long struggle between a faction that emphasized the importance of traditional academic education and another group that stressed the need for vocational training. And at Hampton Institute, several hundred students were suspended in 1927 after demanding that more emphasis be given to academic subjects.

This aspect of the African American college rebellions was an outgrowth of a long-simmering protest against a major development in the history of African American education. Ever since the Era of Reconstruction, many White Southerners had feared that any education of African Americans beyond the vocational level would lead to increased dissatisfaction with the inferior status accorded to African Americans in the South. For this reason, many Whites in the South had bitterly opposed the academic education that northern churches had been providing for African Americans at colleges such as Fisk University, Howard University, and Atlanta University (founded 1865).

Secular philanthropists in the North recognized this; wishing to do something for African Americans, but not wishing to alienate the White South, they stressed the importance of vocational education. This was true of the Slater Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, Phelps Stokes Fund, and Rosenwald Fund, as well as true of the Southern Education Board and the Rockefeller General Education Board. It was also true of the county agents who were employed to administer the land grant programs that Congress established with the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes Acts of 1914 and 1917.

The secular philanthropists and county agents assumed responsibility for seeing that the recipients of their largess did not stray from the gospel of vocationalism, and in the process, they altered the course of the African American colleges and initiated a vocational phase in the history of African American higher education. In retrospect, it seems inevitable that college students, even those trained at vocational institutions, would eventually challenge this approach to subordinating their race.

Equity and Racial Pride

The African American college rebellions of the 1920s involved more than a protest against vocationalism. African American students at leading academic institutions were also in revolt. Having seen African American soldiers return from World War I, where they had been fighting to make the world safe for democracy, the African American collegians of the 1920s were determined to battle against the forces of discrimination in their own land. Many collegians were also children of the great migration. Their families had recently moved away from the rural South, and they sensed that they could now demand a more egalitarian form of education. Like many of the artists and writers associated with the Harlem Renaissance, the African American collegians also wished to foster a sense of racial identity, racial community, and racial pride.

The new spirit of protest was displayed at the nation's most prominent liberal arts college for African Americans, Fisk University in Nashville, where students took exception to the suspension of the student newspaper, *The Fisk Herald*, and to the denial of a request for a campus chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). They also complained about the university's sponsoring of segregated Jim Crow entertainment, and they protested against a code of student discipline that was far more stringent than the policy for White students who attended Vanderbilt University on the other side of town. To many of the students at Fisk, it seemed that their university had devised yet another plan that was intended to persuade African Americans to accept a subordinate status, to make them know "their place."

Thus, in February 1925, more than 100 men from Livingstone Hall ignored the 10 o'clock

curfew and instead sang, yelled, smashed windows, and told the faculty that they were going to keep it up "until the President's hair was white." (Scribner, 1925). According to the dean of women, "The disorderly students overturned chapel seats [and] broke windows . . . all the while keeping up a steady shouting of 'Du Bois! Du Bois!'" (Scribner, 1925). Police were called to the campus to restore order, but this precipitated a student strike of 10 weeks' duration. Eventually a new administration was inaugurated after the trustees conceded that it was impossible to operate a college without students.

Going beyond their brothers and sisters at Fisk, who demanded only that they be given a larger role in the management of their school, the faculty and alumni at Howard University insisted that an African American man should be appointed as president of Howard. This involved a break from a tradition that had led to the appointment of 11 White clergymen-presidents, but the disgruntled alumni and professors were convinced that, by the 1920s, there were several African Americans who were well qualified to lead their University. They also believed that the appointment of an African American president would combat with the impression that the African American race would never measure up, so they also demanded that the curriculum should place greater emphasis on the history of Africa and the experience of African Americans. Eventually, Mordecai W. Johnson was chosen in 1926 as the first African American president of Howard University. This choice marked a new milestone in the development of the race.

Raymond Wolters

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Fisk University; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU); Jim Crow; Phelps Stokes Fund; Rosenwald Fund; Slater Fund

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BLACK COLLEGIAN, THE

Starting out as a family publication founded in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by a young college professor, *The Black Collegian* has become the central publication of a media company. The magazine focuses on career preparation and job seeking for African Americans. Since Hurricane Katrina damaged its New Orleans headquarters, the publication has reached its audience primarily through its Web site. This entry describes the historical circumstances leading up to the founding of *The Black Collegian* and the contemporary developments related to the publication.

Historical Background

In 1970, the civil rights movement was at its height; the arts community was enjoying wide support and growth. For many, the African American arts movement redefined what it meant to be African American. In cities like New York, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans, the arts and education communities helped to shape the leadership structure civil rights.

The African American arts movement of the 1960s paralleled the civil rights movement; whereas the civil rights movement empowered many marginalized groups, the African American arts movement empowered African American artists. LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka), the most vocal leader of the African American arts movement, believed that the voice, spirit, and expression of the artist was central to the African American power movement.

As the arts flourished, however, there was great unrest on college campuses: Jackson State University, Prairie View A&M University, and Kent State University demonstrations turned deadly. Resources for helping students with the fundamental skills needed for achieving success transitioning from college to career were limited. However, in New Orleans, Louisiana, a group of people active in various fields had a dream: to build a career and self-development publication that would reach African American college students and help them better prepare for finding and thriving in the careers of their choice. By focusing on their cultural and intellectual contributions, the publication would help to build stronger, healthier

communities. The group had \$3,500 to bring its dream to reality.

Leading the effort was Preston J. Edwards Sr., a young accounting professor teaching in the College of Business at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. P. J. Edwards admits that he knew nothing then about publishing a magazine, but he had a vision that was shared by the other founders, and his brother, Lawrence Lucien Edwards, had a printing business. And in December 1970, *The Black Collegian* was first published.

Joining P. J. Edwards in building the vision for the magazine were Norbert Davidson, Edgar Edwards, Lawrence Lucien Edwards, Bill Rouselle, Benjamin M. Priestley, Kalamu ya Salaam, and Brenda Thornton.

Davidson was a successful playwright (*El Hajj Malik*—the drama about Malcolm X) and one of the founders of the Dashiki Project Theater, which formed at Dillard University in the mid-1960s. He served as the first editor. Salaam, a New Orleans native, cultural historian, and writer, was the second editor of *The Black Collegian*. He was a veteran of the civil rights movement and member of the Free Southern Theater, which was born in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1963 and through its advocates was intent on changing the political climate for African Americans in the South.

The company was founded as Black Collegiate Services, Inc. The Edwards family provided the finances for the startup; corporate recruitment advertising helped ensure the publishing schedule. During the first 20 years, the magazine grew to publish four times each year.

Contemporary Achievements

Since 1992, however, the publication has been affected by changes in society and the workforce that meant corporate downsizing: the role of affirmative action programs, the growth of the technology that has challenged media companies to embrace the Internet, and the need to develop a broader vision for an integrated media experience.

Black Collegiate Services, Inc. grew into a media company that also publishes the *NSBE Journal* for the National Society of African American Engineers, the *Journal of the National Black Student Law Association*, and *Journal of the NTA* for the

National Technical Association. It also published the *Black MBA Magazine* for P&L Publishing.

The Black Collegian is distributed on more than 800 college campuses through the career development office, student affairs, or human resource division. It is a controlled request publication; the Business Press Worldwide audits its circulation, which in 2007 was 122,000.

In 1993, P. J. Edwards attended the Stanford University Professional Publishing course and developed a plan to move the print publication to the Internet. By 1995, *The Black Collegian Online* was the first African American publication on the Internet. *The Black Collegian* controlled content and expanded its scope, frequency, and reach worldwide.

In 1997, the Minorities Job Bank, operating as I Minorities, Inc., was created as a means to provide access to many of the top corporate positions for African American college students and alumni. Twenty-seven percent of the company was sold to raise venture capital. The multicultural audience did not want to be labeled "minorities"; a conference call secured agreement to change the name to IMDiversity, Inc.

In 2005, *The Black Collegian* celebrated its 35th year. However, on August 29, 2005, the nation's worst natural disaster, Hurricane Katrina, hit New Orleans, causing damage to the offices of *The Black Collegian* and homes of staff members. Since then, the publication has been written and edited virtually using the Internet. Since Hurricane Katrina, two issues per year have been published; the staff is working to rebuild its publication schedule.

IMDiversity.com has expanded to include the Career Center and Multicultural Villages, *The Black Collegian*, and *The Black Collegian Online*. New content includes columns about transitioning from college to the real world, job searches, seasonal internships, and bloggers writing about a wide variety of career issues.

During its publishing history, *The Black Collegian* has featured articles on or written by Isaac Hayes, Nikki Giovanni, Julian Bond, Alice Walker, Ossie Davis, Gordon Parks, Sonia Sanchez, Bill Cosby, Jackie Robinson, Jesse Jackson, Arthur Ashe, Chuck Stone, Alex Haley, James Earl Jones, Barack Obama, and scores of others. Its focus has been on undergraduate,

graduate, and professional education, as well as on trade and technical education.

Edwards has continued to lead as the CEO of IMDiversity, Inc., which publishes *The Black Collegian* and operates two Web sites: IMDiversity.com and *The Black Collegian Online*. He earned his bachelor's degree at Dillard and his MBA at Atlanta University. Prior to teaching at the College of Business at Southern University, P. J. Edwards worked for Citibank in New York. While teaching, he started *The Black Collegian* and returned to New Orleans where he also did stints as vice president of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and regional manager of Affirmative Action for the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. He has had a long career of community service as a member of Xavier University's Business Advisory Council, Junior Achievement, the Urban League of Greater New Orleans, the Central Business District Landmark Commission, the Employment Management Association Foundation, and the Orleans Private Industry Council.

Barbara Bealor Hines

See also *Journal of Black Studies*; *Journal of Negro Education*; *Journal of Negro History*

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BLACK FEMALES IN COLLEGE

African American women are a heterogeneous group. They differ in ethnicity, nationality, religion, occupation, and sexuality. Their experiences in colleges, however, cannot be fully understood outside the marginalization of their gendered and racialized social locations as women who both experience and struggle against the dual oppressions of racism and sexism. Overall, African American females have consistently faced gender and racial barriers to social economic mobility. These barriers have persisted in various forms since the period of legal African enslavement, through post-Civil War Reconstruction, the civil rights era and into the early 21st century. This entry focuses on African American women's access to college in the United States and then on their experiences and status in college as undergraduate and graduate students, faculty members, and administrators.

Access to College: Race and Gender Barriers

In the context of the British colonies that would later become the United States, White males had access to college-level education by 1636. It would take 200 additional years before women, specifically White women, were permitted to enter a coeducational college-level institution. This would occur in 1837, when Oberlin College matriculated four White women for the regular college course. Three of the four graduated in 1841 and became the first women in the United States to receive AB (Artium Baccalaureatus) degrees, a degree signifying that the student did significant coursework in the European classics, including Greek, Latin, and European classical civilization.

Although there were so-called women's colleges such as Troy Female Seminary founded in 1821 and Hartford Female Seminary, which opened in 1823, none of these offered collegiate-level schooling. The first women's college to offer college-level courses for women was Elmira Female College in 1859. The confluence of race and gender barriers faced by African American women is evidenced by the fact that Alexander Lucius Twilight, who became the first African American man to earn an AB degree, graduated from Vermont's Middlebury

College in 1823. This was 27 years before Lucy Stanton Session's graduation from Oberlin in 1850 and 14 years before Oberlin became the first collegiate-level institution to admit women of any race in 1837.

Prior to the Civil War, various African American churches and organizations, including the Anti-Slavery Society, raised funds to send girls to such colleges as the New York Central College in Cortland, New York, and Myrtilla Miner's Colored Girls School in Washington, D.C., which was a secondary education school later renamed the Miner Normal School before becoming associated with Howard University and eventually, along with Wilson Teachers College, forming the District of Columbia Teachers College. Policies regarding college and university access for African Americans and for females varied from one region and state to another. Most institutions of higher learning could be found in northern or midwestern states, such as Hillsdale College in Michigan, founded in 1844. In addition, there were institutions such as Berea College, an integrated institution founded in 1855 in the southern state of Kentucky.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

The Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, defines an HBCU as any historically African American college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of African Americans and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary of Education to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association, making reasonable progress toward accreditation.

The first three HBCUs were founded in the North: The Institute for Colored Youth (later Cheyney State College) was founded in Cheyney, Pennsylvania, in 1837; Lincoln University also in Pennsylvania was founded in 1854; and Wilberforce University in Ohio was founded in 1856. However, most HBCUs were established in Southern states during the post-Civil War period. It is during this period—due to segregation laws—that college and university access for African American females was overwhelmingly attained in Southern states.

Through the first three quarters of the 20th century, the majority of African American women and men who attended college, whether they lived in the South or the North, did so at HBCUs in the South, where the most were located, or at private HBCUs such as Lincoln University and Wilberforce Universities or public ones such as Cheyney State College (now Cheyney University of Pennsylvania).

The Impact of Legislation and Court Rulings

Legislation and court rulings significantly impacted access to postsecondary schooling for African Americans in general. The famous separate-but-equal U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) affirmed the constitutionality of the officially imposed segregation based on skin color known as Jim Crow laws. When applied to higher education, schools that once were open to African American and White students succumbed to the prohibition of African Americans and Whites occupying common spaces or so-called race mixing.

The addition of graduate programs, mostly at public HBCUs, reflected three Supreme Court decisions in which the separate-but-equal principle of *Plessy* was applied to graduate and professional education. The decisions stipulated that (a) a state must offer schooling for African Americans as soon as it provided it for Whites, (b) African American students must receive the same treatment as White students, and (c) a state must provide facilities of comparable quality for African American and White students. African American students increasingly were admitted to traditionally White graduate and professional schools if their program of study was unavailable at HBCUs. In effect, desegregation in higher education began at the postbaccalaureate level.

In the 1960s, African Americans began making great strides in their entry to predominantly White institutions of higher education. In addition, as a result of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Adams v. Elliott Richardson* (1972) case, African American and White colleges in the South were required to increase their efforts of integration.

By the beginning of the 1970s, most legal barriers for the inclusion of African Americans and women in higher education—and other

areas—had been abolished. National and local governments instilled laws that ended most overt discrimination and racial segregation practices. However, these new antidiscrimination laws focused on preventing future discrimination and not on addressing the current practices that resulted from past discrimination practices. This resulted in an upsurge of more subtle demonstrations of discrimination—institutionalized racial prejudice in which actions, policies, or rules of an institution have a disproportionately negative impact on those with the least amount of economic or political power. Institutionalized discriminatory policies began to play a greater role affecting the access to higher education for African American women.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is purported to be one of the most effective programs used to address institutionalized racism and gender bias. It was developed as a way to level the playing field for groups that had been historically marginalized on the basis of gender or race from opportunities to develop, perform, achieve, and contribute to U.S. society. Much of the access gained by African Americans to enter predominantly White institutions was due to affirmative action admissions offices established at traditionally White colleges and universities.

In the late 1980s and into the 1990s, affirmative action came under attack. The first major challenge in higher education came in the case of *The Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke* (1978). Bakke was a White student who had been rejected for medical school admission. He believed that he had been discriminated against because of his skin color, although his scores were higher than those of non-Whites and females who had received admissions. In 1995, the Supreme Court reversed its legislation on affirmative action with a new policy stating that programs that gave preference to women or members of minority groups solely on the basis of race or gender were illegal and were to cease their practices.

The Undergraduate Context

The initial collegiate context in which African American females can be considered is that of

undergraduate student. Mary Jane Patterson, in 1862, became the first African American woman to earn a 4-year degree at Oberlin College.

By the end of the Civil War, over 140 African American women were enrolled as students at Oberlin College. Most of these were students in the Preparatory Department. Graduating from this department was equivalent to a high school degree, which was then a sufficient credential to become a grade school or high school teacher. By a large margin, the highest African American student graduation rate at a HBCU belongs to the all-women institution Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia.

Some findings in the sociology of education, such as M. L. Carter's research of 2000, have reported findings that suggest that African American females who enroll in college have greater social interactions with their families, school peers, and community than those who do not. Involvement with neighborhood church services, making a connection with caring teachers, and having involved family members who steer them toward college enrollment have been identified as factors in academic persistence.

Several educational research findings of the 1990s and especially the 1980s stressed that, historically, there were and often continue to be, in some instances, factors that contributed to the lack of educational persistence for African American females in college. Overt barriers include, but are not limited to, violence based on culture and gender and discriminatory practices in the classroom that made African American women's experiences much more daunting. The experiences of African American female faculty members regularly mirror those of African American women collegians.

J. Fleming in the 1980s found that African American women on coeducational African American campuses often compromised their social assertiveness and exhibited what she described as stereotyped passive ways of gaining recognition and control. They were less likely to speak out in class or to assume leadership positions in campus organizations. Even women with excellent academic records tended to underestimate their academic abilities and downplay their professional aspirations. Fleming traced such self-degrading actions to the traditional view that it is all right for a woman to be intelligent as long as no practical

use is made of that intelligence. She concluded that African American female students achieved best at African American private colleges and experienced the fewest gender biases and racial barriers at the African American women's colleges: Spelman College and Bennett College for Women.

In contrast to Flemings's findings, W. Allen, during the 1990s, reported that African American women on HBCU campuses had higher retention rates, grades, graduate enrollment, and self-esteem than African American females attending predominantly White institutions (PWI)—despite the fact that they had poorer academic backgrounds and lower socioeconomic status than African American women attending PWIs. Allen suggests that African American females in college seem more concerned with traditional expectations of what was referred to as ladylike behavior than White females in college. Almost all felt that their families had high aspirations for them. They valued financial success and their perception of good job more highly than White men and women did, but they also had a strong sense of racial and social consciousness.

Some educational studies point to the impact of gender bias on the ways in which female students perceive their power over personal decisions. They found that regardless of their gender role attitudes, gender concentration of their academic major, or ethnicity, women who perceived a greater degree of gender bias in their undergraduate experiences also reported lower self-efficacy. Further, the researchers found that African American and other minority women at predominantly White institutions perceived a greater amount of gender bias than did White female students.

African American Female Graduate Students

A 1985 College Board study reported that women increased their share of degrees at all levels, except the master's. C. Carroll's analysis is that this imbalance of representation tends to lead toward African American women feeling isolated in higher education. This isolation begins during the undergraduate years and continues into professional experiences. She states that African American women in higher education are isolated, underutilized, and often demoralized. They note the efforts made to provide equal opportunities for African American men and White women in higher education, while they

somehow are left behind in the work of both the African American and feminist movement.

Twenty-two years after the College Board's study, the *Journal of African Americans in Higher Education* reported in 2007 that African American women were leading the way in earning master's degrees. In the 2004–2005 academic years, African American women earned 35,100 master's degrees compared to 13,965 for African American men. Thus, African American women accounted for 71.5% of all master's degrees awarded to African Americans. Overall, in 2006, female students made up 59% of graduate students and 65% of those at master's-level institutions. Among all females, African Americans represented 15% of this total; comparatively, non-Hispanic Whites were 71% of the total, Hispanic-Latinas 8%, Asian-Pacific Islanders 5%, and Native Americans-Alaskan Natives 1%.

The PhD is the primary credential for tenure-track faculty at higher-education institutions. The rate at which doctoral degrees are achieved is a good indicator of the pool of candidates who will be available to compete for faculty and administrative positions.

African American women face significant challenges in graduate school. The authors of a 1997 study that focused on the impact of race and gender on graduate study concluded that a student's gender and racial background influence his or her experiences in graduate school and that race appears to be more salient than gender in influencing whether students had positive or negative experiences. Mentoring, advising, and departmental environments were the top concerns among the study's participants. As a group, African American women appeared to be the most isolated and dissatisfied. Studies in the sociology of education suggest that African American women are generally found to be the most isolated group of students on predominantly White campuses. The results of this study suggest that this is true even for African American women at the doctoral level.

The so-called double-minority status, being both female and African American, may produce complexities that other students who were not African American women did not encounter. African American women were less likely than White women or African American or White men

who participated in the study to have mentors or advisers with whom they reported working closely during their doctoral study. As a cohort, these women were doing well academically—achieving good grades, passing their qualifying exams, and working on dissertation proposals and dissertations. Socially, however, they were more isolated than were the other students. The African American students, both female and male, often found individuals outside of their departments to fill the gaps that are traditionally filled by faculty members within academic units.

African American Females on College Faculties

Low academic status or rank is a persistent problem for African American women on college faculties. In addition to low faculty rank, African American women are far more likely to be found teaching undergraduate courses as opposed to graduate courses.

African American female college students outnumbered African American males on college campuses during the last quarter of the 20th century. The reverse was true for faculty appointments. African American men outnumbered African American women in the faculty ranks. African American women were also less likely to receive tenure and more likely to be assigned to nontenure track appointments. This pattern not only existed at historically White institutions, but also existed at some HBCUs. The Thurgood Marshall College Fund found that African American female faculty members at HBCUs, like their counterparts at traditionally White colleges and universities, dominate the lower ranks.

There are indicators to suggest that the educational experiences of African American female students are enhanced when they have more female teachers and administrators. Such relationships are important for the recruitment, enrollment, retention, and ultimately, graduation rates of African American female college students. African American female faculty members seem to fare better in terms of salary levels at schools with female presidents or chief academic officers. Eighty-three percent of the public HBCU faculty saw the need for leadership programs for female students at their institution.

African American Females as College Administrators

From their inception, most HBCUs were led by White males. Correspondingly, it took decades before even women's colleges—Bennett and Spelman—would welcome African American women as faculty members and administrators.

In the context of administrative professionals, the number of African American females has increased in the United States, but not proportionally with other cultural groups in the nation. Considerable research has been conducted related to social factors affecting African American female leadership aspirations in university settings. Included among these are studies of the psychological predictors of college women's leadership aspirations that report findings of the need for connectedness and affirmation.

Other studies suggest that women desire managerial roles less than do men. This is thought to be due to the multiple demands of family roles, church responsibilities, and other organizational duties. Debates in this area have argued that it is not that African American women desire managerial roles in the ivory tower to a lesser degree than do men; it is possible that there is a greater cultural focus on community service and family connectedness for females who place a priority on jobs for social uplift such as nursing and teaching. A lack of educational opportunities has resulted in segregated jobs that are traditionally low paying in areas such as service and clerical support. Less than 30% of these service and clerical support positions are in the higher-paying managerial positions.

Studies grounded in African American feminist thought that focus on African American women's work have pointed to emerging patterns illuminating race and gender inequality and occupational niches, such as the attention devoted to African American women domestic workers. Examining salary distribution for faculty and administrators at HBCUs, additional research by the Thurgood Marshall College Fund shows that among 20 HBCUs where male professors earned more than female professors, four had female presidents. Of the 15 institutions where female full professors earned more than male full professors, 12 (80%) had a female as president or chief academic officer.

When the overall rate of African American leadership of HBCUs is taken into consideration, the proportion of college presidencies held by African American females is only 10%. However, even 10% represents an increase over previous periods. These increases suggest that governing bodies of colleges and universities are increasing their efforts to expand their presidential applicant and candidate pools to include more qualified African American women and other minority male groups. However, other studies suggest that upon closer examination, the growth of African American female presidencies can mostly be found at 2-year colleges, with few being found in tier-one research universities.

In periodic studies on U.S. college presidents conducted by the American Council on Education, the 2007 findings state that the presidents of doctoral granting universities are predominantly White and male, hold a PhD, claim education or higher education as their field of study, ascended to the presidency from positions as chief academic officers or provosts, and did so at the same institution at which they served as provost. Four-year public college and university doctoral-granting institutions are recruiting and hiring new presidents who have not previously been university presidents; however, this recruitment is taking place slowly.

To address this matter, there exists a mentorship program for potential and new presidents aimed specifically to assist African Americans, women, and other minority male groups. The American Association of State Colleges and Universities, which represents over 400 public institutions, sponsors the Millennium Leadership Initiative. The Millennium Leadership Initiative is designed to help participants determine if the presidency is a realistic career goal and provides skill building and networking opportunities to assist in career advancement. Since its founding, 19 African Americans of the 181 prior participants have become presidents, and 18 others have become provosts and vice presidents for academic affairs as of March 2008.

Outlook

Gender studies are critical to the curriculum at HBCUs. Although there has been such a preoccupation with race, insufficient attention has been

paid to gender. There is limited theoretical information prior to the 1970s about African American women in education. Discussions mostly address African American males or White women. M. R. Howard-Vital provides a literature review of African American women in higher education during the 1980s that includes greater theoretical research to include—in addition to J. Fleming—L. M. Perkins, A. K. Burlew, and C. Carroll. In essence, African American women were encouraged to go to school to uplift the race.

Analysis of undergraduate schooling, caring, and self-esteem provides a platform on which to explore career choices in higher education for African American women. Several studies find that African American females are often underutilized and demoralized in academe and that such demonstration of under appreciation leads to feelings of isolation. Studies on gender differences and factors that influence outcomes in college indicate that while colleges and universities are called on to develop practices that foster a climate of mutual learning opportunities for male and female students—regardless of cultural difference—this has not been the case in the employment of such practices.

Suggestions for additional study include reviewing and compiling institutional data comparing the professional experiences of women and men—fully disclosing institutional salary data, creating productive venue for the telling and hearing of faculty stories, creating a joint center for the study of gender issues in the African American community, and examining the academic confidence and social assertiveness of African American women.

Melody L. Carter

See also Bennett College for Women; Black Female Teachers; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Gender; Gender in Precollegiate Education; Higher Education Act of 1965; Spelman College

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BLACK FEMALE TEACHERS

The contributions of African American female teachers have left an indelible mark on U.S. educational institutions, teaching philosophies, political activity, and larger educational agendas of African American communities. Negotiating the triple oppressions of race, gender, and class, African American female teachers developed distinct teaching strategies underscored by a mission of racial uplift, feminist stances, and commitment to social change. This entry details their historical and contemporary presence in U.S. education and African American communities, as well as their formidable leadership in social movements critical to collective African American empowerment. Several notable African American female teachers are highlighted within this entry as well.

The Colonial and Antebellum Period

The historical record on African American education documents how inequality and racial oppression fueled the greater pursuit of education within African American communities. It also demonstrates the underlying mission of racial uplift in the work of African American women teachers. This mission, as chronicled in first-person narratives and historical research and scholarship emphasizes the connection of education to African American

liberation. The pursuit of liberation was understood as incorporating elements of physical manumission, economic autonomy, the pursuit of sociopolitical freedom, and spiritual self-determination as education enabled one to read the biblical scriptures. Education was highly valued, and those who were educated, formally and informally, felt a deep and abiding duty to educate the race. Teaching, therefore, was understood as a responsibility and greater service to the race, with African American women bearing a large portion of the duties. Moreover, the focus on racial uplift through education motivated African American families to seek educational opportunities for their daughters as well as for their sons.

Before the Civil War

The antebellum period found African American women teachers working in a variety of capacities across the Northern free states, border states, and the South. The sociopolitical climate across these locations also dictated where and how African American female teachers could teach. For example, African American female teachers in Philadelphia taught African American children in schools founded by the Society of Friends and the Philadelphia Society for the Abolition of Slavery. African American women teachers, in some instances, established common schools for African American children, with some teaching White children as well. These schools were often in the homes of African American female teachers.

The presence of African American female teachers in classrooms across the North, however, was often contested by White-run school boards, as was the case in Boston and New York City. African American Bostonians, like African Americans in New York City and other northern cities, grew increasingly apprehensive about exposing children to teachers they deemed as racist and underqualified. African American parents in these communities launched concerted efforts to secure African American teachers for African American schools. The push for African American teachers served as a rallying point and strategy across African American communities seeking educational equity. Thus, the fight for African American teachers was more readily remedied than the larger fight for desegregated schools, and one continued into the

post-Reconstruction period. African American women teachers were among those selected to work in these schools.

Against the Codes

In the antebellum South, clandestine schools run by African American female teachers came into existence with the passage of legislation in the early 1830s that prohibited literacy instruction of enslaved Africans. In some urban locations such as Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah, African American women teachers who operated schools prior to the passage of Black Codes continued to teach both free and enslaved Africans. Although clandestine school instructors including a teacher known only as Miss Deaveaux, Julian Froumountaine, and Milla Granson are inscribed in the historical record, it is important to note that countless other African American females risked their lives secretly teaching by cover of darkness on Southern plantations. The proliferation of these African American female-headed clandestine schools, also termed *native schools*, as noted by historian James Anderson, remained virtually unknown to White authorities until after the Civil War.

Although common school education was difficult to obtain for Northern African Americans, pursuit of secondary and higher education goals was even more challenging. To some extent, African American nuns filled the demand for African American schooling in the pre-Civil War era. In Baltimore, African American nuns of the Oblate Order opened a secondary school for African American girls. The St. Frances Academy for Colored Girls was founded in 1829. Similarly, The Sisters of the Holy Family, a New-Orleans-based order, opened a school for girls in 1852.

A few notable African American women teachers received instruction at Oberlin College, which graduated the first African American female baccalaureate degree recipient, Mary Jane Patterson, in 1862. Patterson and other Oberlin alumnae, including Fanny Jackson Coppin and Lucy A. Stanton Day, were among a growing contingent of Northern African American female college and normal school graduates seeking teaching positions in the South during the period preceding and following emancipation. Despite their training, many African American female teachers faced

discrimination by agencies, both private and the federally funded Freedman's Bureau, which attempted to limit their presence. Among such agencies was the American Missionary Society, which as noted by historian Linda Perkins, orchestrated blatantly racist practices and policies targeting African American female teachers.

Northern Women Go South

Motivated by a collective mission of racial uplift, many Northern African American women teachers headed South to participate in the campaign for racial uplift and betterment. These teachers, however, were faced with a myriad of challenges across Southern locales. Many taught large, multi-age, and multiability groups of students in dilapidated schoolhouses and churches. Northern African American women teachers also encountered deplorable living conditions, to which people of their regional and class backgrounds were often unaccustomed. These teachers also encountered class and language differences between themselves and newly emancipated African Americans.

Charlotte Forten, for example, ventured from her comfortable middle-class surroundings in Philadelphia to the remote South Carolina Sea Islands. Forten was among many Northern-born and -raised African American women teachers who heeded the call to teach for purposes of racial uplift. Forten's narratives reveal some difficulty adjusting to the remote location, language, people, and customs, yet they detail a deeply ascribed commitment to her teaching mission. Her experiences also highlight that some class, cultural, and phenotypical distinctions existed and surfaced as points of tension between Northern African American female teachers and newly freed African American masses they sought to uplift.

Postwar Expansion of the Teaching Ranks

The years immediately following the Civil War were pivotal in the development of African American common and normal schools and institutions of higher education. The establishment of schools and eradication of illiteracy (that some scholars estimate included 95% of the Southern African American population) became a priority among newly freed African Americans across the

South. This time period also marked the mass exodus of Northern White women teachers, who by 1870 represented an unwanted Northern presence to Southern Whites.

Teacher Preparation

The growing need for teachers led to the growth and development of African American normal schools, county training schools, African American land grant colleges, and missionary colleges. The establishment of African American teacher training demonstrates the pivotal role African American female teachers played in African American educational agendas from within and outside African American communities. Constituencies exerting influence on African American teacher education understood that access to African American female teachers provided a powerful tool in African American liberation or African American subjugation.

Among Northern missionary societies and some African Americans, programs emphasizing classical traditions were needed to prepare African Americans for leadership, with another segment of African Americans critical of apolitical and culturally irrelevant educational models. For Northern industrial philanthropists and Southern planters, industrial education models supported the development of an apolitical labor force. Despite their ideological differences, the varying constituents all believed that the social, political, and economic fate of future generations rested in the work and training of African American female teachers.

African American female teachers were instrumental in establishing training to meet the needs of Southern African American populations. Although their missions were impacted by larger ideological factions, African American women teachers and school founders crafted curricula and schools with specific missions informed by the pragmatic needs of African American communities. With the motto of "heed life's demands," Fanny Jackson Coppin, for example, inspired a generation of African American teachers. Coppin began her teaching career while an Oberlin student, providing literacy instruction to newly freed African Americans in night school classes. Coppin relocated to Philadelphia, where she headed the Quaker-run Institute for Colored Youth (now Cheyney State University). The position made

Coppin the first African American woman to head an institute of higher education, for the school provided high school and normal school courses. A formidable presence in teacher education, Coppin emphasized principles of self-help, hard work, economic autonomy, and racial uplift through communal efforts. Coppin developed teacher training methods to prepare Northern African American female teachers for work in rural communities with limited economic resources, stressing aspects of hygiene, health, and preventive medicine.

Curricular Models

Although teacher preparation formed a large portion of her institutional agenda, Coppin established one of the first industrial education departments that trained students in trades that included secretarial sciences, masonry, tailoring, and domestic sciences. Coppin retired in 1902 and traveled extensively with her husband, the Reverend Levi Jenkins Coppin, working closely in missionary duties. In 1926, the Colored High School of Baltimore was renamed in her honor and is now known as Coppin State University. Coppin's work illuminates how African American women teachers integrated larger social and economic goals into their teaching missions.

The tremendous need for African American teachers highlights the complex underpinnings of African American educational agendas at the conclusion of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Educational institutions became the testing grounds in the fight to control African American masses through decidedly oppressive social, political, and economic strategies. The Hampton-Tuskegee model, supported by Northern industrial philanthropists and Southern planters, emphasized vocational training for teachers and students. The aims were further executed and extended through the establishment and management of Jeanes teachers and Jeanes supervisors whose training and education was funded by Anna T. Jeanes and later the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, which existed from 1907 until 1968.

Modeled after Virginia E. Randolph, an African American female teacher from rural Henrico County, Virginia, Jeanes's teachers assisted in the supervision, establishment, and maintenance of rural Southern African American schools. Randolph

and hundreds of African American female teacher supervisors from Maryland to Texas traveled across rural locales performing a variety of duties including overseeing the implementation of industrial education curriculums and supporting local teachers in assisting students, families, and community members with issues of health, sanitation, cooking, canning, sewing, and gardening. Jeanes' teacher supervisors assisted in community fund-raising to support African American schools, including the collection of matching funds to supplement the Rosenwald Fund dollars supporting the building of rural African American school-houses. The work of the Jeanes teachers demonstrates how African American female teachers were instrumental in organizing parents in fund-raising efforts for school improvements.

Northern philanthropic contributions shaped not only the direction of teacher training but also the curricular orientations of African American schools. African American female teachers were thus challenged to strike a balance, a delicate one at best, as philanthropic dollars followed industrial education. Curricular orientations determined not only institutional aims but also institutional solvency. African American female teachers founded their own schools to supply African American teachers for Southern regions.

School Founders

Several African American women founded schools that eventually became teacher training institutes. Lucy Craft Laney opened a school in Augusta, Georgia, that, contrary to the emphasis on vocational training at most African American teacher training institutes, instructed students in a liberal arts curriculum. Her protégées, Mary McLeod Bethune and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, later founded their own teacher training schools. In 1904, Bethune founded Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls, an industrial arts-based normal training school located in Daytona, Florida. The school later became a coed institution, Bethune-Cookman College.

Brown started Palmer Memorial Institute in North Carolina as an agricultural and vocational training school. Although funders emphasized such training, Brown intentionally provided students a rigorous academic program. The decision to do so

presented a constant challenge in securing funding sources. Throughout her 50-year presidency, the school evolved into well-respected elite preparatory boarding school, drawing African American middle-class students from across the United States. Under Brown's leadership, the school continued to offer a strong academic program with an emphasis on the arts and training in social propriety.

It is also important to note that the increased need for African American female teachers in the South coincided with the rapid feminization of the teaching profession across the United States. Based on widespread social constructs of gender, female teachers were thought to have dispositions suited toward work with children because of the belief that they were nurturers. Male teachers were ascribed qualities befitting of administrative roles as principals and school administrators. Feminization of teaching also occurred because female teachers were paid significantly less than their male counterparts. As female teachers across the country could not marry and hold their positions, school authorities paid women at substantially lower rates using the rationalization that single women were not responsible for dependents.

The 20th Century

For African American female teachers, the feminization of the profession translated into even lower wages due to racism and gender discrimination. By 1910, African American female teachers comprised two thirds of the African American teaching force. African American female teachers in the South fared even worse as their salaries were underfunded by White school boards and subsidized by economically strapped African American communities. By the 1940s, African American teachers in the state of North Carolina, for example, had credentials that exceeded that of White teachers. Yet, as was the case across the country, their salaries were substantially lower, with African American female teachers earning salaries one fourth to a half of White females and males. Some historians suggest that Southern districts colluded with developers of the National Teacher Exam as a means of ensuring that African American teachers would score lower and that scores could then be used as a measurement supporting teacher pay scales.

In the North, school districts were slow to grant African American teachers contracts or to offer high school placements. The majority of Northern African American female teachers taught in elementary schools in almost exclusively African American neighborhoods. These teachers' tenuous status was also demonstrated in their limited contracts, which were often granted on a yearly or probationary status. African American female teachers in western states faced discriminatory hiring practices as well. For example, the first African American female teacher in the Seattle Public Schools was not hired until 1948.

Despite these income disparities, African American female teachers comprised a substantial portion of the African American middle class by the 1950s. Court-mandated school desegregation efforts, however, proved a blessing and a curse as African American teachers were dismissed or displaced at rates disproportionate to White teachers. By the mid-1970s, it is estimated that the loss of African American teaching jobs resulted in a loss of over \$240 million from the African American community.

Involvement in Social Movements

African American female teachers, through their teaching missions and involvement in social movements, were forerunners in the development of African American feminist thought. Among African American female teachers who founded educational institutions, for example, curricula were often underscored by an awareness of African American women's precarious social, economic, and political positions. Thus, while their course offerings balanced industrial and classical models, African American female teachers often had the specific needs of working-class and poor African American women in mind.

Teaching Self-Sufficiency

Notable African American female educators such as Bethune, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Anna Julia Cooper were outspoken supporters of education that taught self-sufficiency, hard work, modesty, and Christian principles. Burroughs, for example, opened the National Training School for Women and Girls in 1909 with the support of the

National Baptist Convention. The Washington, D.C., school offered a curriculum in domestic arts, sewing, cooking, secretarial sciences, cosmetology, and teaching. An ardent spokesperson for African American women's status, Burroughs used her status to lobby for livable wages for African American women, who were often the heads of households.

Her concern for African American women was far reaching, as Burroughs' school attracted girls from Africa and the Caribbean. Burroughs and her contemporaries—including African American educators Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Bethune, and Mary Church Terrell—incorporated a global concern for African American women into their missions through study groups and leadership in national and international African American women's clubs. Bethune headed both the National Association of Colored Women's Club and the National Council of Negro Women, both umbrella organizations for African American women involved in the club movement.

Cooper dedicated the majority of her 104 years to racial uplift in her roles as teacher, principal of Washington, D.C.'s, prestigious M Street School (later known as Dunbar High), and president of Frelinghuysen University (which was housed in Cooper's home). She was equally committed to the pursuit of her own educational goals, as she earned a doctorate degree at the age of 65 from the University of Paris. Cooper published *A Voice from the South: By a Black Woman of the South* in 1892, a collection of essays on African American women's social, economic, and political positions. The book also includes essays detailing African American women's need for vocational skills to control their economic destinies, a departure from the views of her male contemporaries who neglected the particularities of African American women's experiences.

Civil Rights

African American female teachers countered discriminatory practices of educational institutions and professional organizations by forming their own. When denied membership in the National Education Association (NEA), African American teachers established the National Association of Teachers of Colored Schools in 1907. The organization, which eventually merged with the NEA,

held annual conferences and regional meetings for professional development. These organizations provide yet another example of African American teachers creating professional niches to meet their professional needs and to impact the larger mission of educating African American students.

Although scholars debate the nature of African American women teachers' roles in social movements, most notably the civil rights movement, there are countless examples of African American women who took activist stances, both publicly and behind the scenes. By the late 1930s, African American female teachers actively participated in organized assaults on Jim Crow segregation, with salary disparities serving as a rallying point. The consequences for political activism among Southern African American female teachers were steep.

Districts across the South required African American teachers to sign loyalty oaths prohibiting membership in the NAACP. Southern school authorities were not above scanning NAACP membership rosters for names of African American teachers' offices and memberships. Aline Black (Norfolk, Virginia, 1939), Viola Louise Duvall (Charleston, South Carolina, 1944), and countless other African American female and male teachers were fired, physically threatened, and, in some instances, socially alienated for their willingness to be plaintiffs in landmark cases. Teacher Harriette Moore was killed in a bomb blast, alongside her husband, also a teacher and a leader in the Florida NAACP. In the decades following her dismissal from the Charleston Public Schools, Septima P. Clark sued and won back pay and compensation. Clark lost her position as a result of her leadership position in the Charleston NAACP.

Despite these threats, African American female teachers such as Clark participated in the foreground movement for civil rights as active protestors and organizers. Clark taught at the Highlander Folk School, teaching adult literacy for civic participation. Still others participated behind the scenes as teachers and supporters of African American youth in civil disobedience. African American female teachers contributed money to support African American teachers who had been fired for political activism. These actions demonstrate how African American female teachers extended teaching beyond the classroom.

Contemporary Times

African American female teachers still comprise the majority of the African American teaching force, which has been substantially decreased by retirement, increased educational and career opportunities for African American women outside of teaching, and an increase in teacher testing, which deters African Americans from entering teaching. Today, African American teachers comprise approximately 6% of the nation's public school teachers. African American women teachers work in a variety of contexts including K–12 urban, rural, and suburban settings, as well as in colleges and universities.

Their presence across teaching contexts, as highlighted in research and scholarship on African American female teachers, has been both welcomed and contested. African American female college and university faculty at PWIs continue to face acts of discrimination on the part of students, colleagues, and administrators. Despite their decreased numbers, research and scholarship on contemporary African American women teachers attest to their unique pedagogical approaches, including culturally relevant and responsive teaching, political activism, and active involvement in the evolution of multicultural education.

Although the promises of equitable educational opportunities for African American students remain woefully unfulfilled, contemporary African American women teachers, as their teaching foremothers, continue to seek improved educational opportunities for African American youth. For some African American female teachers, such as Marva Collins (founder of Chicago's Westside Preparatory School) and Dr. Lorraine Monroe (founding principal of Central Harlem's Frederick Douglass Academy), dissatisfaction with unchallenging curricula and low expectations for African American students have inspired them to found inner-city schools.

The impact of African American women teachers' pedagogical and leadership styles is also evident within school reform efforts. The methods of Houston-based teacher Harriet Ball, for example, became the model and inspiration for the Knowledge is Power Program. As such, Ball and Monroe, among countless other African American female teachers, have established professional development and leadership programs to further

their mission of improved educational opportunities for African American students.

Themes of racial uplift, community connections, activism, social justice, and leadership development around African American educational issues continue in the work of contemporary African American female teachers. As African American women and mothers, many contemporary African American female teachers are painfully aware of the continued legacy of racial injustice, economic oppression, and educational inequities imposed on African American students. Recent research on African American women teachers highlights the ways in which they connect school, community, and culture in their classroom instruction. For many of them, culturally relevant and responsive pedagogical approaches—as illuminated in the scholarship of Michele Foster, Geneva Gay, and Gloria Ladson-Billings, informed by their own cultural awareness—function as a basis for improving student performance, establishing high expectations, and raising social consciousness among youth. Teaching remains a vehicle for imparting culturally based ideas, communicative practices, values, and behaviors. As a result, African American women teachers continue to perform multiple roles of teacher, cultural mediators, activists, advocates, and leaders in schools and communities.

Jeannine E. Dingus

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Black Codes; Black Females in College; Collins, Marva; Cooper, Anna Julia Haywood; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Desegregation; Gender; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Industrial Education; Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; Rosenwald Fund

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BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

Since the colonial period, and especially in the 20th century in the United States, African Americans and Jews have forged a strong political relationship grounded in the two community's common desire for equality in U.S. society. Most celebrated in the mid-20th century civil rights movement, the African American–Jewish alliance trumpeted democratic pluralism and

helped to define the United States as a nation committed to protecting its most marginalized citizens.

The relationship between African Americans and Jews suffered from essential differences between African Americans, denied even the most basic rights until Reconstruction, and Jewish Americans, who enjoyed rapid social mobility within a generation of their arrival in the United States. In the United States, Jews, at several times and places, embraced the dominant racial hierarchy that afforded them both power and privilege while African Americans, whether in the scripture of some church teachings or in the pronouncements of African American nationalists, advanced classic anti-Semitic epithets. This entry looks at the history of this relationship, a topic that has reflected themes in a variety of African American educational venues: in the religious teachings of the church, academic teaching within the higher-educational system, and perhaps most important, the informal educational venues created when African Americans and Jews engaged one another in various social protest movements.

The 19th Century

In the colonial era, no particular relationship existed between Africans and African Americans, who arrived in the British-controlled territories enslaved, and U.S. Jews, who numbered just 2,500 by the time of the Revolution. A few U.S. colonial Jews engaged in the trade of enslaved Africans, whether as owners and traders in the South or as wholesale merchants in enslavement-based economies of the North. Especially after the Nation of Islam published *The Secret Relationship Between African Americans and Jews* (1991), accusing Jews of complicity in U.S. enslavement, scholars of the U.S. Jewish experience have mined the primary sources and determined that Jewish involvement in the trade of enslaved Africans proved disproportionately small and that Jewish critics often used the enslavement argument to mask deeper anti-Semitic motives.

In the mid-19th century, about 100,000 central European Jews immigrated to the United States, with some creating Jewish communities in the South. Self-employed as owners of retail shops, these Southern Jews shared an ambivalent relationship

with African Americans in the decades after emancipation. At once, they demonstrated a desire to strengthen ties with the African American community just as they enjoyed White privilege and feared anti-Semitic backlash from a non-Jewish White community that far outnumbered them. Historians note that Jewish shopkeepers extended credit to African American customers in times and places where no other Whites did. Similarly, Southern Jewish mercantile owners permitted African American customers to try on clothing before they purchased, a courtesy rare among other White Southerners.

The 20th Century

The turn of the 20th century brought the high-water mark in both cooperation and alienation within the African American-Jewish relationship. In 1909, African American intellectual and civil rights pioneer W. E. B. Du Bois joined U.S. Jews Joel and Arthur Spingarn to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which, along with its Legal Defense Fund, anchored the modern struggle for racial equality. By focusing largely on the U.S. judicial system, the NAACP could leverage the Jewish community's strong affection and experience in legal matters against a Jim Crow segregation system that challenged both African American and Jewish conceptions of U.S. democracy.

Civil Rights Movement

In the most celebrated moment in the history of the African American-Jewish relationship, Northern Jewish civil rights activists joined the modern civil rights struggle in disproportionate numbers, offering substantial political and financial support for the work of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and others. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) enjoyed widespread Jewish support, especially during Freedom Summer when hundreds of Northern Jewish college students journeyed to the South in an impressive interracial movement for civil equality. Tragically, Jewish activists Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner and African American civil rights worker James Cheney were murdered in Mississippi as they began work registering African American voters.

Southern Jews, though, rarely joined the African American-Jewish alliance. Fearful of retribution from angry Whites, most pressed for a gradualist approach to racial equality. Jewish residents of small towns, who often owned local mercantile stores, faced boycott threats from both sides of the civil rights battle. In cities such as Atlanta, outspoken Jewish civil rights activists such as Rabbi Jacob Rothschild endured death threats and synagogue bombings.

The African American-Jewish alliance faced its greatest test in the mid-1960s, when Lyndon Johnson's signature on the landmark Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts inspired a Jewish retreat from the movement's forefront as well as African American backlash against what some considered Jewish liberal paternalism and gradualism. The urban crises and civil uprisings pitted Jewish apartment and business owners against African Americans angry about the White and Jewish exodus from the cities.

Black Power

Ironically, the late-1960s political turmoil masked a powerful strengthening of the African American-Jewish alliance on entirely new terms. Even as most national Jewish organizations condemned the anti-Semitic undertones of the Black nationalist movements, many Jewish leaders advised against overreaction. Some empathized with African American frustration, while others believed it a temporary phase in the longer struggle for interracial cooperation. The Black power-inspired emphasis on strengthening ethnic identity could be seen in the growth of U.S. Zionism and of the Soviet Jewry movement, as well as a larger Jewish religious revival.

Attempts at interracial dialogue faltered in the last third of the 20th century as more African Americans identified Jews with the attitudes and political views of the White majority. U.S. Jews, for their part, took particular offense at the vitriolic anti-Semitism of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and African-centered academics such as Leonard Jeffries. Conflicts over the nature and limits of affirmative action programs, as well as highly publicized comments made by former presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and former UN ambassador Andrew Young, extended

the era of African American–Jewish distrust into the 1980s.

In the early years of the 21st century, African Americans and Jews maintain a large measure of social isolation and only limited political cooperation. Expressions of African American anti-Semitism remain rather limited in an era defined more by ethnic separation than by the coalition-building of an earlier time.

Marc Dollinger

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Voting Rights Act of 1965; White Flight

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BLACK MALE ACADEMIES

African American male academies—single-sex, single-race schools within the public system—were proposed in the late 1980s as a possible solution to the poor academic record of young African American males in many urban areas. Although the original wave of such schools foundered in legal action, modified versions have prospered, and revised laws have opened the door to a new debate about this option. This entry explores the history of these academies.

The Proposal and Its Rationale

Following *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), African American activists and educators believed that desegregated schools would

increase the likelihood that African American children would have equal access to a quality education. But not all African American activists were in agreement with this assertion. With the emergence of the Black power movement, several educators and activists maintained that school desegregation had done little to improve the life chances of African Americans and in fact might have done more damage. Certainly, such debates have persisted, with African Americans still grappling with questions about the merits of desegregated versus segregated schooling. In the 1980s, similar tensions surfaced when several urban metropolitan school districts proposed to create schools specifically for African American males—also called Black male academies.

During the late 1980s, several urban school districts across the United States developed district and community-based task forces to analyze the educational conditions of African American males, as well as propose and implement interventions to address their specific needs. For example, Milwaukee Public Schools, one of the districts at the forefront of such an effort, developed a report that highlighted the dire statistics of African American male achievement. The report cited that 81% of Milwaukee's African American male population attained less than a C average, and 50% were suspended; from 1978 to 1985, African American males made up 94% of the districtwide expulsions. Several other districts such as Detroit and New York School City schools cited similar statistics.

The proposed solution by many districts for addressing such deleterious outcomes was to open Black male academies. The belief among advocates for Black male academies was that a specific curriculum, pedagogy, and school structure would best serve the unique needs of African American males. However, one of the more controversial aspects of the academies was that such schools would separate all of the African American male students within one setting. Opponents to Black academies cited gender exclusivity and segregation as the primary reason for not supporting the opening of these schools.

For example, proponents of school desegregation saw the opening of separate schools for Black male academies as a major setback to the political efforts of the civil rights movement to desegregate schools and society. Advocates for Black male academies

indicated that the failures of desegregation were apparent with the dire statistics of African American males and that schools and districts needed to actively seek solutions that would change the social and educational conditions of African American males. Some scholars and educators questioned whether the creation of this kind of school could effectively address African American male achievement challenges. They also maintained that there had not been much research to support the claims made by the proponents of Black male academies.

Other challenges came from the American Civil Liberties Union and from the National Organization for Women—who asserted that the opening of Black male academies was a violation of Title IX, the Educational Opportunities Act—due to the gender exclusivity of such schools. In fact, in 1991, when several Black male academies were close to opening their doors, the Detroit, Michigan, case of *Garrett v. Board of Education* (1991), the court concluded that Black male academies—if opened—would be in violation of state laws in Michigan, the Equal Opportunities Act, and the Fourteenth Amendment. The precedent of this case pushed several other school districts to refrain from opening single-sex schools.

Modified Approaches

Although these schools were forced to move to a coeducational model, they continued to implement policies and practices to specifically meet the needs of African American males. One of the more common practices was the hiring of African American male teachers and staff who could work with African American male students. The premise behind hiring African American male teachers was to provide African American male students with positive role models to help motivate them to succeed in school and society.

Another common feature of these schools was to implement a school curriculum that could address the unique cultural and historical backgrounds of African American males. In addition, such schools often provided programs during non-school hours to address various social needs of the African American male. Many of these schools are still in existence with varied degrees of success.

In recent years, the debate has surfaced once again about how best to educate African American

males. A number of school boards and districts have developed community-based task forces to target the educational and social needs of African American males. In addition, some of these districts have even worked to open all-male academies as a primary intervention. Such schools have not received as much legal backlash due to the U.S. Department of Education's recent amendments to the Education Opportunities Act—Title IX, which now provides certain contingencies and exemptions to allow single-sex schools to operate. The first contingency is that school districts provide a substantially equal school that is single sex or coeducational. The new regulations also make charter schools completely exempt—allowing for them to operate on a single-sex basis.

Several schools in New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago have taken advantage of these new regulations and have opened or are planning to open Black male academies. The public discourse surrounding the opening of such schools certainly has and will continue to help sustain debates and discussions about African American education. Although the resurgence of Black male academies has not and perhaps will never resolve the enduring debate of whether desegregated or segregated school settings will best serve African American students, the idea of Black academies has continued to offer the promise and possibility for substantive educational and social changes for African American males.

Anthony L. Brown

See also Black Male Teachers; Charter Schools; Malcolm X Academy (Detroit, Michigan); Schott Foundation Black Boys Initiative

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BLACK MALE TEACHERS

African American male teachers are the demographic most greatly affected by the nationwide teacher shortage revealed by recent data. This shortage is projected to increase in the coming decades. The teacher pool is shrinking due to population growth, demands for smaller class sizes, looming retirement for baby boomers, low pay, and a general decrease in the number of college students who plan to teach.

This trend is particularly serious in the case of African American male teachers. Numerous scholars have discussed both the dire need as well as the benefits of having African American men in U.S. classrooms. Typically, the benefits are associated with the opportunity for young African American men and adolescents to see positive mentors and role models. Further, research suggests that African American teachers in general communicate better with African American children; they are better at keeping their attention and more likely to hold them to higher standards. In an educational environment where statistics show that African American male students are more likely than any other group to flunk tests, be disciplined, and be placed in special education classes—and fewer than half graduate and barely a third go to college—the mentoring of African American male adolescents by African American men could reverse this trend. This entry explores aspects of the experiences of African American men in education

including demographics, history, selected African American educational leaders, effects of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) and future prospects.

Educational Demographics

White women comprise the overwhelming majority of U.S. teachers. Yet, data indicate that White teachers in general were the least likely to have had much experience with racial diversity and remain remarkably isolated. Not only did White teachers on average attend schools when they were elementary students that were over 91% White, they are currently teaching in schools where almost 90% of their faculty colleagues are White and 70% of the students are White. According to Erica Frankenberg and Gary Orfield (2007), 38% of public schools nationwide still do not have a single teacher from an underrepresented group.

Consequently, relative to their share of the U.S. population (13%) and their share of U.S. public school children (16%), African Americans were underrepresented among U.S. public school teachers (7%). Women comprise the majority of public school teachers (73% women vs. 27% men). This was true to an even greater extent among African Americans (80% women vs. 20% men), and there is an expected imminent decrease in the already meager number of African American male teachers (Nettles & Perna, 1997).

There are numerous reasons for the low number of African American male teachers. Chief among them is the relatively low pay and diminished professional prestige associated with teaching. The average starting salary for teachers ranges from roughly \$30,000 to \$36,000 per year. And where prestige is concerned, the widely viewed conception of teaching as women's work causes many college-educated African American men to seek better pay and a greater sense of professional status in other occupations.

Even in cases where school systems are successful at employing African American men, about 20% leave the profession within 3 years, and in some school systems, close to 50% leave in the first 5 years. In addition, the low number of African American men currently enrolled in teacher education programs suggests that this downward trend will continue in the foreseeable future.

Historical Context

Several key events in U.S. history help explain the current state of African American men in education. These events include the end of enslavement, contentious judicial battles associated with the *Brown v. Board of Education*, and subsequent challenges to race-based resegregation beginning in the late 20th century. Any discussion of African American people must at some point address the ongoing struggle for educational equality. From the clandestine Sabbath schools operated and attended exclusively by African Americans prior to their emancipation, to segregated schools during the Jim Crow era, and finally to the current post-*Brown* era of U.S. schooling—African Americans have been critically engaged with education.

As noted scholar W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, for all intents and purposes, the idea of free public schooling in the post-Civil War era South was a “Negro idea.” As a result of the tumultuous period in which legally sanctioned African American participation in education began, the gendered and hierarchal arrangements often found within schools for Whites at the time did not exist. As newly emancipated citizens, in most cases, African Americans did not have the resources to split schools along class, race, or gender lines. Therefore, out of necessity, African American men, women, and children, regardless of their class standing or ability to pay, flocked to any and all available schools.

A typical African American classroom during this period consisted of men and women studying together in rickety one-room schoolhouses in classes with students ranging from adolescence to adulthood. Regardless of any and all mediating factors, every segment of the African American community wanted to learn; as a result of limited resources, they literally could not afford to discriminate. There was a community-wide desire for education. Historian James Anderson documents this excitement about education stating that prior to the end of the Civil War less than 7% of the African American population was literate. However, by 1930 nearly 77% of the African American population was literate. Consequently, as the number of students increased, both the demand for more teachers and the pool of prospective teachers increased.

Despite these significant gains in educational achievement, segregationist laws significantly hindered the ability of African Americans to peruse a wide range of careers. Subsequently, the professional class within the African American community was primarily composed of teachers and preachers. In most cases, this meant that the men occupied church pulpits and administrative positions within schools. However, while women were primarily concentrated in the lower levels of schooling, there were several cases where these gendered roles were reversed and men served as teachers and women occupied principalships in African American schools.

The narrow range of careers for African Americans ran counter to national employment trends of the late 19th century. Professions associated with the industrialization of the nation garnered unparalleled popularity during this era as the United States evolved from an agrarian to a technologically driven society. Accordingly, White men sought careers in engineering, business, industry, and the hard sciences while teaching was left primarily to women. As Steven Tozer, Paul C. Violas, and Guy B. Senese note, historians often refer to this phenomenon starting in the late 19th century and still persisting today as the feminization of teaching. For African Americans, disenfranchisement from participation in the full range of employment opportunities meant the best and brightest men and women within the community typically occupied teaching positions.

Consequently, noted African American female educators such as Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells, and Mary McLeod Bethune were held in high acclaim for their work as teachers and stood shoulder to shoulder with their African American male contemporaries such as John H. Franklin, Carter G. Woodson, and Ernest E. Just.

Influential African American Educators

The reverence given to education and particularly to teachers in the African American community set the stage for two of the most influential African American male educators to lay the cornerstone for African American education. These two enormously important figures were Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. Their greatly chronicled debate addressed the best academic

preparation for the freedmen and women after the Civil War.

Washington, with the support of influential Northerners, believed that the best curriculum for African Americans of the period should consist of rudimentary literacy and mathematics training with an emphasis on vocational education. Du Bois, on the other hand, believed that African Americans should have access to a liberal arts curriculum reflective of the full range of educational opportunities offered at the best educational institutions in the country. At the center of their debate was an immensely important struggle concerning how to best prepare teachers for a community that was in dire need of education for social uplift.

The continued success and educational significance attributed to Washington's alma mater, Hampton University, and the school that he went onto establish, Tuskegee University, as well as Du Bois's beloved alma mater, Fisk University, are testament to the influence and lasting effect of both educators. The racially segregated environment in which the Washington and Dubois debates took place persisted in the United States until the middle of the 20th century when the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* ruled that segregation was unconstitutional. Although the ruling opened up education, employment opportunities, public accommodations, and numerous other aspects of the United States that were once racially exclusive, there were several unexpected outcomes that have been particularly detrimental for African American education. Primary among them was the loss of several jobs for African American teachers and principals as a result of the closure of previously all African American schools across the southeastern region of the United States.

The Negative Impact of *Brown*

A key factor that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund used to argue for an end to segregation hinged on the belief that a lack of exposure to mainstream U.S. culture was detrimental to African American students. This argument was made with a pragmatic understanding that while they pushed for integration, what was most likely to occur was desegregation. The difference between the two has proved to be the single greatest hindrance to

improving the number of African American teachers generally speaking, and African American male teachers in particular.

Four decades after, *Brown* desegregation in the U.S. has come to mean the end of legally separating students by race, giving the bulk of academic and financial resources to White children. Although integration has come to be understood as providing certain features and arrangements that allow some people to access and participate in their environment in limited circumstances and in reaction to a stated need, the lion's share of the attention concerning integration and desegregation has historically focused on achieving a certain racial demographic among student populations while the outcomes on African American teachers after *Brown* have not been chronicled in the same manner. Therefore, even after the success attributed to *Brown*, the aim of ending racial prejudice and building bridges of mutual benefit between the African American and White communities is still in question.

Proof of this can be found by examining the number of African American teachers who lost their jobs after *Brown*. As early as the spring of 1953, when it appeared that the Supreme Court would rule on the side of ending race-based segregation, numerous school superintendents across the 21 states that practiced legally sanctioned segregation sent letters to their African American employees. These letters were meant to inform their African American employees that if segregation ended, so too would their employment as teachers and/or principals. These letters were premised on the belief that White parents would not want their children to sit in classrooms with African American children and would not want them taught by African American teachers. According to this train of thought, this mixing of the races would result in the mongrelization of the White race.

Educational researchers found that the firings during this era decimated the African American teaching force and subsequently set the stage for decades of poor educational performance by African American students. Consequently, although the significance of *Brown* as a barometer of the nation's improving attitude toward racial equality is apparent, African American students and educators are still paying the price for the substantial

level of teacher firings associated with *Brown*. In fact, educator Vanessa Siddle Walker (2001) argued that, by and large, the culture of African American teaching died with *Brown*, meaning a community that valued teachers as its leaders all but lost their leadership class and came to view education and teaching as a profession in a totally different light.

The resulting numbers speak to the severity of these trends. In 1954, about 82,000 African American teachers were responsible for teaching 2 million African American children. In the 11 years immediately following *Brown*, more than 38,000 African American teachers and administrators in 17 Southern and border states lost their jobs. African American principals (who represented a higher percentage of African American male educators) fared even worse. By some estimates, 90% lost their jobs in 11 Southern states. Even in instances where African American principals attempted to fight their dismissal, in most cases, they were demoted to assistant principal or to coaching or teaching jobs.

Looking Ahead

Today, experts say the United States will need more than 2 million new teachers in the next 10 years. And as more than 1 million public school teachers are close to retirement, schools will have to do more to get people to become teachers. African American men in particular are greatly needed, and educational researchers say the effects of racist employment practices still exist after *Brown*. For instance, from 1975 to 1985, the number of African American students majoring in education dropped by 66%. And even once African American men come into the profession, they are bunched in certain levels of education with only about 10% teaching in the lower grades compared to nearly 50% in the upper grades. In addition, the demand for African American male college graduates means these job seekers can often get other work that pays more.

Roland W. Mitchell

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Du Bois, W. E. B.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Washington, Booker T.

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BLACK ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

The Black Oral History Collection consists of interviews conducted by scholars at Washington State University with 51 African American pioneers and their descendants throughout Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana. It is important because it deepens the understanding of the social, political, and cultural history of African Americans in the Pacific Northwest. This entry describes the project and its significance.

Historian Quintard Taylor Jr. and two associates, Charles Ramsay and John Dawkins, created the project in the summer of 1972; their goal was to chronicle and catalogue the migration and experiences of African Americans who ventured and settled in the Pacific Northwest from the late 1800s to 1972. Using monies provided by the Black studies department to conduct preliminary research on African American history in the Pacific Northwest, Ramsay and Dawkins, of Washington State University, conducted the interviews between 1972 and 1974. They were able to collect information about the job opportunities, social and community life, education, living patterns, church relations, and political associations of African Americans in this region from the late 19th century through 1974.

What emerged from their efforts was the Black Oral History Collection, housed at Washington State University. It provides historians and scholars with the names and firsthand accounts of African Americans living in the Pacific Northwest. Each interview includes questions detailing where the participants are from; why they chose to move to the Pacific Northwest; the types of social activities, clubs, education, employment, and housing available for African Americans; the role of the African American church in the community; politics; and day-to-day life with others. In addition, the collection offers a new interpretation of African American history—one that focuses on the self-motivated activities of African Americans to remake themselves and their worlds. Their survival skills, efficient networks, and dynamic culture enabled them to thrive and spread and to be at the very core of the settlement and development of the United States. The hopeful journeys of African American settlers in the Pacific Northwest changed not only their world but also the fabric of the African diaspora.

The information obtained was used as source material for a television documentary series, *South by Northwest* (1975) and also served as primary source material for Taylor's doctoral dissertation, *A History of Blacks in the Pacific Northwest, 1788–1970*, completed at the University of Minnesota in 1977. Washington State University has since made The Black Oral History Collection interviews a part of its digital archives. Researchers, historians, and the general public can access abstracts of each interview or listen to each interview in its entirety.

The Black Oral History Collection is as invaluable to understanding the African American experience as other oral history archival collections such as the Works Progress Administration Slave Narratives (1936–1938) and William's H. Chafe's more recent Behind the Veil Project, which documents the life experiences of African Americans who lived during and endured the Jim Crow South (1896–1965). Each of these collections extends one's understanding of the experiences and contributions of African Americans past and present.

Oral history has played a crucial role in preserving African American history and culture. It has served a dual purpose of recovering history from the threats of racism, sexism, and class oppression and providing a tool to empower African Americans through a key aspect of education, the process of remembering and reinterpreting the past. Oral history is the interviewing of eyewitness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction. Oral history interviews traditionally have been divided into three types: topical, biographical, and autobiographical. Although oral history, past and present, has been viewed with skepticism and can be flawed by humans and technology, it has been useful to the field of history and all disciplines concerned with human inquiry and to the construction and study of societies.

Through the resurgence of oral history in the mid-20th century, interviews with members of minority groups, the working class, women, and other marginalized groups have inscribed their experiences on the historical record and have offered their own interpretations of history. More specifically, interviews have documented aspects of historical experience, which tend to be missing from other sources, such as personal relations, domestic work, or family life, and they have resonated with the personal meanings of lived experience.

Christopher M. Span and Chamara J. Kwakye

See also Black Women Oral History Project (Radcliffe College)

Web Site

Black Oral History Collection at Washington State University: <http://www.wsulibs.wsu.edu/Holland/masc/xblackoralhistory.html>

BLACK PANTHER PARTY LIBERATION SCHOOLS

In June 1969, the Black Panther Party launched its first liberation school in Berkeley, California. In the next few years, the Panthers opened additional liberation schools in African American communities across the United States from Seattle to San Francisco to Philadelphia to New York. Targeting African American elementary and middle school children, the schools epitomized Panther hopes of creating a new, revolutionary Black consciousness. The Panther liberation schools had an ephemeral existence, but embodied the most dynamic African American political and pedagogical tendency of their day.

The liberation schools arose directly out of the Black Panthers' early militant history, when the group exerted its most significant impact on the consciousness of African Americans. Like the organization that created them, the Panther schools offered African American youth an alternative to the ideologies of White racial supremacy and economic oppression that surrounded them. They conveyed a transcendent sense of possibility. This intransigent opposition to African American oppression and commitment to Black liberation, rather than any specific techniques that they employed, constitute the essential difference between the liberation schools and most education offered African American youth. This entry looks at their history.

Early Years

Founded in 1966, the Black Panther Party first achieved renown through public displays of weaponry and militant confrontations with the police. In addition to constituting a direct challenge to racist state power, Panther actions profoundly impacted the consciousness of African Americans. Whereas integrationist reformers had sought to eliminate barriers to full and equal participation in U.S. society and its schools, the Panthers charged that existing U.S. institutions were oppressive to their core. All the group's actions transmitted that revolutionary stance to African Americans whose psyches and ideologies had been warped by life in the United States.

The Black Panther Party's 1966 program aimed to provide education for African Americans that truly reflected U.S. society—good and bad. Panther educational activities included ideological training for members, the publication of a newspaper, adult political education events in the African American community, and liberation schools that prepared children and youth to join in the struggle to create a new society.

The liberation school curriculum sought to instill a clear and explicit ideology. Children played revolutionary games and marched to songs that told of police behaving in chaotic and violent ways while the Black Panther Party helped defend the people. They were taught the Black Panther Party platform and the Panther analysis of racism, capitalism, socialism, and the parallels between Black struggles in the United States and those of other oppressed peoples around the world.

The liberation schools built on well-known alternative educational institutions of the African American freedom struggle. Already, the citizenship schools, created under the aegis of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Freedom Schools, created by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), had suggested the possibility of education that promoted African American self-awareness and activism. Both the citizenship and the freedom schools embraced the pedagogical methods and ideals of liberal U.S. progressivism. Just as the Panthers' politics repudiated mainstream U.S. liberal ideology, the group's liberation schools challenged the liberal, progressive pedagogy of self-direction and self-expression. The Panthers' commitment to teacher-centered inculcation galvanized Black activism rather than inhibited it.

Shifting Approaches

Within a few years of the party's founding, the Panthers' politics and approach to education began to shift. Activists supplemented revolutionary activity with community organizing, and as they swayed between revolution and reform, the Panthers were undecided as to whether the African American community had to depend on a vanguard to reveal the truth about its situation or whether it had the capacity to articulate its own demands. The initiation of community organizing

led to a transformation of the liberation school, marked by the 1971 establishment of the Intercommunal Youth Institute (IYI), an elementary school for the children of party members in Oakland, California. For a few years, the IYI mixed revolutionary ideological training with progressive educational approaches.

In 1974, the IYI was renamed the Oakland Community School (OCS), further distancing it from its revolutionary liberation school roots. The institution's mission shifted from the training of future Panthers to the establishment of a progressive school that could serve as a model of a positive and progressive educational program for poor urban youth. The OCS offered children much more individualized attention. Students' vocabularies grew through working on words commonly used at home and in the streets. They learned mathematics by going to the store and getting change. Teachers were to provide reference in the Socratic method, allowing students to arrive at conclusions on their own.

The Panthers' grassroots organizing in Oakland led to some limited influence in local politics, but it only temporarily slowed the Panther's decline as a militant and effective organization. Activists' embrace of mainstream progressivism proved to be as tenuous as their earlier effort to construct a revolutionary curriculum. By the end of the 1970s, OCS instructor handbooks eliminated all references to the Black Panthers while stressing the recitation of consonant blends, alphabetization, and other basic skills. As the radical hopes of the late 1960s faded, the school abandoned the idea that students could either make meaning of their world or be instructed so as to understand their oppression.

Daniel Perlstein

See also African American Studies; Citizenship Schools; Freedom Schools; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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BLACK STUDIES

See African American Studies

BLACK THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

The history of Black theological education is one of the most significant, but neglected stories in higher education. Some of the nation's leading African American preachers, intellectuals, college presidents, politicians, church officials, and civic leaders—from Anna Julia Cooper and Howard Thurman to Marian Wright Edelman and Andrew Young—have come from the ranks of these institutions. The earliest scholarly investigations of African American religious life by W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Benjamin E. Mays, E. Franklin Frazier, and others all stressed the need for a more learned clergy in the African American community. The task of theological education is the transformation of competent and compassionate persons of conscience, committed to excellence in leadership and ministry in the church, community, and world.

This mandate is both particularized and expanded where the social location, culture, and heritage of African Americans is concerned. On the one hand, the African American seminary represents the accountability of African American churches to appropriately contextualize ministerial and lay preparation for the needs of the African American community. Simultaneously, it is also a celebration of the insurrection of knowledge about the African American church experience and the expansion of theological purviews that claim to be universal, inclusive, and normative. This entry

recounts the history of these organizations and their social impact.

Early Seminaries

The history of African American seminaries dates back to the founding of such institutions as Payne Seminary in Wilberforce, Ohio (1844); the Theological Department at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina (1865); the Theological Department at Howard University in Washington, D.C. (1870); Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, precursor to Spelman College (1881, 1924); Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia (1883); Virginia Union School of Theology in Richmond, Virginia (1898); Hood Theological Seminary in Salisbury, North Carolina (1910); and the undergraduate American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee (1924). These institutions, most of which were started by African American denominations, pioneered in the preparation of clergy and laity for the increasingly complex demands of African American church culture and African American community life. They were also the first to establish the view that African American churches were eminently worthy of scholarly attention and examination. Howard and Gammon were particularly important in this regard as the first fully accredited predominantly African American graduate schools of theological education.

Efforts to strengthen African American theological education increased in the 1950s and 1960s, a period in which the African American church emerged to prominence as the African American church. The quest for civil rights and Black power in the second half of the 20th century, the rise of independent African nations, and the emergence of Black liberation theology highlighted the demand to further empower indigenous African American institutions.

Both as a response to the times and out of economic necessity, a consortium of African American graduate schools of theology, representing four denominations, agreed in 1958 to form the Interdenominational Theological Center (ITC) in Atlanta. They were Morehouse School of Religion, a Baptist school begun in 1867; Gammon Theological Seminary, founded by the United Methodists (1883); Turner Theological Seminary,

organized by the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1885); and a Tennessee school started by the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Philips School of Theology (1885). Two other schools joined the consortium in 1970: Johnson C. Smith Theological Seminary operated by the Presbyterians and Charles H. Mason Theological Seminary, a school of the Church of God in Christ. Commonly known as the ITC, this unique constellation of six schools is one of the most important centers of African American graduate theological studies existing today. It remains unsurpassed in higher education as a model of ecumenical and administrative cooperation.

A Response to Assassination

A new chapter in African American graduate theological education began with the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4, 1968. In response to the tragedy and to the surging tide of Black consciousness, African American students and faculty in predominantly White seminaries, though small in number, also demanded that the institutional African American church and African American religion and culture be carefully included in their curriculum. However, certifying the professional and academic legitimacy of the African American church tradition was not perceived by White divinity schools and seminaries, no matter how liberal, to be in their own best interest.

An uprising by students in 1969 at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School/Bexley Hall/Crozer Theological Seminaries in Rochester, New York, led to the establishment of the Martin Luther King Program of Black Church Studies, the first program of its kind in a historically White seminary. Other programs soon followed, including the Center for Urban Black Studies at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California (1969, now defunct); the highly accomplished Church and the Black Experience at Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois (1970); the Office of Black Church Studies at Duke Divinity School in Durham, North Carolina (1972); and the African American Church Studies Program at Fuller Theological Seminary (1974). This embryonic or experimental stage in the development of programs of African American Black church studies was succeeded by the establishment of the Kelly Miller Smith Institute

on Black Church Studies at Vanderbilt Divinity School in Nashville, Tennessee (1985); the McCreary Center for African American Religious Studies at Ashland Theological Seminary (1989); and the Program of Black Church Studies at Candler School of Theology at Emory University (1990).

More than a dozen Black church studies programs now exist nationwide, and new programs continue to emerge even as some of the older programs are in decline. By most standards, the Black church studies programs with the highest profiles in the country today are at Vanderbilt and Candler School of Theology.

Future Agenda

A range of issues and concerns must be seriously addressed if historically African American theological schools and African American church studies programs are to be relevant, productive, and successful in the future. Two are mentioned in this entry. First, conceptual clarity must be gained where the meaning of the African American church and African American religion more broadly defined are concerned. Recent trends in African American religious life—from the rise of the mega-church phenomenon and Sunni Islam to African derived religious traditions and African and Caribbean diasporic churches—mean that there is powerful diversity as well as commonality in the religious experiences of African Americans. Second, adequate funding resources and commitments to African American theological education at the institutional level remain one of the looming challenges for the foreseeable future.

Tension points between White granting agencies and African American seminaries, and African American church studies programs require a renewed commitment on the part of African American faith communities to finance African American theological education if legitimacy and respectability are to be sustained. Today, as in the past, the defining relationship for African American theological education is the African American community and the African American church.

Alton B. Pollard III

See also Cooper, Anna Julia Haywood; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Howard University; Woodson, Carter G.

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BLACK WOMEN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT (RADCLIFFE COLLEGE)

The Black Women Oral History Project of Radcliffe College consists of transcripts of 66 oral history interviews of African American women who made significant contributions to their communities through professional or volunteer work. Started by the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women at Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the interviews conducted from 1976 to 1985 record the memoirs of selected African American U.S. women age 70 and over. The project was initially funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, and later supplemental grants were received from the Blanchard Foundation, the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company, and the National Institute for the Aging. This entry considers the participants in and the significance of the Black women oral history project.

The participants of the Black Women Oral History Project of Radcliffe represent different areas of the United States, and the interviews capture each woman speaking openly about coming of age during the early years of the struggle for racial equality prior to the civil rights movement. Each interview includes, but is not limited to, a discussion of each participant's childhood; religious, educational, and cultural experiences and opportunities; and family genealogies, including stories passed from generation to generation. In addition to providing personal information about

their experiences, the participant's narratives give insight about various aspects of African American life within the historical moment, enhancing one's understanding of the impact of political leaders and organizations.

In several of the interviews, the women discuss prominent political figures including A. Philip Randolph, Jennie B. Moton, W. E. B. Du Bois, Mary Church Terrell, Mary McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Paul Robeson, and Langston Hughes. In addition to political figures, the participants discuss the economic opportunities that World War II created for African American women and men and discuss the organizations that broadened the public awareness of African American culture, such as the National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the National Council of Negro Women.

Oral histories are an important source for understanding history. In the case of the Black Women Oral History Project of Radcliffe, it provides a source for understanding personal aspects of African American female life. The Radcliffe project is powerful in that it recognizes the participants as trailblazers in social work, medicine, government, trade unions, business, and education and emphasizes the effect of race, class, and gender on the lives of the participants and on other individuals. The interviews are testimony to how African American women's motivation, styles of activism, and objectives have always played a major role in shaping, building, and sustaining the African American community. These oral histories enable scholars to continue to rescue African American women from their obscurity and invisibility in both African American history and women's history.

The ability to understand the complex ways in which race, gender, and class have shaped African American women's lives depends on intensive work in primary sources. Many of African American women's personal narratives and oral histories have been rescued by record keepers or archivists sensitive to preserving African American women's history. Otherwise, the African American woman's world has been peripheral to those who are most likely to keep records of any kind: men and White women. These circumstances continue

to make the collection of information on African American women essential to one's understanding of U.S. history.

Chamara J. Kwakye

See also Black Oral History Collection; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Slave Narratives

Web Sites

- African American Women Online Archival Collection from Duke University Special Collections Library: <http://library.duke.edu/specialcollections/collections/digitized/african-american-women>
- African American Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Digital Schomburg Collection): http://digital.nypl.org/schomburg/writers_aa19/main.html
- Black Women at Virginia Tech, Virginia Tech Archives: <http://spec.lib.vt.edu/archives/blackwomen>
- Black Women in the Middle West Project: http://www.indianahistory.org/library/manuscripts/collection_guides/m0530.html
- The Black Women Oral History Project: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/oral/guides/blkwmn.html>
- Civil Rights in Mississippi Digital Archive: <http://www.lib.usm.edu/~spcol/crda>
- The National Archives for Black Women's History: <http://www.archives.gov/research/alic/reference/women.html#pt8>
- Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA: <http://www.smith.edu/libraries/libs/ssc/index.html>

BOARD OF MISSIONS FOR THE FREEDMEN OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The educational ministry of the Board of Missions for the Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America should be seen in several larger contexts. These include the general disposition of White people toward African American people, the antebellum and postbellum stances of White people in regard to the education of African American people, the attitudes and actions of Northern White Presbyterians during

and after enslavement, the attitudes and actions of Southern White Presbyterians during and after enslavement, and perhaps most important, the attitudes and actions of African American Presbyterians in the realm of educational self-help and self-empowerment. This entry examines these larger contexts.

Organizational Context

Presbyterianism is both a particular form of church government—ruled by Presbyter’s elders at the local, regional, and nation levels—and a theological embracing of John Calvin. Ruling elders are laypersons elected to represent the congregation. Ministers are simply elders of the word and sacrament. In contrast to other churches, the Presbyterian Church has no bishops; on the other hand, the congregation cannot hire and fire pastors or vote on a budget.

During the colonial period, there were more Presbyterians in the country than Baptists or Methodists. However, the mandatory educational requirements for Presbyterian clergy—4 years of college and 3 years of graduate theological education—disallowed quick church planting as the country extended westward. Baptists and Methodists had no such educational requirements, so they spread much more rapidly.

Presbyterians first organized in the colonies in 1706 and did not make an antienslavement statement until 1818. Even then it applied no sanction against members or ministers owning human beings. There was an elitist racism among many Presbyterian clergy.

Even though most Presbyterians were proenslavement, they did seek African Christian conversion through religious instruction. It was education that attracted African American people to this racist denomination. The First African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia in 1807 had a day school supported by some of the richest White families in that city. The synod region of New York and New Jersey established an African school between 1816 and 1825. The earliest African American missionary, the Reverend John Chavis, organized a school for both African Americans and Whites in North Carolina despite laws throughout the South after the Nat Turner rebellion in 1831 that prohibited anyone from

teaching enslaved people to read and write. Nearly all African American Presbyterian pastors augmented their salaries by teaching.

The Presbyterian Church split over the Civil War in 1861. It reunited at the national level in 1983 and at the district and regional levels in 1989. About 95% of African American Presbyterians in the South belonged to the northern wing of the church. They had all African American Presbyteries and synods. The Board of Missions for the Freedmen was established after the Civil War by the northern wing of the denomination. It was an agency similar to the federal Freedman’s Bureau except that it was more singularly focused on education rather than on the transportation, labor, and medical emphases of the governmental agency.

After the Civil War

Following the Civil War, Northern Whites sent many teachers to work among the freed people. Black colleges started by Presbyterians’ Board included Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, Johnson C. Smith University and Barber-Scotia College in North Carolina, Knoxville College in Tennessee, and Mary Holmes College in Mississippi. Southern White Presbyterians founded Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Barber-Scotia and Johnson C. Smith Colleges are responsible for the critical mass of African American Presbyterians in the Carolinas.

Perhaps most important to African American education, Presbyterians established a series of African American elementary and secondary schools throughout the South, beginning in the late 19th through mid-20th centuries. These included Henderson Institute in North Carolina, 1891; St. James Parochial in South Carolina, 1921; Russell Grove School in Virginia, 1866; and many others. By 1870, there were 101 day school teachers, and by 1889, 165. The number of schools expanded in the 1870s and 1980s, began slowing down in the 1890s, expanded again from 1900 through the 1920s, and began to shut down in the 1930s. After *Brown v. Brown of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the church saw these as obsolete, and they have all been closed, the last one being Boggs Academy of Georgia in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

There was also an independent African American synod formed in the southern church in 1897, and African Americans started a school in Danville, Virginia. There were often political battles for control of these schools between African Americans and Whites.

African American Presbyterian schools had the same debate over the nature of the education offered as symbolized by the conflict between Booker T. Washington and vocational-agricultural and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and liberal arts and sciences.

Lucy Craft Laney was a giant of African American Presbyterian education, founding the Haines Institute in 1883 in Augusta, Georgia. George Waldo Long founded Coulter Academy in Cheraw, South Carolina in 1908. In 1968, African American Presbyterians—including Dorothy Counts, Dr. Reginald Hawkins, Rev. Darius Swann, and Mrs. Vera Swann—were key figures in the desegregation of public schools in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.

Carlton A. G. Eversley

See also African Free School; *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Du Bois, W. E. B.; Washington, Booker T.

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BODY IMAGE

For many researchers, *body image* is a term that has come to describe people's perceptions about

their own physicality. Specifically, body image includes all elements of that physicality including beauty, body size, emotions associated with these elements, and body sensitivities. These images are primarily subjective and do not necessarily equate with an outsider's view of the individual's body. Distortions of this type have been labeled as psychological disorders. Interestingly, body image is constructed not just through the individual's own ideas and constructions about the ideal physical form but also through societal and cultural norms governing such forms. Social experiences of the individual also help to shape his or her perceptions about his or her physical form. Students' cultural and ethnic backgrounds play a large role in their development of body image. This has particular implications for African Americans and for African American education, as discussed in this entry.

Society, the Media, and Self-Perceptions

In the United States and in other Western countries, the ideal body shape range continues to narrow as the media creates more and more images that are unlike the average citizen. For females, the standards of beauty are quite thin, while for males, the ideal physique is muscular, broad chested, and slim through the hips. Only relatively recently have researchers begun to focus on male body image. Such studies are beginning to suggest that the muscular ideal male form is based on Western notions of aggressiveness associated with masculinity.

Researchers tend to agree that the media is responsible for shaping many individuals' perceptions of their own physical form. Studies have indicated that more often than not, female body images on television and in print are represented as slim. Those magazines marketed to women, especially female adolescents, almost always depict the ideal form of beauty as a thin female. It has also been suggested that for African American adolescents, this problem has been somewhat neutralized by their culture's tendency to appreciate a fuller female form. In fact, it has been shown that African American females, both teens and adults, tend to have a healthier relationship with their body image than do individuals in other ethnic groups. This group tends to be less interested in dieting and less concerned about fatness compared to White females especially. However, the gap

between these two groups' images of themselves is lessening as media impact is growing among African American women and girls.

In the 20th century, the appearance of ideal male form in magazines and print materials increased. As a result, the media is beginning to play a greater role in this group's perception of their physical forms. However, African American male adolescents continue to exhibit the least amount of negativity about their body image among all ethnic groups and genders discussed in the body image literature.

Disconnections between one's self-perception of body image and physical reality are diagnosed as a number of disorders including, but not limited to, anorexia nervosa and bulimia. Anorexia results when people attempt to pursue thinness and begin to see themselves as obese despite their real physical image. The disorder is characterized by extreme weight loss, excessive dieting, hyperactivity, and loss of menstrual periods. Bulimia also results from a distorted body image and a fear of obesity, but includes a bingeing and purging cycle. This cycle involves individuals consuming large amounts of food only to induce vomiting or use laxatives to purge themselves of the meal. Symptoms of bulimia include, but are not limited to, uncontrollable food urges, self-induced vomiting, swollen glands, and dental decay.

Impact on Education

Although an increasing number of African Americans suffer from these ailments, they have the added pressure of a historical experience in the United States that conceals unhealthy body images from a strictly physical disorder to one that may negatively impact their academic performance. In addition to physical ailments, poor body image has also been linked to poor self-esteem, which negatively affects student performance. Teasing from students' peers is linked to increased suicide attempts, lowered self-esteem, and lower body image among children and adolescents.

Although African American children do not seem to suffer from teasing as much as children in other ethnic groups, they do have the added historical implications of being African in the United States, a history which affects their perceptions of

their own physicality. It has been argued that skin color, as a result of enslavement and colonization, has become part of a social hierarchy wherein one's proximity to the White standard of beauty becomes the standard against which African Americans are measured. In addition to skin color, hair length and texture, nose width, and lip size all have implications on the African American student's body image.

From 1939 until 1950, Kenneth and Mamie Clark conducted a series of studies to document the effects of racism and segregation on African American children. Using four plastic dolls and a series of drawings, children were asked to describe the dolls and to color the drawings the same color as themselves. These children tended to choose the White dolls over the African American dolls consistently while coloring the drawings in shades lighter than their own skin color. The findings caused the two Howard-trained psychologists to argue that African American children's preference for Whiteness was a mark of the child's awareness that African Americans were considered inferior in this country. Supporting cases in Virginia, Delaware, and South Carolina, these studies were used in the Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) case. Over 50 years later, a 17-year-old, Kira Davis, conducted her own version of the famous doll test. The results were virtually the same. The resulting documentary, *A Girl Like Me*, was videorecorded and became an online (and e-mail) phenomenon, sparking debate and renewed interest in African American self-perception.

Educators and counselors working with African American students on body image issues are encouraged to deal not only with matters of physical body size but also with the impact of racism, classism, sexism, physical attractiveness, and the historical and social implications involved in the shaping of the student's own body image. Factors shown to protect students against negative body image and associated disorders include, among others, a social context that offers a wide range of body images, family and community support, strong social and coping skills, and a culture that supports individuality while providing protection from negative experiences.

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See also Identity Development; Racism Inside the Race: Light Skin Versus Dark Skin; Self-Esteem

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BOLLING V. SHARPE

In the case of *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court found that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia was unconstitutional, holding the federal government, which operates district schools, to the same standard it had imposed on states in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). The decision was also a personal victory for James Nabrit, an African American civil rights lawyer who found in the case an opportunity to argue his own view of segregation before the highest court in the land. This entry explores the historical background, the substance, and the subsequent impact of the case.

Historical Background

James Nabrit was a minister's son who as a child witnessed an African American man who had been beaten to death by Whites, hog-tied, and dragged to an open lot in the African American section of town less than 200 yards from his house. The man's corpse was set on fire, and all night long, young Nabrit watched in horror as his fellow White citizens of Americus, Georgia, came to pick off pieces of the dead man's clothing and his corpse as souvenirs. The man was attacked by the Whites because he had gotten really excited when Jack

Johnson defeated Jim Jeffries, "The Great White Hope," in a heavyweight boxing match in 1910.

Nabrit painfully learned that to be African American was to be subject to the White man's worst whims. This event and others would cause Nabrit to decline to follow in his father's footsteps to become a minister, but to, instead, become a civil rights lawyer. Nabrit eventually became a well-respected professor of law at Howard University and served as an adviser to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP's) Legal Defense team during the times it worked diligently to gain equal opportunities in education for African Americans. In this role, Nabrit worked hard to urge Thurgood Marshall to strike at segregation itself and directly attack the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) separate-but-equal principle. Robert Carter and others on the team agreed, but Marshall stuck with his strategy, arguing that educational facilities and resources be equalized or opened so that African Americans could attend school with Whites. Marshall had used this strategy to win a line of victories culminating in winning the landmark cases of *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education* (1950).

A barber named Gardner Bishop who, like Nabrit, had grown up in the South, but who moved to Washington, D.C., began to protest when his daughter Judine was getting reduced time at Browne Junior High School where the enrollment was twice the capacity of the school. Meanwhile, at nearby Elliot High School for Whites, there were several unoccupied spaces, especially since many White parents had already started what would be a 23-year pattern of fleeing to the suburbs. Bishop led a group called Consolidated Parents that operated outside of the school's parent-teacher association, which was dominated by middle-class African American parents, a group Gardner found to be pretentious and less accepting of his views and those of poor African Americans.

While the middle-class group retained a lawyer, Gardner sought his own counsel, quickly emerged as the leader of the Consolidated Parents, and staged a number of protests in the Washington, D.C., area that caused the school board to respond with some concessions, but never to agree to strategies that would integrate the African American and

White children. In 1948, Gardner met and befriended Charles Houston, a civil rights lawyer, who agreed to represent Gardner's group in a suit to equalize Washington, D.C., schools. Houston also helped him continue the protests across the District of Columbia. Late in 1949, Houston was hospitalized with a heart ailment. He never fully recovered, and 2 months later, he asked that Gardner seek out Nabrit. Gardner did, and Nabrit agreed to take the case but only if Gardner was interested in attacking segregation directly. He was.

Facts of the Case

The *Bolling v. Sharpe* case, filed in 1951, challenged the validity of segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia. The plaintiffs were African American children who alleged that such segregation deprived them of due process under the Fifth Amendment. The school board refused to admit the African American students to a public school attended by White children solely because of their race. The students sought the aid of the district court to obtain admission.

In arguing their case, Nabrit did not include any equalization claims, but instead argued there was inherent inequity in segregation. Nabrit asserted that if the law treated groups differently based on their race, then the government had to have a compelling reason to do this, but there was none in this case. Some have noted that Nabrit was among the first to make this argument, which has become known as strict scrutiny. Regardless, the district court dismissed this well thought out approach, holding that segregation was permissible in Washington, D.C., noting that it had been shown in *Carr v. Corning* (1950), which had been brought by the middle-class African Americans that Gardner broke away from. On appeal, the Supreme Court granted a writ of certiorari before the court of appeals reached judgment because of the importance of the constitutional question presented.

The case was consolidated with *Brown v. Board of Education*. In *Brown*, the Supreme Court held that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools. However, in *Bolling*, the legal question in the District of Columbia was somewhat different as it is not a state. Specifically, the Fifth Amendment, which is

applicable in the District of Columbia, does not contain an equal protection clause as does the Fourteenth Amendment, which applies only to the states. But the *Bolling* Supreme Court decision noted that the concepts of equal protection and due process are not mutually exclusive as they both stem from the U.S. ideal of fairness. Although warning that these two phrases are not always interchangeable, the Court recognized, as it had before, that discrimination may be so unjustifiable as to be violative of due process.

The Supreme Court went further in *Bolling*, noting that "classifications based solely upon race must be scrutinized with particular care, since they are contrary to our traditions and hence constitutionally suspect" (347 U.S. at 497). The Court continued with a discussion pointing out that liberty cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective. Seeming to follow Nabrit's logic, it held that segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective and thus imposed on the African American children of Washington, D.C., a burden that amounted to an arbitrary deprivation of their liberty in violation of the due process clause.

In view of its decision in *Brown*, the Supreme Court held that as the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unconscionable that the same document would impose a lesser duty on the federal government. Hence, the Supreme Court held that racial segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia is a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Long-Term Impact

Finally, Nabrit got his opportunity to strike against segregation, and he eventually saw what he surely considered to be a more substantive victory as a result. In the process, he made popular strict scrutiny, a popular legal test that has been invoked in a number of affirmative action cases and others dealing with fundamental rights or classifications based on race or national origin.

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See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; White Flight

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BOYS & GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA

The mission of Boys & Girls Clubs of America (BGCA) is to inspire and enable all young people, especially those who are most in need, to realize their full potential as caring, responsible, and productive citizens. With its origin stretching back to the 1860s, BGCA throughout the United States are neighborhood-based, building-centered programs, led by a full-time professional staff that provides after-school and summer activities for all youth, but that specifically targets youth who are most at risk. With its focus on character development, the purpose of the organization is to shape the character of the next generation of citizens in this country through the array of national and local programs from sports to arts to education. This entry looks at the organization's overall history and contributions, with special attention to African Americans.

History of the Movement

The BGCA movement began in 1860 in the urban northeast of the United States. In Hartford, Connecticut, three White females, Elizabeth Hamersley and sisters Mary and Alice Goodwin, were concerned about the welfare of children and invited a group of street boys into their home for tea or coffee and cake. The boys' positive behavior

and obvious appreciation completely surprised these concerned females, so they extended their hospitality several more times with the same positive response. Along with several other supporters, the women resolved to find an available facility where the boys could come regularly. This facility, the Dashaway Club, became the first Boys' Club.

Building on this model, organizations in Providence, Rhode Island; New Haven, Connecticut; and New York City were initiated. In 1876, the Boys' Club of New York became the first organization to use the name Boys' Club. Beginning in the mid-1880s, the Boys' Club concept began to spread westward and southward, with the formation of the Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Boys' Club (1887); the Colorado Springs (Colorado) Boys' Club (1888); the Columbia Park Boys' Club in San Francisco, California (1891); and the Nashville (Tennessee) Boys' Club (1903).

In 1906, the national office was organized when a group representing 53 local Boys' Clubs met in Boston, Massachusetts, to establish the Federated Boys' Club and locate its office in Boston. By 1915, the organization had moved to New York and changed its name to the Boys' Club Federation. The name was revised to Boys' Clubs of America in 1931 and Boys & Girls Clubs of America in 1990. This final name change represented the movement's formal inclusion of service to both girls and boys.

History of Services to African Americans

Although in limited numbers, records from the earliest Boys' Clubs exhibit service to African American youth. The first club to serve African American boys exclusively, the Wissahickon Boys' Club in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, opened in 1903. Between 1903 and 1920, similar clubs were organized in New York and in Savannah, Georgia. With the mass movements of African Americans to northeastern cities from 1910 to 1920 as a result of what is known as the great Black migration, the issues facing African American boys confronted youth agencies such as BGCA (then the Boys' Club Federation). From his New York office, the Boys' Club Federation's executive secretary, C. J. Atkinson, watched thousands of African Americans crowd into poverty-stricken communities. With poor schools and limited services to these communities,

he watched the illiteracy rates stagnate and delinquency rates rise.

In May 1926, Atkinson challenged Federation's Board of Directors to help underprivileged African American boys. Atkinson recommended the hiring of William T. Coleman as the field secretary, to work to lead the growth in the number of clubs serving African American males. Coleman, the first paid African American professional in the movement, served the national office for 5 years in this capacity. By 1931, there were 14 African American Boys' Clubs in 10 cities serving 6,000 boys.

Contemporary Service

As of 2004, BGCA served 4.6 million young people ages 6 to 18 years old. These young people were served in approximately 4,000 local clubs by 47,600 club professionals and 141,000 program volunteers in all 50 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and military bases in Europe and Asia. Sixty-four percent of these youth are from minority group families, 55% are male, and 45% are female. Sixty-seven percent of these youth are 12 years old or younger. Of the 4.6 million young people in 2004 served by the BGCA, African American youth represented approximately 32% of this total, or 1,472,000 African American youth.

Local BGCA are more than a collection of programs and activities during the afterschool and summer hours. Club-based activities are a platform for reaching young people and for developing their character. Structurally, local clubs provide daily activities for young people in five core areas: character and leadership development; education and career development; health and life skills; the arts; and sport, fitness, and recreation. With each of these five core program areas, BGCA has developed more than 40 national programs for its local clubs. These proven, national programs range from Project Learn (an afterschool education strategy) to Targeted Outreach (a gang prevention-intervention and reintegration program) to SMART Moves (an alcohol, tobacco, and pregnancy prevention program) and include external evaluations that demonstrate their effectiveness.

Coupled with these national programs, local club professionals have developed numerous local programs that capture the hearts and minds of the young people in their communities. Understanding

the needs of their surrounding neighborhoods, club professionals select the appropriate mix of programs to attract, engage, and meet the needs of their members. The initial emphasis is placed on attracting young people in the building. However, the programs are not the change agent; the club professionals are. Through building strong relationships with their members, club professionals create opportunities for young people not only to learn new things, but also to induce young people to want to grow and evolve as human beings. The BGCA has played a significant role in this regard for African American youth.

Carter Julian Savage

See also Mentoring Programs; Schott Foundation Black Boys Initiative; Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)

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Web Site

Boys & Girls Clubs of America: <http://www.bcga.org>

BRIGGS V. ELLIOTT

Briggs v. Elliott (1952) was one of the five school desegregation cases that formed the basis of the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). The story of *Briggs* demonstrates how a small, rural, African American community in Clarendon County, South Carolina, played a pivotal role in abolishing legal segregation in public education. *Briggs* also served as one of the early indicators of states' future resistance to meaningful implementation of *Brown*. This entry explores the historical backdrop, the facts, the three related decisions, and the aftermath of the case.

Historical Context

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution promised the previously enslaved Africans equal protection under the law. However, the Supreme Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) declared that a state could constitutionally segregate access to public facilities based on race, as long as the separate facilities were equal. Separate, but equal soon came to justify the racial segregation of public facilities throughout the South and to control virtually every aspect of social interaction between the races.

In public education, the effects were devastating. During much of the 20th century, Southern state laws and state constitutions either mandated or allowed racial segregation in public schools. Such schools, while universally separate, were rarely equal. Educational resources provided for African American children were most often substandard, if they were provided at all.

In the 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) developed a deceptively simple legal strategy aimed at attacking racial segregation in public education. Because the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* held that separate facilities could be constitutional only if they were equal, the NAACP planned to bring lawsuits challenging the equality

of educational institutions provided for African Americans. Since African American schools were almost never equal to White schools, courts would be forced to find conditions in the substandard African American schools unconstitutional and order states to provide equal facilities. If providing equal facilities would be too expensive or otherwise impractical, states would have to allow African American students to attend White institutions or would have to close the White institutions. The separate-but-equal doctrine provided no other alternatives.

Charles Hamilton Houston, dean of Howard University Law School and an NAACP legal advisor in the early 1930s, determined that it would be best to begin implementing the strategy by challenging the equality of graduate school facilities. Most likely, courts would force states with substandard or nonexistent graduate school programs for African Americans to admit them into existing White programs. Then, using the legal principles established in the graduate school cases, the NAACP could go on to challenge the equality of separate programs in secondary and elementary schools.

In 1950, the NAACP secured important Supreme Court victories in two graduate school cases, *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950). In *Sweatt*, the Supreme Court confirmed that equal really did mean equal under the Fourteenth Amendment. In *McLaurin*, the Court held that once a White institution admitted African Americans, equality meant that the state could make no distinctions between African American and White students. However, in both cases, the Court refused to address directly the constitutionality of the separate-but-equal doctrine. It chose to enforce *Plessy* rather than to overturn it.

Therefore, despite the NAACP's victories in the graduate school cases, separate, but equal was still the law. Even as those cases proceeded through the courts; however, the NAACP began working on the next level in its strategy—attacking segregation in public elementary and secondary schools. *Briggs*, the first of the public school cases to be litigated, launched the assault.

Facts of the Case

The conditions in Clarendon County for African American schoolchildren reflected conditions

common to almost all legally segregated systems. By any measure, the education provided for African American children was substandard to that provided for White children. Just as important, conditions in Clarendon County had reached a crisis point. Typically, several grades were crammed together in dilapidated one- or two-room buildings with only one or two teachers and with inadequate sanitation and plumbing. During the 1949 to 1950 school year, Clarendon County spent \$43 to educate each African American child and \$179 to educate each White child. If they were to go to high school, African American children had to walk 9 miles because although the school system provided buses to transport White children, it refused to do so for African Americans.

In response to such conditions, the African American community recruited 20 plaintiffs to sue school officials. Represented by the NAACP, the plaintiffs asked for equalization of all of the conditions that affected their children's education. The case's name came from Harry Briggs, the plaintiff whose name came first alphabetically, and from Roderick W. Elliott, superintendent of one of the Clarendon County school districts, who was listed first among the defendant school officials.

The U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina handed down three separate decisions in the course of deciding *Briggs*. The first two decisions reflected court rulings that preceded *Brown v. Board of Education*. The final district court decision presaged the resolute resistance that followed *Brown*.

The June 1951 Decision

During the *Briggs* trial in May 1951, the NAACP argued two main points. The first was the same argument advanced in the graduate school cases: Thurgood Marshall argued that schools for African Americans in Clarendon County were inferior to schools for Whites, violating the African Americans' Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection. However, Marshall also argued that legal state public school segregation based on race in itself was a violation of equal protection and was therefore unconstitutional. In addition, the NAACP argued that legal segregation psychologically scarred African American children, based on social science evidence such as the doll study

Kenneth Clark conducted with Clarendon County children. Thus, *Briggs* marked the first time the NAACP directly attacked the constitutionality of *Plessy's* separate-but-equal doctrine.

The district court, however, refused to overturn legal segregation, finding that *Plessy v. Ferguson* was still the law even after the Supreme Court's decisions in *Sweatt* and *McLaurin*, especially because the Supreme Court explicitly refused to consider overruling *Plessy* when deciding those cases. Further, the district court saw the issues involved in the graduate school cases as categorically different from the issues involved in public school segregation.

Therefore, in the district court's view, because racially segregated public schools were constitutional as long as they were equal, each state had the right to decide whether to require racial segregation in its schools. The district court pointed out that 17 states had decided to do just that and that Congress had made that choice for the District of Columbia as well. Therefore, South Carolina's choice to segregate its schools based on race was not a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, and *Plessy's* separate-but-equal doctrine still controlled.

However, the defendant South Carolina school officials admitted at the beginning of the trial that the African American schools in Clarendon County were not equal to the White schools and outlined the continuing steps the state was taking to equalize African American schools. Based on this admission, as well as on the evidence of inequality presented by the plaintiffs, the district court found that the school facilities in the district were unequal and ordered that the state act promptly to make them equal. The district court also required the defendants to report to the court within 6 months on the state's progress in complying with the court's equalization order.

District Court Judge Julius W. Waring, a native South Carolinian, issued a strongly worded dissent to the majority opinion. In Waring's view, the majority could and should have found that racial segregation in public schools violated equal protection. Unlike the majority, he saw the Supreme Court's reasoning in both *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* as establishing that racial segregation was a violation of equal protection. Further, he referred to the plaintiffs' social science evidence introduced at trial, evidence which he saw as establishing the

great harm segregation caused both White and African American children. Waring's dissent recognized unequivocally that segregation is the same as inequality.

The NAACP appealed the district court's failure to find a constitutional violation to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, however, instead of considering the appeal, sent the case back to the district court to allow it an opportunity to evaluate the defendants' 6-month report on their equalization efforts.

The March 1952 Decision

The district court reviewed the defendants' equalization progress reports and found that the school system had acted both promptly and in good faith. The defendants reported that new school facilities would be constructed and ready for use by the beginning of the next school year. They also reported equalization of the curricula, teacher salaries, bus transportation, and furniture and equipment. The NAACP once again argued that because some inequality still existed, the district court should find that segregation was unconstitutional. The court again denied that request. Instead, it ordered that the defendants equalize educational facilities and opportunities for African American students, noting that defendants were moving as quickly as humanly possible to do so.

The NAACP again appealed the district court's decision to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court consolidated *Briggs* with the appeals of four other public school cases challenging the constitutionality of the separate-but-equal doctrine: Virginia's *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* (1952), Delaware's *Gebhart v. Belton* (1952), Washington, D.C.'s, *Bolling v. Sharpe* (1954), and Kansas' *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Supreme Court's decision, known as *Brown v. Board of Education*, resolved all the cases by finding that racial segregation in public education was inherently unequal and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection guarantee. The Court overruled *Plessy* and abolished the separate-but-equal doctrine.

Therefore, *Brown* reversed the 1952 district court decision in *Briggs* and sent the case back to the district court with a directive to the district court to see that the school district admitted

students to public schools without any racial discrimination and with all deliberate speed.

The July 1955 Decision

On remand, the district court followed the Supreme Court's ruling and found that the South Carolina laws and constitutional provision requiring racial segregation in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment and therefore were unenforceable. Rather than equalized, the schools had to be desegregated.

The district court then provided its interpretation of *Brown*. It observed that the Supreme Court merely prohibited segregation; it did not require school desegregation. Thus, the South Carolina schools were required only not to prohibit students based on their race from attending any school. The state was not required to desegregate schools or to prevent students from attending the school of their choice. The court proclaimed that children of different races had the same right to attend different schools as they did to attend different churches; the Constitution did nothing to alter that freedom of choice. The court went on to quote the Supreme Court at length regarding the flexibility and considerations district courts should give school systems in designing plans for desegregation.

But although the district court had in its earlier equalization decisions ordered the state to act promptly in carrying out the court's order and had required the state to report on its progress by a certain time, the court now neither set a timetable nor a deadline for school desegregation. It merely ordered that the defendants not refuse to admit any child to any school based on the child's race, beginning after the point when defendants arranged for admission to schools on a nondiscriminatory basis. In other words, the court's prohibition on race-based admissions would only take effect after the state made plans for nonracial admissions, and the only time constraint placed on making those plans was the Supreme Court's vague and imprecise all-deliberate-speed requirement.

The district court's final decision in *Briggs*, like the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown*, was unquestionably a victory for the NAACP and African American education. Unfortunately, the district court's narrow interpretation of *Brown* and failure to provide any real time constraints on

implementing the district court's order provided not only South Carolina but also other states and courts a justification and means to slow down and even prevent meaningful school desegregation during the years following *Brown*.

The Aftermath

In 1960, the district court formally terminated *Briggs v. Elliott*. Plaintiffs from Clarendon County filed a new lawsuit in district court, *Brunson v. Board of Trustees of School District No. 1* (1965) to continue their efforts to enforce their *Brown* victory.

Following *Briggs*'s narrow interpretation of *Brown*, Clarendon County officials continued operating racially separate schools. They claimed compliance with *Brown* because they offered both African American and White students the choice of attending a school designated for the other race. However, even though many African American children requested transfers to the White schools, school officials failed to act on the requests.

Finally, in February 1967, the district court set out desegregation guidelines that the local school district in Clarendon County had to follow. The court required an end to schools designated as White or African American. Students could request assignment to any school, and officials were to assign them without regard to race. Also, the court required nonracial assignments for teachers as well as for all other personnel and resources.

Although the district court's decision finally enforced *Brown*'s prohibition against separate-but-equal schools, it did not require school officials to desegregate the schools by assigning both White and African American children and personnel to every school in the district. In addition, by the time the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the district court's decision in 1970, almost all White students in Clarendon County attended private schools established to avoid *Brown*'s feared impact on racial desegregation in public schools. School desegregation in Clarendon County became a numerical impossibility.

Luellen Curry

See also *Bolling v. Sharpe*; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II)*; *Davis v. County*

School Board of Prince County; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION, TOPEKA, KANSAS (AND BROWN II)

Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (1954) was the first in a series of U.S. Supreme Court rulings on public school desegregation that have produced significant changes in U.S. society. The *Brown* decision documented that separate school facilities for children based on their race

were not equal, paving the way toward the creation of a more unified society. The lawyers in *Brown* argued that the separate-but-equal philosophy was a denial of equal education. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed that state-sanctioned segregation in public education was inherently unequal and that African American students needed the use of more advanced facilities that were provided only to White children. For many, school desegregation generated a victory over school system inequality based solely upon race. It became an opportunity for African American students to get a good education because they would no longer be forced under law to attend racially isolated schools that were inferior in quality. However, over the next 50 years, issues surrounding school quality still overloaded the U.S. Supreme Court system and school policy. This entry looks at the backdrop, the case, and its implications.

Historical Context

U.S. institutions once existed in a dual system of segregated White only and “Colored only” private and public facilities at all levels of daily life. Various forms of interaction and intermingling among races were prevented both by law (de jure segregation) and by social norms (de facto segregation). African Americans lived in a system where they were kept separate from Whites, but were supposed to have equal rights; this was the system of separate, but equal. Challenges to the separate-but-equal laws were initially handled within state courts, with the most prominent cases ultimately reaching the U.S. Supreme Court.

Early challenges to the separate-but-equal campaign upheld segregation in the country through Supreme Court decisions. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) upheld a Louisiana statute that mandated separate-but-equal accommodations in railway trains for African Americans and Whites. In the area of education, *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899) established that a White school board could decide to close down an African American school in order to use the money for a White school. Evident in this ruling is the separate and unequal treatment of African American and White institutions. The rule of separate, but equal was reversed with *Brown v. Board of Education* when racial segregation was ended in U.S. public schools.

In legal decisions about a half a century after the *Cumming* decision, school desegregation was upheld on the basis that segregated schools resulted in an inferior education for African American students. These victories for desegregation used the rationale that separate schools were not equal and did not provide African American students with educational opportunities equal to those available to White students at White schools. The initial victory came when the attorneys for George McLaurin (an African American college student) argued that the adverse psychological detriment segregation inflicted on African Americans resulted in a denial of equal education. The ruling in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950) provided McLaurin (the defendant) with the same professor, books, and classroom instruction as White students, but with a separate seat set aside solely for his use in the classroom, library, and cafeteria. Though allowed to attend a White institution, McLaurin faced a system of internal segregation.

Though there were some initial victories in the area of higher education, there was still much work to be done with regards to public K–12 schools. African American parents challenged racial segregation in public schools as early as 1849 in the case of *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849) where the Massachusetts Supreme Court declared that separate schools for African American and White students were legal. As early as 1881, cases were brought in Kansas (e.g., *Board of Education of Ottawa v. Elijah Tinnon*, 1881). It was not until the 1950s, however, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was able to mount a concentrated attack on segregation.

During the 1950s, the NAACP, through its Legal Defense and Educational Fund, began to offer its legal services to the challenges to public school segregation. When cases were already underway, the NAACP would send their lawyers to assist with the trials. In areas where there may not have been cases pending, the NAACP would begin class action suits for the parents. As such, plaintiffs were sought by the NAACP to represent the cause that they had decided to pursue in court. The NAACP began one of those class action cases in Kansas.

Facts of the Case

In Topeka, Kansas, the NAACP was able to find 13 plaintiffs to be part of the class action suit filed against the Board of Education of the City of Topeka, Kansas. The case was named after Oliver Brown, the only male among the named plaintiffs (Oliver Brown, Darlene Brown, Lena Carper, Sadie Emmanuel, Marguerite Emerson, Shirley Fleming, Zelma Henderson, Shirley Hodison, Maude Lawton, Alma Lewis, Iona Richardson, and Lucinda Todd). Although he was not the first plaintiff alphabetically, the NAACP wanted a man to be the named plaintiff in the case. Apparently, the NAACP thought that the case would be better received if the first named plaintiff was a man with a stable family life.

The plaintiffs' argument in *Brown* was that school segregation deprived them of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment because segregated public schools were not equal. The board of education argued that segregation in public education served the role to prepare African American children for the segregation that they would face everywhere in adulthood. The NAACP hoped that this test case would end the precedent for segregation that was set by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).

In 1951, the district court ruled against the plaintiffs, citing the U.S. Supreme Court precedent of separate, but equal that was upheld in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Fact-finding for the case led to expert witnesses, namely social scientists who endorsed the premise that segregation had a detrimental psychological effect on African American children. The district court judges did find that segregation in public education had a detrimental effect on African American children, but determined that the Fourteen Amendment was not violated because African American and White schools in Topeka were substantially equal with respect to buildings, transportation, curriculum, and the educational qualifications of teachers.

The lower court ruling was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case and merged it with three other lower court appeals as well. *Brown v. Board of Education* included the cases of *Oliver Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas, et al* (1951); *Briggs v. Elliott* (1952); *Dorothy E.*

Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (1952); and *Gebhart v. Belton* (1952). *Briggs* and *Brown* were the first cases to reach the Supreme Court. All of these cases were gathered together under the name of one of them—*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. The significance of bundling the cases is that it took what could have appeared as local or regional issues and made school segregation, and eventually desegregation, a national concern.

Each of the lower courts upheld the separate-but-equal argument that was established under *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In *Briggs v. Elliott* and *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* the district courts found that the African American schools were grossly inadequate in terms of buildings, transportation, curricula, and teacher's salaries when compared to the schools provided for Whites. Each district was ordered to equalize the facilities; however, segregation was not set aside, and African American students were denied entry to White schools.

Gebhart v. Belton Delaware State Supreme Court affirming the Chancery Court decision was the only case where the plaintiffs won their argument. In the chancery court of equity, the plaintiffs argued that the separate facilities and educational opportunities offered to African American children were not equal to those furnished to White children. The court noted that the separate-but-equal legislation of *Plessy v. Ferguson* should stand. The court, however, also found that the separate colored facilities were not equal to the Whites-only facilities. Thus, the court ordered that African American students be immediately admitted to the White-only school with an understanding that if African American schools were fixed, the issue could be revisited. This ruling, however, only applied to the plaintiffs in the case, and the rest of the schools in Delaware continued to remain segregated. The court—and the Delaware Supreme Court, which affirmed the decision in *Gebhart v. Belton* (1952)—realized that it was not the position of a lower court to strike down *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the statute of separate, but equal. Instead, the rejection of separate, but equal should come from the U.S. Supreme Court. The lower courts also knew that school desegregation was an important issue that could only be resolved in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Bolling v. Sharpe (1954) went to the Supreme Court at the same time as the other cases. However, unlike the other cases, *Bolling v. Sharpe* was never heard in the district court because the district court dismissed the original claim. Because the District of Columbia was not a state and thus fell under federal jurisdiction, it was not included with the collection of cases that would be argued along with *Brown*. Instead, the case was heard concurrently with *Brown*. Because the District of Columbia was not a state, lawyers in *Bolling v. Sharpe* argued the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, which guaranteed equal protection of the law.

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling

The refusal of the lower court rulings to grant widespread desegregation of schools in their district was based upon the precedent set in *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. The magnitude of the cases was undoubtedly understood by the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court bundled the cases together to be able to hear a collective argument. It was well known that the decision made regarding these cases would have a great impact on the social fabric of U.S. society as it had been. The U.S. Supreme Court decided to wait to hear the cases during the 1954 term to be sure to have ample time to hear the arguments of both sides of the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment and its application to public education.

The approach that separate but equal is denial of equal education was used by lawyers in *Brown*. In its 1954 ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously agreed that state-sanctioned segregation in public education was inherently unequal. The lawyers in the case again argued that students needed the use of more advanced facilities that were allocated to White children. As in the *McLaurin* case, the *Brown* ruling included a reference to the socioemotional experiences of segregated children. Excerpts from the *Brown* decision declared that the separation of African American children “from others of similar age solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in ways unlikely to be undone” (347 U.S. at 494). The Court in *Brown* also quoted a finding in a lower court stating the following:

Segregation of white and colored children has a detrimental effect on the colored children. The policy of separating races is usually interpreted as denoting inferiority to the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects motivation of children to learn. Segregation with sanction of laws, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and deprives them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system. (347 U.S. at 494)

After review with the *Brown* case in 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in *Bolling v. Sharpe* that segregation in the District of Columbia public schools was a denial of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment, and the *Brown* case affirmed that segregation violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. These victories meant that desegregation was necessary in order for African American students to have access to material opportunities afforded to White students and to preserve the socioemotional well-being of African American children. This decision also represented evidence that U.S. society was ready to move toward desegregation. This was a significant change in shaping future policies regarding the rights of U.S. citizens. The *Brown* decision overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* and ended the era of separate, but equal.

With this desegregation ruling, it was assumed that African American students would receive educational as well as social and psychological benefits. This assumption, however, has often been called into question. There was nothing in *Brown* or in *Bolling* about the implementation of desegregation. *Brown* was the first court case to state that segregation should be eradicated; however, there was no stipulation on how to create racially integrated U.S. public schools. Thus, *Brown* was reargued in 1955 (*Brown II*) to determine how the violation of the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments should be fixed.

Because the *Brown* decision involved several jurisdictions, the U.S. Supreme Court wanted time to establish what should be done in terms of relief. *Bolling v. Sharpe* was included as the fifth case in *Brown II* since all of the cases were concerned with the issue of relief. In *Brown II*, the Court required that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the

desegregation process. In *Brown II*, the U.S. Supreme Court delegated the task of carrying out the desegregation to district courts. It set forth guidelines that placed the primary responsibility for evaluating and resolving any problem that could arise as the result of the implementation of the desegregation of public schools on the districts themselves. The district court was also charged with considering the adequacy of the desegregation plans and to stimulate the transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system. During this period of transition, the courts retained jurisdiction of the cases. Thus, district courts were given the responsibility to determine whether districts were in fact making good faith efforts at school desegregation.

Postscript

Although the *Brown* and *Brown II* decisions stipulated that separate schools were not equal and that school districts were to desegregate, the ruling did not lead to immediate attempts at desegregation. *Brown* and *Brown II* did not stipulate the implementation of specific desegregation plans nor a time table in which these desegregation plans would be realized. Even though *Brown II* stipulated that schools were to be desegregated with all deliberate speed, it did not stipulate a date by which schools had to be desegregated and did not give any provisions for how this school desegregation would be achieved.

After *Brown II*, uncertainty about when and how to desegregate continued for many years. School desegregation did not come swiftly or easily. Eighteen southern states adopted resolutions of interposition declaring *Brown* illegitimate, denied the U.S. Supreme Court's power to outlaw segregation, and enacted legislation designed to thwart any efforts toward desegregation. Southern judges refused to enforce the law of *Brown* by upholding statutes that were clearly designed to evade *Brown*. As late as 1964, only 0.48% of African American elementary and secondary school students in the South (excluding Texas and Tennessee) attended schools with Whites. If the U.S. Supreme Court justices had known that there was such a lack of public support for desegregation, they might have added stipulations for enforcing desegregation to *Brown* and *Brown II*.

The *Brown* case ruled that desegregation was necessary for African American students to have access to material opportunities afforded to White students and to preserve the socioemotional well-being of African American children. However, it was not until almost 11 years after the original *Brown* decision that a dent was made in desegregation efforts. When Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, billions of dollars became available for public school districts. This money was also available for desegregation efforts.

Shelly Lynne Brown-Jeffy

See also *Bolling v. Sharpe*; *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*; *Desegregation*; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; *Resegregation*; *Roberts v. City of Boston*

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BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS

Established on March 3, 1865, by the Freedmen's Bureau Act, The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was sanctioned as an agency to provide social uplift to approximately 4 million newly freed African Americans released from the bondage of enslavement. With the adoption of the

Thirteenth Amendment (1865), the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and the pending Fourteenth Amendment (1868), the Freedmen's Bureau had seven responsibilities: the relief of physical suffering, the overseeing of the beginnings of free labor, the buying and selling of land, the establishment of schools, the paying of bounties, the administration of justice, and the financing of all the activities. The education of African Americans was perhaps its greatest accomplishment. This entry provides an overview of the bureau's work, takes a closer look at its role in education, and assesses its other accomplishments.

Organizational Overview

The Freedmen's Bureau functioned fully from 1865 to 1868 and in part until the end of 1869. Its original commission was for 1 year, yet in 1866—and over a presidential veto—Congress extended the life of the agency and increased its powers.

Organized under the War Department, the Freedmen's Bureau divided former Confederate States into 10 military districts. It was headed by Major General Oliver Otis Howard, who was appointed by President Andrew Johnson at the behest of the Senate. Howard oversaw these districts and attempted to distribute the acres of abandoned and confiscated land to freedmen and women, but was met with great resistance. Howard, a gregarious and charitable commissioner, convinced Congress to divide former plantations into small parcels of 40-acre units that would be awarded to freed people, but President Johnson undermined the Freedmen's Bureau by pardoning former Confederate planters, restoring their land and status in 1866. At this point, freed people lost access to lands, and the Freedmen's Bureau lost access to its primary source of funding. With these events and the lack of funding, weak organization of the internal structure, and opposition from conservatives, the Freedmen's Bureau had very little impact on freed people during the era of Reconstruction (1865–1876).

Of the seven responsibilities of the bureau, some were fulfilled more completely than others. One of the more successful initiatives of the bureau was its ability to relieve the suffering of destitute African Americans and Whites. After the Civil War (1861–1865), many African American and White

Southerners found themselves homeless and/or without the ability to support themselves. The bureau, despite its limited funding, sought to alleviate some of the suffering of these Southerners by providing them with food rations, clothing, blankets, and temporary housing. Tens of thousands of rations were distributed across the South in the hopes of relieving the temporary hardships of African American and White Southerners following the Civil War.

Leadership in Education

The greatest success of the Freedmen's Bureau, however, was the establishing of schools for African Americans. In the South, establishing free schools for African Americans and free elementary education among all people faced great opposition. Although the agency never instructed a single freed person, its presence assisted in consolidating and furthering some of the earliest postbellum educational opportunities for freed people. The bureau gave the educational opportunities of freed people a greater degree of organization by consolidating—to the best of its ability—the school initiatives of the various benevolent associations, freed people, and assenting local Whites.

According to historian Clifford Ganus Jr., the bureau attempted to organize and support the multiple groups associated with African American schooling throughout the South. In early years, the bureau provided transportation for schoolteachers of freed people; paid for salaries, books, and other learning aids; and secured additional teaching space by buying or renting property from assenting landowning Whites. The bureau also provided financial incentives essential to expanding the number of schools that could be offered in both the immediate areas of Union occupation and the more rural and nonbureau and nonmilitary sanctioned areas of the state. Accordingly, the bureau's combined efforts established a consolidated system of tuition-free grassroots schooling opportunities for African Americans throughout the South. By 1870, more than 9,500 teachers, with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau, taught nearly 250,000 pupils in more than 4,300 schools.

Free schools for African Americans gained the attention of benevolent agencies such as the American Missionary Association, which built

schools and identified White philanthropists. Private freedmen's aid societies provided teachers and their salaries, buildings, and supplies. By the end of 1865, more than 90,000 freed people were enrolled as students in public schools. By 1871, 11 colleges and universities and 61 normal schools—for the training of teachers—had been founded. Universities such as Atlanta University, Hampton Institute, Howard University, Talladega College, and Fisk University were among these. According to W. E. B. Du Bois, \$6 million were expended in 5 years for educational work, \$750,000 of which came from formerly enslaved Africans themselves.

Nonetheless, White Southerners fought to keep African Americans ignorant and uneducated, deeming educated African Americans to be dangerous. In addition to opposing African American education directly, they fought to keep liberal White philanthropists and businessmen (who they called carpetbaggers) out of the South. These groups possessed the potential to undermine overt and subversive movements to reestablish the order of the Old South.

Other Efforts

The most confounding and least successful component of the Freedmen's Bureau's work was its ability to judicially protect the rights and livelihoods of formerly enslaved Africans. Former bondsmen were intimidated, beaten, raped, and killed by revengeful Whites. From this, a polemic dialectic was fostered. Although the bureau's courts were venues where Whites were punished because of the mistreatment of African Americans, state courts were institutions for perpetuating the order of the Old South. These courts sought to reduce African Americans to bondsmen once more while the bureau's court sought to put African Americans on equal grounds with Whites.

The Freedmen's Bureau initiated a system of free labor, established the African American peasant proprietor, secured the recognition of African American freemen in courts of law, and served as the founder, financier, and consolidator of the free public school in the South. On the other hand, it failed to address the debasing and mortifying White response to emancipation and the personal and professional advancements of freed people, and it did not establish good race relations between

the White Southern planter class and their former bondsmen and women.

Similarly, because it was ill equipped and understaffed, it failed to guard its work from paternalistic methods that discouraged autonomy and was unable to create African Americans landholders in any considerable numbers. Its good fortune was due to industriousness—Northern White liberals and dedicated African Americans. Any failures resulted from insufficient federal support, poor management, and the sheer difficulty of the tasks.

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See also Fisk University; Howard University

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BUSING

Busing is the term used to describe a process in which school districts used altered school bus routes to facilitate the racial desegregation of public schools in the United States. Segregated housing patterns, whether de jure or de facto in older cities, made genuine attempts to implement court-ordered desegregation in neighborhood public schools difficult. In many cities (both northern and southern), African American and White children were displaced to accommodate desegregation. Whites, who were willing to tolerate the presence of African Americans, could not fathom the transporting of their children out of their segregated neighborhoods to make room for the influx of African American children. This entry looks first at the context of busing in terms of the landmark desegregation orders and the wave of opposition to them. Then, it examines busing programs in several key cities and concludes with court decisions that for all intents and purposes ended busing and led to the resegregation of schools.

Historical Context

Busing for school desegregation resulted from efforts to obey the U.S. Supreme Court decisions in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) and in *Brown II* (1955), which made separate schools for White students and African Americans within the same school district unlawful and ordered implementation of desegregation orders. School districts faced with designing plans to follow the laws met with passive and active resistance from external and internal sources, especially in areas where single-race configurations were most prominent.

One form of resistance to desegregation was the Southern Manifesto in which congressmen from the South argued that the Court had overstepped its bounds in making decisions that interfered with the states' rights to develop and implement segregation laws. Another was massive resistance: overt defiance of court-ordered desegregation by closing public schools to all students, selling the buildings to private interests, reopening buildings as private segregated schools, and providing vouchers for students to attend the private segregated schools. Several closings occurred in Virginia; however, two such closings were sustained. The first, in Prince Edward County, Virginia, lasted for more than 5 years. The second closing occurred in Norfolk, Virginia, and lasted about 6 months.

Busing Plans Begin

Opponents of *Brown* consistently argued that housing patterns could not be reversed, and their actions stalled substantive desegregation efforts until the early 1970s. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971) decision paved the way for using structured school bus routes as a means to accomplish desegregation of public schools. The decision provided a model for cities throughout the South, and after years of fighting, Southern cities were forced to develop busing plans.

When busing became Norfolk's only option, complicated bus routes were developed that required the longest rides and primarily transported poor children, both African American and White. An entire section of the city where the most expensive real estate could be found was excluded

from the busing plan. The western portion of Norfolk, Virginia, had been set aside for a choice plan. Students from the other three regions could apply through a lottery. At this point in history, especially in the South, district plans were often not legally challenged. After all, the people for whom problems existed had neither the resources nor knowledge of how to work the system. Interestingly in Norfolk's case, the lottery was not monitored.

Other cities adopted magnet school plans, which involved a combination of the busing out of a percentage of youngsters from neighborhood schools and the busing in of applicants interested in taking part in programs that might emphasize special topics such as math, science, technology, foreign language, or the arts. Racial formulas for such plans were based primarily on population dynamics; a 65% to 35% formula of White to African American students was common for many districts implementing magnet plans.

Still other districts relied on unstructured choice plans. One such failed plan involved Green County, Virginia. The decision in the *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968) resulted in the establishment of requirements for desegregation that would be necessary for dual school systems (with separate African American and White schools in the same school district) to gain unitary status. The notion of unitary status would be a pivotal element in the deconstruction of desegregation laws. To obtain unitary status, districts had to achieve desegregation of the student body, faculty, and staff. In addition, facilities, transportation, and extracurricular opportunities had to be equal.

Reactions to busing were not limited to southern schools, and they were long term. Schools in older northern and midwestern cities, such as New York, Boston, and Detroit, were also segregated. Covert and overt reactions to desegregation orders in the cities involved juxtaposing district lines, violating fair housing law, and using scare tactics. In Boston, Massachusetts, the reaction to substantive efforts to desegregate schools with busing resulted in individuals chaining themselves to buses, burning school buses, and other violent acts. In New York, funding disparities evidenced discriminatory practices in schools.

In Detroit, the three *Milliken v. Bradley* (1973; the original ruling) decisions gained notoriety

when the decisions actually reversed one another. The court in *Milliken v. Bradley* indicated that the metropolitan busing plan, which included suburban school districts, could be used as a remedy for segregated schools. The judge in *Milliken I* (1974) ruled against busing students from suburban districts as part of a desegregation plan, supporting the belief that to do so would be punishing the suburbs by forcing children who lived there to be bused to the cities. When no progress on desegregation was made after *Milliken I*, another option was considered. In *Milliken II* (1977), the idea of compensatory education was offered in lieu of busing to right the wrongs of segregated schooling. U.S. District Court Judge Robert DeMascio determined that provisions for some method of compensation for African American students trapped in segregated, educationally inadequate facilities should be included when desegregation was not possible.

The End Comes

Busing was used to accomplish desegregation until 1986, when a little known case *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk* (1986) was used to begin the end of the practice and to initiate the resegregation process in other U.S. public schools. In this decision, the School Board of the City of Norfolk claimed that it had achieved unitary status and was released from federal court oversight. The achievement of unitary status left Norfolk, and the districts that followed the Norfolk model, to the practice of self-monitoring desegregation plans.

The scenario in Norfolk, Virginia, is critical in any discussion of busing because the *Riddick* decision laid the groundwork for similar decisions in courts throughout the United States. In 1986, the

Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal from *Riddick*, and the reversal of desegregation law accelerated. Although millions of public and private school children in the United States ride the bus to school every day, busing for the purpose of desegregation still retains a negative connotation.

Judith Brooks-Buck

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *Milliken v. Bradley*; *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk*; School Choice; Segregation; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*

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CALHOUN V. LATIMER

Calhoun v. Latimer (1964) involved a long court battle between African American students and the Atlanta School Board over the process and timing of school desegregation. Responding to the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) ruling, which said that laws denying school admission on the basis of race were unconstitutional, the Atlanta board had proposed a plan in which desegregation would have been implemented in only one class per year. While the district court and the court of appeals approved the plan, the U.S. Supreme Court said that a plan taking 12 years for full implementation did not meet its standard of compliance at “the earliest practicable date” and “with deliberate speed.”

Eight years after the landmark decision in *Brown*, many school districts throughout the country had yet to fully comply with its edict. This situation set the stage for a dramatic legal confrontation involving local, state, and federal branches of government. With these battle lines drawn, African American students vied for meaningful access to desegregated schools. However, these young people were consistently denied or stonewalled by local legislatures that vowed to maintain segregation through superficial compliance with court orders. Implementation delays were countenanced by proposals of seemingly reasonable school desegregation plans submitted by local school boards with approval from their federal district courts. Typically, these desegregation plans

avored regional interests, opting for a prolonged transition rather than student demands for expedient and comprehensive school desegregation.

The Atlanta School Board’s gradual desegregation plan was emblematic of this contentious situation. This plan proposed desegregation on an annual grade-by-grade approach, starting with the 12th grade and successive implementation through to the first grade, over a period of 12 years. Students would integrate on a voluntary school transfer system—where only “qualified” minority applicants would be allowed access to formerly all-White schools.

Now, with their plan confirmed, the lower federal courts applauded the work of the Atlanta School Board for their compliance with *Brown*. But, nearly 4 years after the passage of the Atlanta school desegregation plan, persistent student plaintiffs finally received relief when the U.S. Supreme Court rebuffed the board in *Calhoun v. Latimer*. The Court held that a plan that could not achieve complete desegregation until the late 1970s was simply unsupportable. The permissible timeline for school desegregation had evolved from the initial charge in *Brown* of implementation by the “earliest practicable date and deliberate speed,” and further delay in implementation was held to be unacceptable. This entry provides historical context for the *Calhoun v. Latimer* decision, the facts of the case, the appeal, and the U.S. Supreme Court decision.

Historical Context

The Fourteenth Amendment declares that no state shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge

the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. However, prior to the passage of *Brown*, state laws allowing or mandating school segregation were permissible according to the mandate of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). This case set the permissible application of the Fourteenth Amendment to be the “separate-but-equal doctrine”—meaning that as long as the state provided facilities on an equal level, then laws mandating separation by race were permissible.

The First Brown Case

Brown was a class action lawsuit by students from various states who sought and were denied admission to public schools on a desegregated basis because of state laws bolstered by *Plessy*. The student plaintiffs argued that segregated public schools were incapable of ever being considered equal, and thus students were denied the equal protection of the laws. The U.S. Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, held that in spite of the equality of school facilities provided, segregation still denied African American students equal protection of the laws against the charge of the Fourteenth Amendment. Warren’s reasoning relied heavily on prior cases that held that the Fourteenth Amendment was passed primarily for the protection of African Americans and was meant to eliminate any legislation that could create a bias on race alone.

For analytical purposes, the court assumed that the quality of school facilities and instruction were equal to those provided to Whites and analyzed the *Plessy* doctrine strictly in the context of the equality of African American education in a dual racial setting. Warren was able to navigate around any historical precedential confines in his reasoning due to the context of when these laws were passed. The Fourteenth Amendment was approved in 1868 and the *Plessy* doctrine was pronounced in 1896, both at a time when meaningful African American education was a moot point. But, now that the state had taken on the obligation to provide education to African Americans, it became a right that must be provided equally.

The court concluded that the real effect of segregated schools was the fostering of a sense of inferiority that was only magnified when condoned by the legitimacy of laws. Therefore, the court declared school segregation inherently unequal and contrary to the equal protection guarantees and thus invalidating *Plessy*.

Implementation of Desegregation: Brown II

While the first *Brown* decision was decisive on the illegality of a dual racial school system, it was vague on how to apply this decree. The second *Brown* decision (*Brown II*), handed down a year later, provided courts much-needed guidance on how to integrate this sweeping change nationally. This case held that school boards must effectuate a transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system and provide “admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a nondiscriminatory basis.” However, the Court was cognizant of the obstacles facing various districts now ordered to desegregate. Some communities were vehemently opposed to change and the administrative complexities in eliminating and integrating entrenched dual school systems. Therefore, in its second opinion (*Brown II*), the Court directed the lower courts to consider issues related to

administration, arising from the physical condition of the schools, the transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis and a revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems.

Individual cases were remanded back to the federal district courts in their respective states to fashion remedies with jurisdiction over the local school boards that were charged with implementation of individual school desegregation plans.

While the district courts were provided latitude and were permitted to take into consideration the local public interests in approving these plans, they were nonetheless still charged with the constitutional mandate of *Brown*. Their plan implementation timeline was not dictated, but they were required to “make a prompt and reasonable start

toward full compliance,” as ruled in the first *Brown* decision. *Brown II* placed the onus on districts needing more time to adjust to the transition to prove the necessity of an extension, which would only be permitted, if “consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date.” The ultimate goal of the *Brown II* mandate was to open the public schools on a racially neutral basis “with all deliberate speed.”

Facts of the Case

The legal battle for desegregation in Atlanta’s public school system began in 1958 when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), on behalf of African American students and their parents, filed suit in *Calhoun v. Latimer*, which would remain in federal courts until its conclusion in 1964. The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia had agreed with the plaintiffs that the Atlanta school system was not in compliance with *Brown*. The Georgia legislature, like those in other states, had been passing laws to avoid the import of *Brown* and even threatened to cut off state funding to school boards that complied. The district court not only recognized the problems facing the school board but also recognized the charge it was given to ensure that school authorities preceded with all “deliberate speed.”

The court interpreted this to mean that a balanced approach was needed to harmonize the traditional school system, which realistically could not be transformed overnight. The court was well aware of the enormity of the task confronting the board of education. The Atlanta school system contained 46,400 African American pupils, and the plan proposed the transfer of qualified students annually. However, the proposed plan was challenged from inception as being incomplete, that it failed to meet the duty of desegregation, the proscribed delays were contrary to the charge of a “reasonable start,” that the plan lacked a compelling reason for the gradual implementation.

However, despite these objections, the Atlanta School Board’s plan was eventually approved in 1959, as the district court noted that *Brown* did not mandate desegregation or reshuffling of pupils, but only forbade admission standards on a racial basis. The court reminded the plaintiffs that the sweeping

changes that some had expected were not a prerequisite to the passage of a valid plan. However, some provisions of the plan had to be removed as unworkable restrictions. For example, the plan called for factors to be considered during the desegregation process was the “possibility of threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others and the possibilities of the breaches of peace or will, or economic retaliation within the community.” These factors, while seemingly reasonable on their face, were deemed irrelevant and subservient to the equal protections guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment that would allow state laws to delay school desegregation. Therefore, the U.S. Supreme Court held that even the threat of civil disobedience was not to be considered as a valid excuse to delay implementation of school desegregation.

Soon after the plan was executed, lawsuits were filed to enjoin the continued operation of a segregated biracial school system even on this transitional basis. In *Calhoun v. Latimer*, the student plaintiffs repeated the same charges of discrimination leveled before the plan was adopted. The district court held that the approved plan was scheduled over time to provide for full desegregation. The plaintiffs’ proposed alternative desegregation plan provided for the accelerated desegregation at three grades a year, as opposed to the grade a year approach, which would mean full desegregation in 4 instead of the 12 years in the confirmed plan.

The court found no precedent for forcing acceleration of an established plan, especially with no change in conditions necessitating it. The court noted various factors that led to the gradualism of the approved plan, including the rapid influx of students in the city and the shortage of available facilities. The court held that the trial judges were given the authority to consider plans based on local conditions, and it considered the plan to be administered in good faith by the Atlanta Board of Education. The court also noted that transfer rates were increasing annually and justified remaining committed to the plan instead of the plaintiffs’ proposal based on the local public interest for continuity.

Appeal by the Plaintiffs

The plaintiffs then appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which made some

additional observations and criticisms of the plan, but nonetheless affirmed the decision of the lower district court. Of note, although the plan permitted any child in the desegregated grade to seek out a transfer, in the 1961 school term, 150 African American students applied for transfers, and only 10 transfers were granted by the Atlanta School Board. And there was one transfer request from a White pupil, who wanted to leave his school only because of the approved African American student transfers; this application was subsequently denied. These 10 approved transfers reduced the number of formerly all-White high schools in Atlanta from 17 to 13. Admission tests were administered to transfer applicants; transfer students had to score at least equal to the average aptitude of the class in the new school. Additional admission criteria included the transferee's proximity to the new school, personality profile, and the stated reasons for transfer.

The plaintiffs did present some new issues on appeal that might have justified a reversal, since there were other decisions announced after the plan was approved that went in another direction. And the appeals court also was charged with determining whether the approved plan was being applied in a discriminatory manner. The appeals court said they were provided regional jurisdiction to consider plans on the basis of local conditions, but they were also aware that the constitutional mandate could not be slowed simply because localities politically disagreed with it. The pivotal question should be, Does the plan as proposed and administered follow the constitutional mandate? But, ultimately the appeals court found that gradualism was a typical and accepted method of "getting the job of transition done."

The appeals court noted that while the plaintiffs may not favor the plan methods, it still is projected to accomplish their desired end result. Moreover, according to the court, the Atlanta School Board has acted in good faith and the district court has successfully managed to balance the constitutional rights while maintaining the educational process. The court relied on other recent decisions to reinforce the idea that these plans and enforcement are matters of local concern and are void of a centralized formula for success, provided that good faith and progress are included. They agreed with the lower court that the approved plan was reasonable

and headed to the goal at "deliberate speed." The court explained that the plan is working and that progress is the requisite test. The court went on to commend local public and private officials who have cooperated to make the plan work.

The Supreme Court Steps In

In a realistic and prophetic dissent, one judge on the appeals court stated that the district court should have gone further in Atlanta's school desegregation. The dissent made several criticisms, including that the plan did not meet the "deliberate speed" criterion of 8 years earlier. Also, the African American students under this plan were required to take tests and pass personality screening that matriculating White students did not have to take. Moreover, even to qualify for a transfer, African Americans had to demonstrate aptitude greater than the average aptitude of White students who were in a superior system.

The dissent also pointed out that this circuit had approved plans in other cities that provide for a faster desegregation, essentially allowing an accommodation of the constitutional mandate here without any justification. Finally, the dissent stated that the proposal by the plaintiffs of a speedier implementation was reasonable and would be more closely aligned with other plans that this circuit had previously approved.

Certiorari was granted and the U.S. Supreme Court vacated the judgment and remanded this case back to the district court to hold hearings to reexamine the approved plan in light of other recent decisions that mandated more realistic and timely action. The Court said that it is aware and sympathetic of the local difficulties in administering the charge of *Brown*, but that was why it had judiciously chose the wording "deliberate speed." The Court made reference to *Watson v. City of Memphis* (1963), a similar desegregation case in which it held that perpetuation of the unconstitutional dual system can only have compounded the harm of such a system. The Court stated that continued delays were no longer acceptable, for "the governing constitutional principles no longer bear the imprint of newly enunciated doctrine" and that "the context in which we must interpret and apply this language . . . has been significantly altered." The courts were charged in 1954 with the goal of

effectuating the constitutional principle of protecting the interests of the plaintiffs in guaranteeing admission to public schools on a nondiscriminatory basis. With the passage of nearly a decade, the time for measured progress and accommodation was over.

Russell P. Lieberman

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education; Desegregation; Resegregation

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CAREER AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Career and technical education, formerly called “vocational education,” is a large and diverse educational enterprise that includes both secondary and postsecondary education. Program areas in career and technical education are designed to prepare students for employment and often involve training and retraining adults. African Americans have had a long history and tradition of participating in career and technical education at the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels. Over the past decade, educational reform has reshaped the purpose of career and technical education to emphasize a broader preparation, including the development of academic and technical skills as well as vocational skills.

At the secondary level, career and technical education includes courses in seven program areas: agriculture, business, family and consumer sciences (formerly domestic science and then home economics), marketing (formerly distributive education), health, trade and industry, and technical education. Technology education, (formerly industrial arts), is

sometimes included as a service area of career and technical education as well as a vital part of general and academic education. At the postsecondary level, career and technical education is found in a limited number of 4-year institutions. These institutions with career and technical education are usually members of the University Council for Workforce and Human Resource Education (UCWHRE).

Career and technical education was originally known as “industrial education” and then “vocational education.” *Industrial education* was a generic term that included preparing students for work in agriculture, trades and industry, and domestic work (family and consumer sciences); these three are the oldest vocational education programs. Agriculture includes growing plants and raising animals. Family and consumer sciences includes child care, laundering, cooking, and sewing. Trade and industry is the career and technical education area with the widest range of occupations, consisting of many specialties ranging from cosmetology to construction to mechanics and repair skills.

Today, career and technical education includes the seven program areas listed. Both of the terms, *career and technical education* and *vocational education*, are used in this entry, which addresses the purpose of vocational education and provides a chronology of African Americans’ participation and experience in the profession.

Historical Context

Historically, the purpose of vocational education has been to prepare students for entry-level jobs in occupations requiring less than a baccalaureate degree. An important aspect of early vocational education was teaching students to work with their hands. African American men and women were taught to work with their hands through the age-old apprenticeship system.

In the early 1800s, African American schools were designed to impart a basic academic education and preparation for work. Skill training was thought to be the best hope for a better life. African Americans were taught to do skilled work in agriculture; farming, trade and industry; sawing, carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, and home economics; cooking, sewing, child care, housework, basket making, and tailoring. African American

students developed a fair degree of skills in nearly all trade and industry and domestic areas. However, White artisans were feeling the competition from African American craftsmen and women and pressed for laws to restrict the apprenticing of African Americans in some trades.

The early history of education for African Americans in the South offers an example of the most extensive form of school segregation resulting from economic exploitation, racial prejudice, and the desire by many Whites to create a permanent underclass of workers. This latter factor—creation of a permanent underclass—would affect the enrollment of African American youth in both privately and publicly supported vocational education for years, until the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation nationwide.

Racial prejudice also prevented African American workers from obtaining the same quality of work preparation and from securing satisfying employment. African Americans often occupied jobs with low status, low financial reward, little chance for upward mobility, and jobs that no one else would perform. For the most part, these jobs were in the program areas of agriculture and family and consumer sciences rather than trade and industry. Occupations in trade and industry such as auto mechanics, woodworking, and carpentry tend to require more training and skills, whereas agriculture and family and consumer sciences were less skilled and required less training.

After the Civil War

In the years following the Civil War, a work preparation form of education was favored for African Americans, particularly in the South, because of southern industrialists' hopes of a rapid industrial expansion and African Americans as a source of cheap labor. Advocates of industrial education helped to establish schools for African Americans in the North and South. In southern states, these schools would prepare African American students for their presumed roles in the southern economy as manual laborers and domestic servants. Thus, manual labor schools were established.

Nevertheless, the quality of education and training African Americans received did not adequately prepare them with the skills needed to become

competitive workers. The family and consumer sciences curricula were strongly emphasized in a number of early African American schools to prepare students for domestic service employment, primarily in White homes. African American women who completed industrial training programs were awarded diplomas of domestic science that certified them as cooks, laundresses, and seamstresses; working in an industry or factory was an alternative to domestic employment in White homes. Many of the graduates of manual labor and industrial training schools became teachers in African American schools instead of becoming industrial workers.

Armstrong's Plan

General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, an African American who had risen through the ranks of the Union Army, became very interested in the problems of African Americans. Armstrong knew that after gaining their freedom, African Americans would encounter serious difficulties unless they were trained into habits of industry and skills. He wanted African Americans to receive skilled artisan training like they had received through apprenticeship so that they would be equipped with the skills that were demanded of northern industrial workers and that were necessary to help rebuild the South.

To equip African Americans with the kind of skills General Armstrong anticipated, a different level of education was needed. Thus, industrial universities, colleges, and normal schools were envisioned and established. General Armstrong conceived of a school where African Americans would pay the expenses of their education by manual labor in trade as carpentry, housework, and gardening. These institutes were modeled after other manual labor schools in which boys did the farm and mechanical work and girls did housework or domestic work. In schools based on Armstrong's ideas, students would do manual work in the morning and attend classes in the afternoon and sometimes in the evening.

Hampton and Tuskegee

The most influential of these industrial schools for African Americans were the Hampton Normal

and Agricultural Institute and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. Both were normal institutes for the training of teachers; in addition, one institute was devoted to agriculture, and the other to trade and industry. Hampton Institute served as a model of a successful manual labor school for many kindred schools established in the South. Tuskegee provided a model for how to fund industrial schools and colleges.

Until the 1920s and 1930s, courses at privately supported institutions that African Americans could attend were at the elementary and secondary level. A curriculum leading to a bachelor of science degree in private institutions was developed before it was in public institutions. Hampton awarded its first bachelor of science degree in 1922, and Tuskegee did so several years later.

Of the many industrial schools established, Hampton and Tuskegee were two of the few able to continue their industrial programs beyond World War II. Some of the privately supported industrial schools and colleges closed, and others changed their missions. A few of the industrial education programs were converted into engineering programs; today, some of these programs are the most noted engineering programs in the country.

Land Grant Institutions

Land grant colleges for African Americans were founded under the provisions of the Morrill Act of 1890. The Morrill Act of 1890, an amendment to the first Morrill Act of 1862, provided funds for the establishment and operation of higher education institutions for African Americans. Land grant institutions are significant to vocational education and African Americans; they provided instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts; trade and industry, craftsmanship, which are vocational education programs. By 1899, all of the southern states had used the provisions of the Land Grant Act to establish or to designate an existing institution as a land grant institution for African Americans.

Prior to 1930, African American land grant institutions were primarily secondary institutions. These institutions offered courses in academics, manual training, and subcollegiate trade and industrial training for occupations that were in harmony with the social and economic status of African Americans in the South. They offered

industrial education offerings confined to manual training; agriculture and domestic science; and a few trade courses such as woodworking and auto mechanics.

After 1933, land grant institutions elevated their programs to college-level work, and their primary function became vocational teacher preparation. This change was initiated as a result of the demand for teachers who possessed the necessary trade training and work experience to meet the certification requirements that had been enacted in every state. Early programs of teacher education in African American land grant institutions were extensions of vocational trade courses combined with clusters of general and professional education courses.

Secondary Schools

Prior to World War I, most African American students attended private secondary schools, many of which were founded as industrial schools that were patterned after the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. These began to degenerate as the nation approached World War I and as philanthropic aid for their support began to vanish. Furthermore, the death in 1915 of Booker T. Washington, the great champion of privately supported industrial schools and founder of Tuskegee Institute, was another factor that hastened the demise of industrial schools. Second, there was growing opposition among African Americans toward industrial education, based on the belief that Whites imposed industrial education on African Americans to confine them to industrial pursuits.

Although private secondary schools were founded to provide students with both a liberal education and preparation for work, these schools were mostly elementary schools with small secondary education departments. Many of them required students to prepare for work through manual labor or manual training courses. Graduates from the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes were often teachers at these schools.

After the establishment of land grant institutions, public secondary schools in some southern states were located in the African American land grant institutions. Initially, the type of work preparation offered to African Americans at these schools was manual training, mostly in woodworking and

family and consumer sciences. However, some of these schools provided learning experiences in trade and industry areas such as mechanical drawing, metalworking, electrical work, auto mechanics, pipefitting, and shoe repair.

A National System

The establishment of a national system of publicly supported vocational education became a reality with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This act made it possible for persons older than 14 years of age to receive vocational education in the areas of agriculture, home economics, and trade and industries. The growth of federally aided vocational education in southern African American schools, after the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act and before World War II, was not very rapid.

Inadequate financial support made it impossible for African American secondary schools to offer as many vocational courses as did White schools. Most African American students were most likely to be enrolled in agricultural programs and home economics programs, with few enrolled in trade and industrial programs; this reflected the tradition of African American students being excluded from these occupations.

Following World War II, enrollment of African Americans in vocational education programs, especially in trade and industrial programs, increased dramatically. As a result of the war, African Americans and Whites were forced to work together to meet the people needs of a country at war. African Americans were able to participate in industrial training and employment situations that had been closed to them. Many African Americans received adequate training for the first time in skilled or semiskilled occupations. This gave new hope to African Americans and helped change their negative views toward vocational education; they were able to compete for and participate in higher-paying jobs.

Vocational Education in Today's World

In public secondary schools, one or more courses identified as vocational education are offered in 93% of the nation's high schools with Grades 9–12. A large number of African American students live

in urban areas and attend schools that are composed of mostly African American students. While African American students do have access to career and technical education programs, some inner-city schools lack funding to offer an adequate number of career and technical education programs or to update the programs that they do offer.

African American students' participation in career and technical education programs parallels that of other racial groups. African American students who graduate from high school were about equally as likely to be vocational concentrators (three or more career and technical courses accumulated) as their White, non-Hispanic counterparts. For example, in 1982, approximately a third of African American high school graduates were vocational concentrators, compared to exactly a third of White graduates.

In 2006, the National Research Center for Career and Technical Education found that African American students had a higher participation rate in career-related programs than any other group of students; next were White students, and then Hispanic students. This represents students who have participated in a career-related program of study that includes grouping of courses, work-based learning activities, and/or cooperative education.

Traditionally, the concept behind vocational education was working with one's hands. In today's workplaces, both the head and hands are needed to satisfy the complexities of some jobs. Hence, the new vocational education is designed to prepare students for living as well as for higher education. The new vocational education is academically rigorous, career relevant, and combines academics and career applications. The new vocational education also teaches students about aspects of the industry and how to apply high-level academics (math, science, technology, and languages) in workplaces and communities. It prepares them with the education and technical skills they will need for successful employment in various careers or professions. The new vocational education is a broader preparation that develops the academic, vocational, and technical skills of students; it is very different from the traditional career and technical education.

Inasmuch as the new vocational education prepares one for lifelong learning, African American students would greatly benefit from participating

in a program area of their choice. Furthermore, the new vocational education may help to enhance General Samuel Armstrong's quest of preparedness for African Americans.

Bettye P. Smith

See also Agricultural Education; Industrial Education; Land Grant Colleges and Universities

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CATHOLIC CHURCH

The founding of St. Francis Academy in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1828, is recognized as the beginning of the Catholic Church's nearly two-century investment in the education of people of African descent in the United States. This participation in African American education prior to the Emancipation Proclamation and subsequent Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments is a significant part of the legacy of the relationship between the African American community and the Catholic Church. On the one hand, Catholicism in antebellum United States and particularly in the Old South (where the majority of African Americans lived) operated within the peculiar worlds that the enslavers made. Therefore, Catholicism's limited role as teacher and arbiter for African Americans during this era cannot be understood apart from this sordid context. However, the legacy of early Catholic religious orders dedicated to working with African Americans is realized today by the strong presence of Catholic schools in urban and

inner-city communities with large African American populations.

Over the course of their nearly 200 years of service, U.S. Catholic schools have helped millions of disadvantaged children. The positive impact of Catholic schools in the lives of African American students is measurable by higher graduation rates, academic performance, and college attendance for Black students who attend Catholic schools when compared to their public school counterparts. The high mark of U.S. participation in Catholic schools occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. While Catholic schools are experiencing a continual decline in overall student population, the number of non-Catholic African American inner-city students is increasing, foreshadowing the next chapter in an ongoing historically complex and mutually beneficial relationship between the African American community and Catholic schools. This entry explores the historical background of the relationship between the African American community and U.S. Catholic schools and the emergence of African American Catholic schools in the present day.

Historical Background

The earliest Catholic schools emerged in the Black community in the United States in the early 19th century. St. Francis Academy, established by Mother Mary Lange and the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore, Maryland, is recognized as the oldest continually operating African American educational institution in the United States. Another important matriarch in the founding of Catholic education for African Americans was Mother Katherine Mary Drexel. Her significant financial contributions, tireless work, and unending dedication allowed her to play a significant role in the establishment of schools for African Americans from Philadelphia to New Orleans. In 1915, Mother Drexel founded Xavier University in New Orleans, the only historically Black college established by the Catholic Church.

Although Mother Drexel and the women of her order were dedicated to eliminating racial discrimination, the people they encountered in their work were not always supportive of education for African Americans. In *Mother Katharine Mary Drexel: A Blessed Presence in the History of Philadelphia*, Jenny Vengalil recounted a story

concerning one such group, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), who in 1922 threatened to assault the White priest at one of Drexel's schools and bomb the church in Beaumont, Texas. The nuns prayed, and days later, a tornado came and destroyed the headquarters of the KKK, killing two of its members. The sisters were never threatened again.

This turbulent era in which African American Catholic education began was profoundly influenced by a combination of sociopolitical and economic changes leading to the eventual end of enslavement, the Civil War, and the resulting rapid industrialization of the nation. As a result of these societal changes, education was a hotly debated topic across the nation and specifically for the newly emancipated, improved literacy was paramount. The services that the Catholic Church provided to the African American community during this era were greatly desired. However, despite their early investment in African American education, the Catholic Church's relationship with African Americans is a complex mix of both tragic and heroic events similar to the history of the U.S. relationship with its African American citizenry in general.

Moral Education

Christianity and education were closely linked in this era because many Whites felt that African Americans lacked the moral character and self-restraint to survive after emancipation. According to this line of reasoning, any form of education that African Americans received must be heavily influenced by Christian values to curtail their deterioration into savagery. As a result of the polarization around the type of education African Americans should receive, the close of the 19th century was marked by a contentious discussion across the United States about the significance of education for the newly emancipated.

While in the past, Christian ministries aimed at African Americans focused on evangelization, baptism, matrimony, and burial rites, upon emancipation, Christian philanthropy turned to providing education as a means to prepare the freedmen and women for new roles in U.S. society. Although the Catholic Church did contribute significant financial assistance to African American education during this era, the limited number of Catholics and their lack of political influence seriously hindered

the Catholic Church's ability to participate at the same level as the Protestant denominations.

Further, unlike Catholic communities in closer proximity to Europe and Rome in particular, Catholic communities in the United States were less structured. In an emerging nation founded in a spirit of Protestantism and a rejection of the Church and Crown that were powerbrokers in Europe, Catholicism did not have strong support or centralized roots in the early United States. Consequently, the parishes and specifically the schools associated with these parishes adjusted to fit the local norms of the regions in which they were founded.

For instance, in the case of influential southern cities like New Orleans, the Catholic Church did not abjure its obligation to African Americans; it simply ignored them. However, Black Sisterhoods—most notably the Ursuline Nuns who instructed African Americans from the 1720s to 1824 and the Carmelites who began a school for “colored” Creoles in the 19th century—and several individuals provided indispensable service to the African American community through their teaching. In fact, historians point out that the priests, nuns, and lay religious orders who taught for little or no compensation in African American Catholic schools in cities like New Orleans, Baltimore, and Charleston provided the inexpensive and highly dedicated workforce that afforded the foundation for Catholic schools to persist into the 21st century. Through the tenacious service of these dedicated individuals, Catholic schools for African Americans succeeded beyond anyone's wildest imaginations.

However, acknowledgment of the level of success experienced in New Orleans should be tempered by a recollection of the struggles associated with numerous stalled attempts to found African American Catholic schools throughout the nation. Among the primary cause of these failures was a relatively small Catholic community that chose to provide finite educational support to newly arriving Southern European immigrant groups as opposed to the freedmen and women. In the case of the Irish, Italians, and Polish, their preexisting Catholic and European heritage endeared them to the U.S. Catholic Church. And the competition between these groups and African Americans for jobs, housing, and ultimately a place in mainstream United States meant that sharing schools and churches was highly improbable.

Against this backdrop, African American Catholics in the South were left to themselves where education was concerned, and the aid that the church did provide was often disorganized. Individual priests attempted to establish schools for African Americans, but few prospered outside the cities. Consequently, the church catered to those in power, and in doing so ignored the powerless. In retrospect, the wonder is not that Catholic schools in particular and Catholicism in general declined among African Americans of the rural South but that it survived at all.

The Emergence of African American Catholic Schools Today

The increasing presence of African Americans in Catholic schools is a result of the higher quality of Catholic schools relative to public schools in the decaying urban cities that many African Americans occupy. African Americans are the majority in big cities with relatively low-quality public schools and relatively large public school systems. The seeds of this relationship between proximity to large cities and Catholic school racial and cultural demography are as old as the Catholic Church in the United States itself. Further, many Catholic schools (elementary, secondary, and postsecondary) were intentionally situated in close proximity to large urban centers due to the large number of Catholic immigrants that settled in these cities.

The racial composition of large U.S. cities changed from the 1930s to the late 20th century as a result of migration out of inner cities by the Italian, Polish, Irish, and Jewish immigrant population ("White flight") that once were the majority in these regions. However, Catholic parishes, defined by geography and not by congregation, often remained even after the original members had left. Catholic schools in these communities, much like the neighborhoods, became increasingly Hispanic and African American. To accommodate these changing racial demographics, the Catholic Church reached out to students who were non-Catholics. Recommended instructional classes focused on the rudiments of the faith to draw entire families into the new cultural and religious world of which the school was only one part. In short, structured and affordable education was the lure to increase Black Protestant converts. African American parents were

accepting in that they began to see parochial schools as a better option than public schools, offering a more thorough education with adequate discipline.

According to the *United States Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools: 2004–2005* report, roughly 44% of all Catholic schools today are located in urban or inner-city communities. Cities such as Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Philadelphia have long traditions of African American Catholic schools.

The legacy of this relationship between urban African American communities and Catholic schools has been that African Americans have benefitted more than Whites from Catholic schooling, insofar as African Americans have significantly higher levels of academic achievement and educational attainment when they attend Catholic schools. Compared to African Americans in public schools, these parochial school students have higher graduation rates (98.1%) and a higher percentage go on to participate in higher education (80% attend 4-year institutions, 14% attend community colleges, and 3% attend technical schools).

Also, while the probability that Catholics will send their children to Catholic schools has declined markedly over the past few decades, non-Catholic and African American enrollment in Catholic schools has increased. Today, a quarter of all Catholic students are African American and other underrepresented groups, with Hispanic/Latino student population of 12 percent and African American student population of 8%.

These trends represent the hallmark of the 21st-century Catholic Church seeking to engage its African American membership in personalized and socially meaningful ways. From education and enrichment for African American Catholics to an appeal to African American Protestants, the U.S. Catholic Church appears dedicated to continuing this work for years to come and remaining responsive to the needs of an increasingly diverse nation.

Roland W. Mitchell

See also White Flight

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CHARTER SCHOOLS

Charter schools are nonsectarian public schools that in theory allow for greater autonomy, flexibility, innovation, empowerment, and choice than currently exist within traditional public school systems. Many African American communities have embraced charter school reform—especially in U.S. cities. In addition, charter school founders of all racial and ethnic backgrounds have founded schools that specifically target African American and Latino students.

Since their creation in the early 1990s, charter schools have become one of the fastest-growing and controversial educational reforms. Charter schools have supporters with different political

persuasions and backgrounds. This is because the ideological origins of charter schools have roots in different philosophical orientations.

Community control advocates support charter schools because they offer the opportunity for grassroots groups to start schools that better meet the cultural and educational needs of poor children and children from underrepresented groups. Teachers and administrators favor charter schools because they welcome the radical decentralization they can provide, putting educational professionals who are closest to students in charge of educational decisions, including curricular and fiscal issues. These public school advocates also believe that charter schools can revitalize public education by becoming laboratories of innovation that will influence other schools' practices. Finally, market aficionados think charter schools will dismantle what they consider to be a public sector monopoly over the provision of education through choice, competition, and high-stakes accountability.

In exchange for autonomy from district and/or state regulations, charter school founders promise greater student accountability as measured by standardized assessments. Minnesota passed the first charter school law in 1991, and by 2007, all but nine states had passed charter schools legislation. This entry describes the background of charter schools, then looks more closely at issues of equity, access, and academic achievement.

Historical Background

Charter schools are the brainchild of education reformer Ray Budde, who as early as 1988 hoped that teachers would be in charge of starting and running the new schools and that from such efforts innovation would flow. Other advocates proposed that bureaucracy and regulation stymied the ability of teachers to experiment and called for deregulation in exchange for greater student achievement; the details of how schools would accomplish this pact were to be spelled out in the charter proposal.

The design of charter school laws and the implementation and adoption of charter schools across the United States, however, do not universally incorporate the vision of teacher-led schools and instead welcome the involvement of new players into public education—including private, for-profit, and nonprofit organizations known as

educational management organizations (EMOs) or charter management organizations (CMOs). Indeed, a key argument that advocates offer in support of charter schools is that private sector solutions to persistent educational problems are superior to traditional public school bureaucracies. In this vision, teacher unions are the main culprit impeding educational progress, and must be curtailed. Not surprisingly, the two national teachers unions (the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association) have been opponents of and/or lukewarm on charter schools. For these reasons, charter school reform draws political controversy.

From the beginning of the movement, advocates hailed charter schools as the saviors of public education, while critics vilified them as a threat to democratic schooling. Despite these divergent perspectives, in general, charter schools enjoy bipartisan support in Congress and in state capitals and broad appeal in local contexts. Charter school legislation tends to reflect the political values of the elected officials who enact it. For example, in state capitals dominated by conservatives, charter school laws tend to emphasize deregulation, competition, and multiple chartering authorities. In addition, the legislation tends to favor encouraging the quantity of charter schools so as to spur competition between charters and traditional public schools. The conservative, school choice advocacy organization, the Center for Educational Reform, has categorized such charter school legislation as “strong.” Conversely, “weak” legislation reflects liberal and progressive legislators’ tendency to enact more regulatory charter school laws that limit the number of charters, provide one or two chartering authorizers, and call for strict oversight of charter school implementation.

Although laws differ across the 41 states that had passed charter school legislation by 2007, they share a similar process by which schools become charters. Interested parties—usually a group of teachers or community members—write a charter in which they delineate the proposed school’s curriculum focus, potential student population, academic goals, assessment mechanisms, and governance and financial structures. Controversy has accompanied the reform, with critics concerned about equity, access, working conditions, and school quality. Meanwhile, advocates maintain

that chartering authorities have not granted true autonomy and that charters serve a disproportionate number of poor students and students from underrepresented groups. When looking at key issues related to charter schools—segregation, equity, and access and student achievement—a complicated picture emerges in which research is often as politicized as the advocacy surrounding charter schools.

Segregation, Equity, and Access

Charter school advocates propose that charter schools can be more equitable, diverse, and accessible than traditional public schools and school districts. The issue of school racial composition as it relates to charter schools and to other school choice policy is complicated. Most states permit charter schools, as autonomous schools of choice, to set their own admissions criteria provided they do not discriminate according to race, income, or religion. Yet, few states and local educational authorities have the capacity to enforce these guidelines, allowing for schools to employ a range of strategies to attract their desired students.

With pressure on charter schools to demonstrate improvement on standardized assessments, for example, some may counsel out students they consider likely to lower the school’s achievement level. Given the abundant data on the achievement gap between African American and Latino students and their White and Asian counterparts, it is evident that some charter schools simply do not want to enroll the lower-performing students. Conversely, some charter schools target those very same students—students of a particular racial or ethnic identity who are often from a disadvantaged background.

Research supports the fact that most charter school founders start their schools to realize a particular educational vision or mission. In these schools, such as an African-centered charter school or a charter school focused on the arts, school-level recruitment and enrollment is likely to be targeted to those specific populations. In charter school theory, these schools offer empowerment and freedom to parents and educators constrained by and marginalized by traditional public schools.

Because there are multiple reasons for charter schools to explicitly and implicitly seek out particular

students, the impact of school choice reforms on student diversity is one of the most commonly invoked concerns from charter school critics even as charter school advocates tout its positive relationship. Summarized, school choice and charter school critics predict that deregulated choice, in which parents can choose schools on the basis of individual preference, will privilege those students whose parents are most likely to be informed, involved, and savvy about negotiating the sometimes complicated process of enrolling their child in a specialized school. To the extent that this privilege correlates to race and socioeconomic status, there is the potential that charter schools could exacerbate or reflect existing social stratification and result in racially isolated or distinctive schools.

Charter school advocates counter these concerns with a number of arguments. They argue that racially distinctive neighborhoods are a reality across the United States and that charter schools and other choice plans can sever the relationship between residence and school assignment that could diversify schools. Some choice advocates argue that school desegregation efforts have placed costly educational, psychological, and social burdens too often on the backs of African American students, and that charter schools—whether they are racially homogenous or not—provide a preferable alternative to traditional public schools.

Research shows that there is stratification within the charter school sector and between charter schools and traditional schools. For example, evidence indicates that in many states, similar patterns of racial isolation emerge between charter schools, with many schools having almost exclusively White enrollments and others predominantly African American enrollments. What is less clear is if, in the aggregate, this stratification is markedly worse than what existed prior to charter school reform. Of greater concern are recent data that correlate high-poverty, majority African American and Latino charter schools with other indicators of educational equity. These indicators include fewer public and private resources that are critical to keeping a new school fiscally and educationally viable, fewer teachers with high-level or basic credentials, higher staff turnover rates, and more emphasis on “back-to-basics” curriculum.

Still, charter advocates argue that African American students in particular are served better

in racially homogenous charter schools than are African American students in urban public school districts, pointing to schools run by the Knowledge Is Power Program as exemplars. Other local grassroots charter schools that serve a particular racial or ethnic group have also showed promise.

The controversy about race, equity, and access in charter schools extends beyond traditional debates about the benefits and costs of segregated schools in comparison to more diverse ones. Federal, state, and local educational policies are often contradictory on issues of school choice and race. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court has issued rulings upholding the constitutionality of school vouchers in Cleveland—a ruling Justice Clarence Thomas likened to the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, although the voucher ruling (*Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*) is silent on issues of diversity. Similarly, the administrations of Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush funded a number of school choice and school privatization initiatives, even as the ability of school district officials to use race in the affirmative assignment of pupils has been curtailed through a series of recent federal court rulings (for example, *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District*).

Academic Achievement and School Quality

Perhaps the most contentious issue concerning charter schools is the question of whether they better educate students than traditional public schools. A clear answer to this question is confounded by a myriad of factors. First, many states have changed their standardized assessments several times in the life of a charter school, making measurement of progress across years difficult. Second, it has been difficult to compare charter schools across states since individual states also employ different assessments.

Third, within a given state, there is not agreement about to whom researchers should compare the performance of charter school students. Should students in the neighboring school be a comparison group, even though a charter school could potentially draw enrollment statewide? Should it be a public school with similar racial-ethnic demographics even though charter school students are a self-selected group? Researchers have yet to reach consensus on these questions.

Fourth, since charter schools are different by design—vastly different from one another in almost every way conceivable—to aggregate their achievement data could be misleading. Fifth, self-selection bias is an issue in that charter schools draw students whose parents have been motivated to undergo an application and admissions process in schools that also exercise control over which student they admit, making charter school students different from students who attend local public schools.

Given these methodological issues, it is not surprising that school districts and charter authorizers are far more likely to revoke a charter for financial or legal malfeasance than for lackluster academic performance. Despite these difficult issues, there are data to provide a picture about charter school performance. It appears that across many state studies, most charter schools do about as well as traditional public schools, with some charter schools performing much better, and some performing much worse. Although it is difficult to conduct cross-state comparisons, several recent analyses of the performance of charter schools, traditional public schools, and private religious schools on the National Assessment of Educational Progress find that traditional public schools outperform the others.

The ways in which charter school performance is interpreted have much to do with the politics of the movement. Advocates claim that charter schools should be lauded and the movement expanded since they are doing just as well with fewer public resources. Critics counter that given the ability of charter schools to select their students and raise private funds, they should be performing at much higher levels.

Charter schools are likely to remain a popular educational reform. They are a key option under the federal education law No Child Left Behind for children whose schools consistently fail to make annual yearly progress. Reformers from a variety of political, pedagogical, and philosophical orientations continue to find favor in charter schools despite holding different visions for what charters should look like, how they should be governed, funded, and regulated. Perhaps most important, many African American parents consider charter schools to be a viable choice, especially in school districts where their children

have not been well served by traditional public schools.

Janelle T. Scott

See also Community Control of Schools; Effective Schools; Vouchers

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CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) educates the nation about the needs of children, paying particular

attention to the needs of poor and underrepresented children and those with disabilities. CDF is the leading advocacy group in the United States for children and families. The Children's Defense Fund began in 1973 and grew out of the civil rights movement under the leadership of Marian Wright Edelman. CDF traces its heritage to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., his Poor People's Campaign, and the Washington Research Project. This entry chronicles the progression of the Children's Defense Fund and the life of its founder and president, Marian Wright Edelman, looks at the mission and outreach work of the organization, and describes its research agenda.

Founder's Life

Marian Wright Edelman, born on June 6, 1939, was raised in Bennettsville, South Carolina, where she was the youngest of five children. Her father was a Baptist preacher, and her parents along with community elders and mentors stressed the value of education, excellence, and service to others. Edelman has been an advocate and social justice leader for her entire professional career. She has been quoted as saying that "service is the rent we pay for living. It is the very purpose of life and not something you do in your spare time."

Edelman graduated from Spelman College and Yale Law School. In the mid-1960s, she was the first Black woman admitted to the Mississippi Bar, and she directed the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund office in Jackson, Mississippi. While in Mississippi, Edelman was involved with the civil rights movement and also helped establish a Head Start program in the community.

Edelman moved to Washington, D.C., to become counsel for the Poor People's Campaign organized by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Thereafter, she began to focus more on issues relating to children living in poverty. Edelman helped to found the Washington Research Project (WRP) in 1968, a public interest law firm and the predecessor to the Children's Defense Fund, which monitored federal programs for low-income families. Through the WRP, Edelman lobbied Congress for family and child nutrition programs and the expansion of Head Start. She also served as the director of the Center for Law and Education at Harvard University.

Edelman began CDF in 1973 as an advocacy organization with a voice for poor, minority, and

disabled children. Through CDF, she has served as a public speaker on behalf of children's issues in the United States and has become one of the nation's leading child advocates. CDF has not only served as an advocacy organization but also as a research and policy center, documenting the problems for children in need and suggesting possible solutions. As president of CDF, Edelman has worked to reduce teen pregnancy, increase medical coverage for poor children, and secure government funding for child care and early childhood programs. To keep the organization independent and maintain its integrity, Edelman has made sure that the Children's Defense Fund has never taken any government funding.

Edelman has received numerous awards and more than a hundred honorary degrees. She has published several books, including *The Measure of Our Success: A Letter to My Children and Yours* and *Lanterns: A Memoir of Mentors*. She also wrote the statement of purpose for Tavis Smiley's book, *The Covenant With Black America*. Marian Wright Edelman is married to Peter Edelman, a professor at Georgetown Law School. They have three sons, Joshua, Jonah, and Ezra; two granddaughters, Ellika and Zoe; and two grandsons, Elijah and Levi. Her birth house in Bennettsville, South Carolina, is now a Children's Defense Fund office.

Organizational Mission and Programs

CDF's mission identifies five program objectives that ensure all children a level playing field. The stated mission of the Children's Defense Fund is to Leave No Child Behind® and to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life and successful passage to adulthood with the help of caring families and communities. CDF provides a strong, effective voice for all the children of the United States who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. CDF pays particular attention to the needs of poor and underrepresented children and those with disabilities. CDF encourages preventive investment before these children get sick or into trouble, drop out of school, or suffer family breakdown.

CDF achieves these objectives by building a national conscience and movement for children, using and sharing a range of advocacy tools, including public awareness and education, leadership and

community development, and research and policy analysis. The authenticity and effectiveness of CDF's efforts rest on the persistent, strategic desegregation of information and action at the local, state, and federal levels on behalf of children.

While CDF is headquartered in Washington, D.C., it currently maintains state offices in nine states: California, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, and South Carolina. The state offices carry out the mission of CDF at a state level and compile statewide and county data on the well-being of children and families and make it readily assessable to the public; analyze state spending and budgeting in light of its commitment to children and families; and help frame state policy debates to consider the well-being of children in all policy decision making.

Signature Programs

The Children's Defense Fund has four signature programs: Beat the Odds® Program, SHOUT (Student Health Outreach Project), CDF SPROUT, and CDF Freedom Schools.

The Beat the Odds scholarship program was started to affirm the success of young people who are overcoming tremendous obstacles in their lives while working hard, demonstrating academic excellence, and giving back to their communities. The SHOUT program links college and high school students to local organizations to assist in enrolling uninsured children in the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) or Medicaid. The program gives students an opportunity to develop effective leadership, time management, and coalition-building skills.

The SPROUT program organizes students to help families receive public health insurance and other benefits that can lift families out of poverty. The program aims to reach all eligible families and children and sign them up for benefits. Students partner with local groups and schools to help with outreach and enrollment efforts. The Freedom Schools provide critical summer and after-school enrichment through a model curriculum that supports children and families around five essential components: high-quality academic enrichment, parent and family involvement, civic engagement and social action, intergenerational leadership development, nutrition, health, and mental health.

The CDF Freedom Schools grew out of the CDF Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) initiative and are modeled after the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools. The BCCC seeks to weave and reweave the rich fabric of community that is the cornerstone for healthy development of African American children; to tap into and strengthen the strong African American community tradition of self-help; to rebuild the bridges between generations and between the African American middle class and poor; to assist and galvanize current African American leadership around specific goals for children; and to identify, train, nurture, link, mobilize, and empower a new generation of effective, young servant-leaders on behalf of children.

Other Initiatives

Other CDF programs and initiatives include the Cradle to Prison Pipeline Initiative, CDF Emerging Leaders Program, Tax and Benefits Outreach, and Katrina Relief. The Cradle to Prison Pipeline Initiative directs attention to an urgent national crisis at the intersection of poverty and race that positions African American boys to have a 1 in 3 lifetime risk and Latino boys a 1 in 6 lifetime risk of going to jail. The Cradle to Prison Pipeline report outlines the major factors behind the pipeline through statistics, stories, and long-term policy goals. The report calls for needed hard work and persistence to finish the work begun by the civil rights movement and Dr. King's Poor People's Campaign.

The CDF Emerging Leaders Project trains future advocates for early child care and development. The project sponsors institutes that bring together fellows and professionals providing direct services and working in the policy arena, as well as lobbyists for needed reforms at the national and state levels. A significant number of the project fellows now occupy senior policy and program positions.

The Tax Benefits and Outreach initiatives support state efforts in providing free tax assistance and information about existing federal and state benefits to improve living standards, health, and opportunities for poor and low-income families. The Katrina Relief initiative draws attention to the neglected needs of children affected by the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. CDF issued a report, *Katrina's Children: A Call to Conscience*

and Action, which urges immediate mental health and health services to children struggling to cope with Katrina's trauma. Action recommendations include an Emergency Children's Health and Mental Health Corps, Mobile Health Vans, School-Based Health Clinics, and Emergency Medicaid Relief to cut through 50 different state requirements and bureaucratic barriers.

Research Divisions

In addition to their signature programs, the CDF studies the lives of children in the United States and the challenges they face. Their research educates the nation about the needs of children. CDF's research and data collection is organized around five policy areas: child welfare and mental health, early childhood development, child health, youth development, and family income.

The Child Welfare and Mental Health Division works to give every child a Safe Start in a permanent nurturing family and community. The division promotes programs and policies that strengthen and support children and families, prevent crises in families, and help to promote safe, permanent families for children. The Child Welfare and Mental Health Division promotes federal policies that support the capacity of states and communities to provide the comprehensive supports children and families need, including prevention and early intervention, crisis services, quality foster care, specialized treatment for children and families, post-adoption and other post-permanency services, while ensuring essential crucial protections and accountability for children.

The Early Childhood Development Division promotes the idea that children need high-quality early learning experiences to help them succeed in school and in life, and families need child care services so parents can work. To best achieve these goals, CDF's Early Childhood Development Division focuses primarily on supporting and expanding Head Start, child care services, infant and toddler care, prekindergarten education, and after-school programs. In addition to education and lobbying by the staff, they work to organize and train early care and education advocates through the CDF Emerging Leaders® Program.

The Child Health Division works to ensure that all children in the United States have health insurance so

they can get health care and mental health services. To accomplish this goal, the division analyzes data and existing research to find out which children lack health insurance in the United States, identify the consequences for families without health insurance, and track federal and state policy developments. They then use the information gathered to help children by educating the public and congressional representatives about the costs of not having every child insured and supporting local organizers and advocates in the states. They also work to get health care for as many children as possible under current programs like the Children's Health Insurance Program and Medicaid.

The Youth Development division works to help youth from low-income families escape the Cradle to Prison Pipeline crisis. They promote positive youth development, work to protect children from violence, and help families and communities keep their youth out of trouble. Specifically, the Youth Development Division monitors and collaborates with community youth programs and systems; shares best practices among youth advocates, policymakers, and organizations with whom they work; tracks and analyzes youth-related legislation; and studies and proposes reforms and alternatives for the juvenile justice system. They support individuals, communities, and governments in their efforts to provide after-school care, gang violence prevention, reduce high school dropout, mentoring, substance abuse prevention, truancy, and tutoring.

The Family Income Division researches the causes and effects of poverty on children and their families. They use research and data to work with coalition partners, members of Congress, and federal agencies to promote policies that increase access to resources necessary to support a family. The division also connects families with tax credits and federal government benefits and supports local advocates with data and policy analysis to help them fight for children in their communities and nationally.

Many of the Children's Defense Fund's publications are available for free download as PDF files on their Web site (<http://www.childrensdefense.org>). A few of CDF's publications include *America's Cradle to Prison Pipeline Report*, *Katrina's Children: Still Waiting*, and *Katrina's Children: A Call to Conscious and Action*.

Tambra O. Jackson

See also Freedom Schools; Head Start; Poverty and Education; Socioeconomic Status (SES)

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CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL (CME) CHURCH

African American members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South (which later became the United Methodist Church), a predominantly White denomination, established the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church in 1870. It would become the third-largest organization of Methodists of African descent, after the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church. With help from the White church, the CME founded schools in the South after the Civil War. Changing its name to *Christian* Methodist Episcopal Church in 1956, the church also produced several prominent leaders in the civil rights movement. This entry discusses its history and contributions.

Historical Background

What has been deemed the “invisible institution” by historians, the African American church has always been in existence, whether on the African continent, in the cabins of those enslaved, or in the woods away from sight of Whites in antebellum United States. However, emancipation not only freed African Americans from coerced servitude but also from the religious dominance of Whites. They formed various organizations of different religious denominational influence. The church also served as a haven for schools, social organizations, and community meetings. Historian John Hope Franklin acknowledged that religious and spiritual autonomy was one aspect of life many newly freed African Americans wanted. Freedom

from the institution of enslavement and Whites gave African American religious leaders a greater voice and their organizations were able to operate without the jurisdiction of Whites. Thus, African Americans began to separate themselves not only from the fields and plantations of their former masters but also from religious guidance.

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in the aftermath of the Civil War. To gain some sovereignty over their church yet deny a complete break from the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC), South, the CME agreed not to become involved politically in exchange for property that the MEC, South would provide for them. Ties with its parent White denomination were not completely severed, as members of the MEC, South board were able to decide who would represent the newly established church. So White and African American members were instrumental in the selection of their representatives. The first two bishops chosen were William H. Miles and Richard H. Vanderhorst, two formerly enslaved men, from the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and African Methodist Episcopal Church, respectively.

The interracial board chose Lucius H. Holsey as the third elected bishop of the CME Church. Holsey once described the history of the CME Church as “green from the fields of slavery, raw in the experiences of church tactics, in membership and ministry, without houses of worship or literature, with many of its organizing feats being performed out of doors and under trees, it overcame difficulties that make it more than an experiment.” In Holsey’s view, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church had a unique history that exemplified a people who may not have had the traditional mechanisms of many churches but utilized what they did have.

Due to its connection to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the CME Church during Reconstruction became known by various names: the “rebel church,” the “Democrats’ church,” and “the old slavery church.” These descriptions demonstrate the accommodationist style that many African Americans associated with the CME Church, because in their eyes it still existed at the whim of Whites.

Building Schools

With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, and the federal government’s plans to assist southerners

coming to a halt, the CME began to fund educational institutions to better the plight of African Americans in the South. In the early 1880s, Lucius Holsey sought financial assistance from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South to create a school. In 1882, that goal was achieved with the creation of Paine Institute in Augusta, Georgia. It was formed with the idea of training African Americans for the ministry and for careers as teachers. The school was officially chartered in 1883 and in 1903 changed its name to Paine College. The school was named after Robert Paine, who helped establish the CME church and who was the Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Although Paine College served as a demonstration of what the CME Church could do, the financial assistance of the MEC, South ensured that Whites would have influence in the school's matters.

Another institution founded by the CME was Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee. Lane was founded in 1882 as the Christian Methodist Episcopal High School. It officially became known as Lane College in 1896. The Tennessee school took its name from Isaac Lane, who served as the fourth Bishop of the CME Church.

Miles College was an outgrowth of Booker City High School, established in Booker City, Alabama, in 1902, by the CME church. It moved to Birmingham, Alabama, in 1907, taking on the name Miles Memorial College and later Miles College. The school was named after Bishop William H. Miles.

Texas College in Tyler, Texas, was established in 1894 by a group of ministers. The Phillips School of Theology in Atlanta, Georgia, was founded in 1944 by the Board of Trustees of Lane College with the purpose of training those for the ministry and promoting the Christian faith through the CME Church. An assessment of these five schools demonstrates the educational achievements of the denomination.

As the church created institutions of higher education, members also sought to expand their message outside of the United States. All CME members were not reliant upon Whites for religious instruction. Historian and theologian Gayraud Wilmore discusses early notions of religious Black nationalism within the CME Church in the latter part of the 1890s. During this time, he points out that African American religious leaders Edward W. Blyden,

Henry McNeal Turner, and Theodore Holly wanted to create a sense of Black nationalism grounded in the Christian faith, which could be promoted throughout the African Diaspora, particularly in the Caribbean and Africa. There was minimal success, but these efforts dwindled in the 20th century as many CME members did not fully embrace Black nationalist tenets. However, the church would not let the issues pertaining to African Americans in the United States go unnoticed.

Civil Rights

Many CME churches are located in the South, meaning that throughout the 20th century, White supremacy and racial prejudice reigned supreme. To counter racism, the CME recognized that they could not accomplish any greater good for African Americans without coalitions. Thus, they aligned with the AME and AMEZ denominations to form a General Conference, which was designed to form strategies that would help alleviate many of the problems and issues pertaining to African Americans and their rights as U.S. citizens.

In the early part of the 20th century, many CME leaders also aligned with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). They formed numerous chapters in their communities, took leadership positions, formed rallies and protests, raised funds, and sought to ensure that African Americans were not being disenfranchised.

One of the most notable contributions many writers acknowledge is the role of the CME Church in the civil rights movement. According to historian Raymond R. Sommerville Jr., initially the CME was hesitant to fully endorse Martin Luther King Jr.'s "protest strategies," although numerous denominational ministers and leaders were critical players in King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Sommerville identifies three of the numerous CME members who were critical to the movement: Donald Hollowell, Ruby Doris Smith (later Ruby Doris Smith-Robinson), and Nathaniel Linsey.

Hollowell, a native of Wichita, Kansas, and graduate of Lane College, was an attorney from Atlanta, Georgia, where he was a member of the Butler Street CME Church. He also helped end racist admission practices in Athens, Georgia, at the University of Georgia, helping Hamilton E.

Holmes and Charlayne Hunter gain admission to the institution. Hollowell also served as an attorney for Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and was chosen by President Lyndon B. Johnson to serve as regional director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1966. This latter role made him the first Black to serve in such a capacity for the federal government.

Ruby Doris Smith, a native of Atlanta, Georgia, and graduate of Spelman College, was influential with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and was the only woman to serve as the organization's executive secretary. With SNCC, Smith was instrumental organizing protests around Atlanta against segregation in public places and businesses. She was also influential with the organization's Black power campaigns, which focused on political rights and educational programs in the rural South.

Nathaniel Linsey served as pastor of the Thurgood Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in Birmingham, Alabama, in the 1960s, and was a leader with the SCLC and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR)-sponsored Project C, or Project Confrontation. This platform was the code name for the 1963 campaign to desegregate Birmingham. Linsey would later become senior bishop of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. Hollowell, Smith, and Linsey are just three examples of the role CME Church and its members in the struggle for human rights and dignity.

Achievements and Changes

In 1954, the same year as *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, trial, which ended separate-but-equal public schooling, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church voted to ordain women as ministers in the denomination. In 1966, women were given full clergy rights, but it was not until 1985, nearly 20 years later, that the first female presiding elder was elected. It is sanctioned by the bylaws of the CME Church that at least one woman must serve as member of the Judicial Council. Although women were not recognized to be official leaders until the mid-1950s, the role that they played must not be marginalized because their presence ensured the church's

success. Yet, the patriarchy within the church has yet to subside.

Another shift within the ideology of the CME occurred in 1956, when the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church changed its name to the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. The transition from *Colored* to *Christian* came during a time when many religious leaders sought to eliminate segregation in the social context as well as through their own religious beliefs. To avoid discriminative practices on their part, leaders chose to incorporate *Christian* to fit the CME acronym and to emphasize the importance of universalism within a religious context, seeking to include all and excluding any racial elements.

In 1996, the CME aligned with other denominational churches to form the Revelation Corporation. This organization was formed by the leaders of five major African American churches with the goal of increasing the buying power of African American consumers. The five churches involved in the program were the National Baptist Convention of America, the AMEZ Church, the CME Church, the NBC USA, Inc., and the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. E. Edward Jones of the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., served as head of the organization, and John Lowery as vice president.

An examination of the growth of the CME Church from its inception and into the 20th century shows an increase in membership. By 1890, the church had a membership more than 100,000 people, most of them found in the southern states of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. According to historian C. Eric Lincoln, in 1945 the CME had expanded to 18 states, a growth attributed to the number of African Americans leaving the South during the Great Migration and the job opportunities that were created with the onset of World War II. By 1989, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church had a total of 900,000 members in the United States.

Today, the headquarters of the CME are located in Memphis, Tennessee, where the denomination's publishing house is also located. The CME also supports missions throughout the African Diaspora. With these particular overseas ventures, the church is fulfilling one of Lucius Holsey's earlier goals of utilizing a Black nationalism through spiritual conviction. The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

has played and continues to serve an important role in the community of many.

Robert A. Bennett III

See also African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS

Throughout the mid- to late 1950s and during the early stages of the civil rights movement, citizenship schools were developed in rural and urban areas across the U.S. South. Citizenship schools taught literacy skills to African Americans; the schools' primary goal was to assist African Americans in passing unmerited voter registration requirements. This entry looks at the historical context and achievements of these schools.

Historical Background

The idea of education for citizenship and civic education can be seen from the 18th century, when a political education endorsed by Thomas Jefferson was hardly attainable by all non-White, poor, and female populations, to the early 21st century when the merits of U.S. education were strongly debated after a Republican majority Congress passed the No Child Left Behind Act (2001).

The idea of citizenship schools developed in 1955 from workshops at Highlander Folk School, a school founded by Myles Horton in Monteagle, Tennessee. The workshops were originally held to discuss the importance and function of the United Nations. However, since discussions did not progress past the race problem in the United States, it was decided that racism and segregation were more prominent issues to be tackled. Discussions then turned to what role the average citizen could play in advancing the civic rights of disfranchised African Americans and in upending legalized racial discrimination and segregation.

Two figures who emerged as leaders of the Citizenship School Movement were Esau Jenkins and Septima Clark. Jenkins, who was from John's Island, South Carolina, was a small landowner who supplemented his income by providing transportation for islanders who worked on the mainland. Acutely aware of the high illiteracy rate and limited political power of African Americans on John's Island, Jenkins made it a point to improve the standards of living for these African Americans. He started with teaching those willing to learn how to read and write. He used his bus as a mobile school to teach the rudiments of literacy to island inhabitants; however, this method proved to be a costly and inefficient way of reaching the masses.

Septima Clark, an activist and veteran public school teacher and activist of Charleston, South Carolina, who had also taught on the Sea Islands, came to Jenkins's aid. Clark suggested that Jenkins open an education center on John's Island and that fellow Highlander Folk School workshop participants assist Jenkins in developing this center. Having received encouragement, assistance, and feedback from Clark and the Highlander staff, Jenkins returned home to open an education center to teach local African Americans how to read and write.

The process of choosing a location, hiring a teacher, and recruiting students fell on Myles Horton and Septima Clark, who returned to the island to cultivate a connection with the local population. The first school was established in the back of a recently purchased grocery store, 14 students attended, and its first teacher was Clark's niece, Bernice Robinson, a beautician from the island. Its immediate goals were to teach African Americans how to read and write in order to successfully pass the voter registration requirements.

Still, organizers recognized that literacy was not an end in itself, but rather a means to become citizens and activists who would critically engage their respective environments and work for the causes of equality and democracy. Ironically, the only teaching materials at Robinson's disposal on the first day of class were pencils, paper, and the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Growth and Achievements

Word of the first citizenship school at John's Island gradually spread, and others became interested in establishing their own schools. Prospective teachers would receive training from veteran citizenship school teachers at Highlander and would then start their own schools. These new teachers would then teach others in their community by applying a multiplicity of progressive teaching methods developed by the noted educators Septima Clark and Myles Horton in addition to a growing cadre of citizenship school teachers.

An inherent respect for students was demanded of teachers; teachers were expected to view instruction as a reciprocal process, meaning teachers should expect to learn from their students as much as students were expected to learn from teachers. And, teachers were expected to go beyond the call of duty and assist students in their struggle for social or capital gain. At the end of the 2- to 3-month sessions, students would be tested on what they had been taught. A common "test" was to apply their learning and attempt to register to vote at the local precinct. All and all, students and teachers learned there was no single way to lead or solve a problem, and that any person with the conviction to do what was in the best interest of society was suitable for leadership.

Those involved in the movement took note of the proliferation of citizenship schools and local

leaders across the South. Within days, 34 students (up from 14 students) were meeting at the original John's Island school, and another school had been established on a nearby island. In Magnolia, Mississippi, activist historian Howard Zinn noted similar developments. According to Zinn, days after six African American students went to register to vote at the county seat and passed the test, word spread and plans were being made for two new schools in and around Magnolia.

By 1965, ten years after the establishment of the first citizenship school, Septima Clark, then working with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), reported that 897 schools with nearly 1,600 volunteers and teachers had registered more than 50,000 African Americans to vote. While leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Stokely Carmichael, and Malcolm X questioned the integrative, civic, and nonviolent philosophy these schools espoused, the educational methods remain influential in democratic, progressive, and civic-minded educational circles today.

Christopher M. Span and Jon N. Hale

See also Highlander Folk School

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CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Instrumental in the educational advancement of African Americans in the South after the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (Brown I)*, the 1964 Civil Rights Act mandated the assigning of students to public schools "without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin"; school

districts that failed to comply would be subject to federal sanctions and intervention (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV, Section 401, Subsection B, p. 20). This entry describes the historical background and content of the law.

Historical Context

Despite the high Court's declaration that school segregation according to race was unconstitutional in *Brown I*, and its "all deliberate speed" decree in *Brown v. Board of Education* 1955 (*Brown II*), public school pupil assignments remained consistent with de jure segregation practices in the South (that is, Jim Crow) and de facto segregation patterns in the northern and western regions of the United States.

For many African Americans, irrespective of geographic region, the racial segregation of schools was viewed as a central element of U.S. society that was designed to systematically disenfranchise them socially, politically, and economically. For the majority of Whites, however, *Brown I* challenged their self-ascribed supremacy over African Americans psychologically and materially. As a response to *Brown I*, White violence toward African Americans surged. According to historian J. T. Patterson, from 1954 to 1959, there were 210 recorded acts of White violence against Black in the South, including six murders, 29 assaults with firearms, 44 beatings, and 60 bombings.

By the early 1960s, however, Whites' resistance toward school desegregation became less violent and more evasive. In the South, for example, White school administrators typically circumvented court school desegregation orders by closing public schools, establishing private schools for White students, or implementing freedom of choice desegregation plans (see *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 1968).

Intended to allow African American and White parents the opportunity to send their children to the school of their choice, freedom of choice plans produced very few integrated schools. White parents rarely chose to enroll their children in all-African American schools, while African American parents who sought to send their children to all-White schools were vulnerable to violence and economic reprisals. Additionally, individual African American families remained fearful of sending

their children to all White schools where they would be subject to harassment by classmates. Similarly, *Brown II* produced limited results because the Supreme Court did not order the immediate desegregation of public schools. As a result, lower federal district and state judges were responsible for initiating and monitoring a state's compliance with *Brown I*. Many southerners preferred this method of school desegregation, because southern federal and state judges typically required less desegregation than the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Thus, the pace of school desegregation after the *Brown* decisions was slow.

A New Law

Due to southern Whites' opposition toward school desegregation, the federal government under the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson successfully lobbied Congress to pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act to increase the pace of school desegregation. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the federal government was authorized to pursue school desegregation as a domestic policy. Title IV, the Desegregation of Public Education statute, permitted the U.S. Department of Justice to file lawsuits against school districts for refusing to comply with court desegregation orders (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV, Section 403, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV, Section 407). Additionally, Title IV authorized the U.S. Commissioner of Education to provide financial and technical assistance to districts, school boards, or state agencies responsible for administering public education system to address problems resulting from desegregation (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV, Section 403).

Title IV represented a problems-based approach to school desegregation; among the services offered to states through Title IV were the use of consultants to assist in developing pupil transportation plans, establishing classroom assignments, and improving race relations in communities undergoing desegregation (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973). Under section 403, colleges and universities were contracted through the U.S. Office of Education vis-à-vis grants to establish desegregation centers to assist local school boards and state education agencies in preparing and implementing school desegregation plans. In

establishing partnerships with universities throughout the United States, proponents of Title IV sought to promote a national climate favorable to school desegregation by virtue of its relationship.

Conversely, Title VI, the Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs statute, prohibited discrimination in the allocation of benefits from any program or activity receiving federal assistance on the basis of race, color, or national origin (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VI, Section 601). With the anticipated passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, state noncompliance with school desegregation orders meant refusing federal support for education.

By dismantling the legal basis for racial segregation and instituting policies to advance school desegregation, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 increased African Americans' access to previously all-White schools. Overall, the total number of students enrolled in highly segregated school districts fell from "14 million in 1968 to less than 5 million in 1972" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, p. 67). In the South, the percentage of African Americans attending previously all-White public schools decreased from 78% in 1968 to 24% in 1988 (Orfield & Lee, 2007). Conversely, the total number of African Americans attending all African American schools in metropolitan areas in the North increased (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, 1977). In the Northeast, the percentage of African Americans attending all-African American schools rose from 43% in 1968 to 48% in 1988 (Orfield & Lee, 2007). The effects of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on the education of African Americans were immediate and long lasting. Responsible for establishing federal policies to promote social equality, the 1964 act more than anything embodies the hope of African Americans past, present, and future.

Jamel K. Donnor

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Desegregation; Jim Crow; Resegregation

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CLARA MUHAMMAD SCHOOLS

Clara Muhammad Schools evolved out of the love of a determined mother who took a stand in 1934, insisting that Muslim children be educated by teachers who will love, protect, and teach them about the greatness of their future and their Islamic and African heritage. Clara Muhammad refused to send her children to Chicago public schools, which were under the scourge of racial oppression known as Jim Crow. As a result of her courageous stand, tens of thousands of African American youngsters have experienced a Muslim education. That legacy continues in the curriculum offered at the 22 autonomous Clara Muhammad Schools throughout the continental United States and the island of Bermuda. These

schools provide elementary and secondary education to youngsters from kindergarten to the eighth grade and represent the first *association* of Islamic schools in the United States. This entry looks at the woman whose courage provided the inspiration and at the schools that resulted from her vision.

The Inspiration

Founded in 1975 by U.S. Muslim leader Imam W. Deen Mohammed, Clara Muhammad Schools were named by him to honor his mother and the wife of his father for 53 years, the late Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad. From 1933 to 1972, Clara Muhammad committed herself to the cause of furthering education on behalf of the University of Islam, the then-signature schools of the Nation of Islam. Her immortal stand in 1934, in the doorway of her Chicago home, found her threatened by a Chicago policeman and a truant officer demanding that she cease homeschooling and put her children in public school or they would take her children from her and put her in jail.

Initially, the University of Islam met only 2 hours per day. Students were then homeschooled by Clara Muhammad in her home. She refused the demands of the officials. The officers were perplexed and repeated their threat. Clara Muhammad again refused, uttering her famous words, “I will die as dead as this door rail before I let you take my children and put them in your school.” The policeman commented, “She must be crazy,” but they quickly left her home and never returned. As a result of her courageous stand, the fledgling Muslim school—the University of Islam—survived, and the first home school for Muslim children in the United States, which was previously illegal, was established in 1934.

For nearly four decades, Clara Muhammad nurtured the University of Islam schools, which grew to 52 schools throughout the United States, Bermuda, and Belize. After the passing of Elijah Muhammad in 1975, his son, Imam W. Deen Mohammed, exercised his new leadership and restructured and renamed the Universities of Islam—Clara Muhammad Schools—in tribute to the extraordinary efforts of his mother. As the community of African American Muslims evolved in their knowledge of Al-Qur’an and Al-Islam

proper, the curricula of Clara Muhammad Schools also evolved; it remains a work in progress.

Philosophy and Practice

Clara Muhammad Schools are built on the philosophy of unity, that all knowledge is interrelated and interdependent, and that there is one human family sharing the physical creation and One Creator over everything and everyone. They are based on the belief that each student must be seen and taught as a total human being engaging the moral, spiritual, rational, physical, and social dimensions of each youngster. It further believes that no part of a youngster can be sacrificed or neglected. Clara Muhammad Schools are aware that they exist in a pluralistic society of many peoples, and their students participate in a shared awareness of tolerance and respect for the essential principles common to all religions and the inherent goodness of every human being. The schools endeavor to establish in their communities a balance of individual and social interests and responsibilities in accord with the purpose of advancing civilized life. Students, therefore, are engaged in the pursuit of community projects that enhance family life, neighborhoods, community, and global establishment.

As an Islamic school, the curriculum is developed from and guided by the Qur’an and the universal life examples of the prophets, especially Muhammad Ibn Abdullah, the last prophet who Muslims believe revealed the Qur’an to humanity. All conventional elementary and secondary school subjects are taught, including human development, which provides an illuminated insight into human identity and the “freedom struggle” of the African American experience. Clara Muhammad Schools believe that the issue of *human identity*—for all people—is of paramount importance, and teachers address the subject from the universal perspective of the Qur’an regardless of race, religion, or national origin. The schools also provide a confluence of Islamic, African, and African American cultural sensibilities. Students are uniquely prepared for global leadership through cultivation of moral character, academic excellence, cultural integrity, justice and fair dealing, and a commitment to the protection of the environment and all species, which is a central part of the Islamic faith.

Clara Muhammad Schools require affiliation with a Masjid (Mosque), and the director of education must be an Imam or a woman knowledgeable of Al-Islam in order to provide Islamic guidance. In addition, students wear school uniforms, and parental participation is required. The Qur'an and Arabic language is taught in all schools; some schools also teach Spanish and French. Schools are coeducational; however, in some schools, students are separated by gender in the upper grades. Each Clara Muhammad School is autonomous, but there exists a network of professional support for curricular development, accreditation, and academic competition among schools.

Clara Muhammad Schools are independently supported by the African American Muslim community. Although consistently challenged financially, the schools have been lauded by local, state, and federal education officials for their contributions to community service and to moral, human, and academic excellence.

To continue the tradition of academic excellence and further support the students of Clara Muhammad Schools, the Atlanta Masjid of Al-Islam in 1987 established the Clara Muhammad High School, which was renamed in 1988 the W. Deen Mohammed High School, after the son of Clara Muhammad; its graduates receive scholarships to the top universities in the country and abroad. The flagship W. Deen Mohammed High School originated and remains in Atlanta, Georgia.

Zakiyyah R. Muhammad

See also Homeschooling; Malcolm X Academy (Detroit, Michigan); W. Deen Mohammad High School (Atlanta, Georgia)

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CLARK, KENNETH B. (1914–2005)

Kenneth Bancroft Clark is regarded as one of the most influential and accomplished social scientists of the 20th century. Perhaps his most renowned studies, coauthored with his wife, Dr. Mamie Phipps-Clark, summarized the harmful psychological effects of segregation in schools on African American children. This work was instrumental in the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), which ruled that segregation in schools was unequal and thusly unjust. This strong and timely research, fueled by various social factors concerning racism and previous research Clark did with Gunnar Myrdal, was collected from 1939 to 1950. When Clark summarized this monumental research, it brought concerns about segregation in schools to the attention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and to the forefront of the civil rights movement. The Clarks' research helped overturn the "separate but equal" decree by proving that *separate* meant *unequal* for African Americans, including school-aged children. His ground-breaking record includes being the first African American to receive a PhD in psychology at Columbia University and the first African American president of the American Psychological Association. This entry looks at his life and contributions.

Early Years

Clark was born in the Panama Canal Zone on July 24, 1914, to West Indian parents, Miriam Hanson Clark and Arthur Bancroft Clark. His father possessed a keen awareness regarding the racism woven into the socioeconomic fabric of the United States, which eventually led to a split in the family. When Arthur Clark refused to resign from his respectable position with the United Fruit Company in Panama, his wife decided to move to the United

States with Kenneth's older sister, Beulah, believing that her family would have greater opportunities there. Kenneth remained in Panama with his father and grandmother, Beatrice Hanson, for a short time before joining his mother and sister in Harlem, New York, at age 4½.

Mrs. Clark took a job as a seamstress in the garment district of New York and eventually became an early shop steward with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), an organization that, at one time, was considered radical. It is credited with pioneering, establishing, and maintaining a pristine and extremely progressive health care program for its members. Determined to have the best for her children, Mrs. Clark consistently demonstrated her willingness to sacrifice without hesitation for the sake of her children, accepting all available opportunities.

During Kenneth Clark's childhood, Harlem was at its political and cultural peak, boasting of the great accomplishments accredited to the influential and creative genius of the Harlem Renaissance. Clark was a young child who was immensely and unquestionably influenced by the zeitgeist of the "New Negro Movement." He was in close proximity of and directly influenced by many Harlem Renaissance legends, including Countee Cullen (a teacher at his junior high school) and Marcus Garvey, who led an historic parade of 50,000 people through Harlem in 1920.

Clark's family resided in a series of tenement apartments in an ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse and integrated neighborhood. The Clarks continually moved from residence to residence in an attempt to avoid many of the social ills that come with being immigrants of African descent living in a crowded neighborhood alongside immigrants of European descent (Irish and Jewish). When reflecting on his early life in Harlem, Dr. Clark referred to his experiences in Harlem as that of a prisoner within the ghetto, wherein he learned about love, human nature (both good and bad), fear, courage, and delayed gratification, all the while staying in sync with the daily, up-tempo rhythm.

Education

Although Clark was an excellent student in junior high, his school counselor set him on a track to attend vocational school as opposed to an academically

focused high school. Holding true to her devotion, his mother once again stood firm in her idea of excellence for her children and refused to accept the suggestion of his counselor. Clark was subsequently enrolled in George Washington High School, where he excelled in economics, an interest that was fueled by the impact of the Great Depression on Harlem in 1929.

One of his teachers refused young Kenneth an economics award that he earned for his hard work and outstanding performance. In spite of this direct experience of discrimination, Clark continued to excel at his studies and graduated in 1931. This experience added fuel to his motivational fire, a fire that would burn steadily throughout his career. Up until this point, Clark had lived his life as an immigrant with noncitizen status. It was not until 1931, the same year of his high school graduation, that he was declared a naturalized citizen of the United States.

On graduating from high school, Kenneth Clark enrolled at Howard University, where he took two degrees, a BA in 1935 and an MS in 1936. His original intent was to study medicine; however, during his sophomore year, Clark encountered an individual who would influence him to change both his major and the course of his life. As a student of Francis Cecil Sumner, the first African American psychologist and chair of the psychology department at Howard University, Clark developed the standard by which he would measure himself and his work for the rest of his life. Clark's already growing interest in social problems was furthered by the method of psychological study provided by Professor Sumner.

Clark began to perceive the question of identity and social experience to be all important regarding the educational and developmental processes of children of African descent. He also began to understand more clearly the impact of racism and discrimination on the lives of both the victims and the perpetrators. This seed was planted and proved fruitful, as evidenced by Clark's contributions to psychology, education, child development, and research.

In addition to Dr. Sumner's influence, Clark also worked closely with Ralph Bunche, the first African American Nobel Prize-winner. It was through the guidance of Dr. Bunche that Clark was encouraged to participate in the development of legislation opposing Jim Crow. During his apprenticeship

with Professor Bunche, Clark also worked with Swedish scholar and economist Gunnar Myrdal, work that culminated in a book entitled *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. This would be the first of many important books either authored or edited by Kenneth Clark.

Clark was a magnet for beneficial influence from persons who would provide him with the knowledge and guidance that enabled him to achieve so much later in life. In addition to his enriching academic experience, Clark's social activism demonstrated his sense of responsibility for oppressed communities and peoples. He was an exemplary model for "town and gown" united. He served as editor for Howard University newspaper *The Hilltop*, a venue through which he transmitted insightful thoughts opposing oppression in its multitude of form and expression. He would eventually be arrested, booked, released, and pardoned for his social activism and protests against segregation in public venues in the nation's capital.

Upon completion of an MS degree in psychology, Clark remained at Howard to teach in the psychology department. He remained close to Dr. Sumner, who encouraged him to pursue a PhD in psychology at Columbia University in New York. Clark followed the guidance of his mentor and returned to New York in pursuit of a PhD, but not before meeting and courting his student and life partner, Mamie Phipps, a freshman majoring in physics and mathematics from Hot Springs, Arkansas.

After changing her major at Clark's suggestion, Mamie Phipps began to work closely with Clark, and they were eventually engaged to marry. They maintained secrecy during her matriculation at Howard, and then she joined Kenneth in New York as a PhD student at Columbia. Ms. Phipps's parents were very determined regarding their daughter's life path and disapproved of her plans to marry Kenneth. Nonetheless, the two eloped in the spring of 1938.

The synchronicity of this couple is self-evident. Mamie Phipps-Clark followed in her husband's footsteps and became the second African American to receive a PhD in psychology from Columbia University; simultaneously, she also became the first woman to be awarded a PhD at Columbia University. Mamie Phipps-Clark was a woman of

great knowledge and insight; her ability to ask the "correct" question and systematically pursue answers complemented Kenneth Clark's passion and determination to resolve social injustice and to combat racism. Together, the two psychologists went on to provide the world with a compendium of quantitative data regarding what Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois would refer to as the problem of the 20th century: race.

A Pioneering Career

Dr. Clark received a PhD in 1940 and began an active professional career. He became the first African American tenured professor at City College of New York (CCNY) as well as an assistant professor at Hampton Institute (now Hampton University). Dr. Clark maintained several visiting professorships at prestigious universities such as Columbia University, University of California at Berkeley, Harvard University, and the Tuskegee Institute.

In addition to his role in academia, Clark took on many other professional endeavors, including a position studying the morale of African Americans for the Office of War Information. He founded many programs, including the Northside Center for Child Development in 1946, recognizing the need to improve the psychological and educational well-being of African American children in Harlem. The center eventually expanded services beyond African Americans, allowing Whites with special psychological needs and their families to receive services. Clark was the research director for the center until 1966. The center is still in operation today, has several locations in Harlem, New York, and serves more than 2,000 children and families.

After receiving a grant in 1962 from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, Clark also served as chief project consultant (1962–1966). In this position, Clark developed a blueprint for the Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU), which was an important basis for President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty effort. HARYOU assessed the need for a thorough reorganization of the schools in Harlem. The program was directed at strongly encouraging Harlem residents to participate in implementing changes in desegregation, improving students' reading skills, and a more thorough review of

teacher performance. However, due to political maneuvering, these suggestions never came to fruition. Yet they provided foundation work for other programs in the War on Poverty effort.

Clark went on to become the first African American president of the American Psychological Association (APA; 1970–1971); while in this position, Dr. Clark challenged the racial discrimination of the APA and psychological practices in general. Prior to being elected president, Clark invited Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to speak at the annual meeting in 1967. During his tenure as president of the APA, Dr. Clark was instrumental in the creation of the Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology, the precursor to the Board for the Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interest.

He also served as president of both the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC; 1967–1975), which advocated for the empowerment of disadvantaged people in education, housing, welfare rights, employment, and training programs. MARC provided the opportunity for Clark to implement his theories on education under optimal conditions. However, the teachers and superintendent of Washington, D.C., refused to cooperate with the MARC guidelines and suggestions, challenging Clark's previous research suggesting that all children are capable of equal academic performance. The superintendent countered Clark's research by suggesting that because the inner-city lifestyle was not normal, children from such a background could not be held to the same standards as children of other backgrounds. Despite these claims, Clark remained a strong advocate for racial desegregation.

Clark served as the director of the Social Dynamics Research Institute at CCNY, conducting research on various social issues, including effectiveness of foreign service officers, with the support of Presidential Life Insurance Company, Harper & Row Publishing, Lincoln Savings Bank, New York State Urban Development Corporation, U.S. Commission for the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Joint Center for Political Studies, and the Alfred Adler Mental Health Clinic.

Clark established a family-owned management consulting firm, Clark, Phipps, Clark, & Harris.

This firm worked in human relations, personnel administration, educational programs, equal employment opportunity, and affirmative action programs. The firm offered counsel to government agencies, financial and educational institutions, private corporations, and the government of Bermuda.

Accomplishments and Honors

Clark is the author or coauthor of 16 books, numerous journal articles, and countless interviews in national periodicals. Some of his works are *Prejudice and Your Child* (1955), *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (1965), *Pathos of Power* (1974), *A Relevant War Against Poverty* (coauthor, 1968), *The Negro American* (coeditor, 1968), *The Negro Protest* (1963), *A Possible Reality* (1972), *Social and Economic Implication of Integration in the Public Schools* (1965), *Racism and American Education: A Dialogue and Agenda for Action* (1970).

He was also the recipient of 27 honorary doctorates from colleges and universities, including Haverford College, Yeshiva University, Oberlin College, Johns Hopkins University, Amherst College, New York University, Columbia University, and University of Massachusetts. Dr. Clark was the first African American member of the New York State Board of Regents, a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago and of the New York Urban Development Corporation. He was also a member of Sigma Xi, Phi Beta Kappa, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Clark received many distinguished honors, including the Spingarn Medal by NAACP (1961), the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award by the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues (1966), the Sidney Hillman Book Award (1965), and the Presidential Medal of Liberty (1986).

In addition to being a noted author, leader, researcher, academician, and scholar, Clark was also a family man. He and wife, Mamie, had two children, Kate Clark Harris and Hilton Bancroft Clark, and three grandchildren, Scott Harris, Natalie Thompson, and Andrea Harris. He passed away on May 1, 2005, in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, at the age of 90.

Jeffery Menzise and Angela Jones

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Resegregation

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CLARKE, JOHN HENRIK (1915–1998)

John Henrik Clarke enjoyed a prodigious career as a historian, lecturer, teacher, mentor, poet, and journalist. Clarke was compelled into serious study in search of the intellectual, cultural, political, and religious history of Africans before enslavement and colonialism. He called his work a project of restoration: to restore what existed before the systematic destruction of the true African historical past. Three intersecting themes in turn galvanized his conception of education for African Americans, which he referred to as “education for a new reality.” The aims and origins of African history, Pan Africanism, and African American studies form the core of his conception of what education should be and what end this education should serve.

More than perhaps any other historian, Clarke demonstrated that Africans had a past that preceded the “slavery curtain” and contact with Whites. Dr. Clarke is also a chief architect of the construction of a Pan African world. His work heralded, promoted, and legitimized the development of Black consciousness in the 1960s. He

began at a time when few U.S. citizens—including African Americans—took seriously the possibility that Africans could have produced civilization without Whites. His work thus constituted a challenge to psychological and political dependency.

Moreover, he was also an activist who played a significant role in the intellectual transformation of Harlem and the Black United States. Making clear that African America could only pursue its liberation by meticulous study of the African past was his enormous contribution to African American education today. Restoration for Clarke did not include a goal of gaining full access into the mainstream United States; rather, his work offers a decidedly different objective. His work argues that African Americans must determine their own images, beliefs, traditions, and knowledge systems in order to be a truly liberated people.

This entry outlines Clarke's induction into scholarly study, his conceptualization of African history, Pan Africanism, and African American studies, and his contribution to African American education.

Biographical Sketch

Clarke's commitment to the pursuit of a holistic education for African Americans began with his commitment to locating a truthful account of African history. This journey began when he confronted the absence of Africans within the historical trajectory in his southern schooling. Born in Union Springs, Alabama, in 1915 to John Clarke and Willie Ella Mays Clarke, Clarke spent his adolescence in Columbus, Georgia. His father and mother worked and raised their children in the Jim Crow South during a time when the education of African Americans remained a precarious and contentious issue. The senior Clarke labored as a sharecropper and had dreams that his son would one day fulfill the dream he could not: to own the land he worked. Willie Ella Clarke serviced Whites as a washerwoman.

The younger Clarke also had dreams of being connected to land (Africa), but it would be through intellectual labor that he would fulfill his father's dream. This would have to wait as the need to work to help support his family took precedence over his formal education. Although he initially advanced no further than the eighth grade in school, he developed an ethic of self-teaching that would later play a fundamental role in his intellectual and activist

career. Despite the fact that he later completed his formal education (in 1993, Clarke completed a doctorate of philosophy at Pacific Western University, Los Angeles (later called Miramar University in San Diego), and earned numerous honorary doctorates (among them is a 1993 honorary doctorate from Clark-Atlanta University), he often mused that his true university training occurred in public libraries and well-chosen secondhand bookstores. Despite his haphazard educational training, he found that the world around him provided the opportunity to become more than literate, but politically literate.

Clarke began his impassioned quest to uncover the historical past of his community after a White employer remarked to Clarke that African Americans had no historical past beyond enslavement. Clarke was convinced that this prevalent idea was in fact false. He owed this early revelation in part to the work of the historian Arthur Alfonso Schomburg. In 1931, Clarke came across Schomburg's essay, "The Negro Digs Up His Past," in Alain Locke's celebrated anthology, *The New Negro*. Schomburg confirmed Clarke's budding hypothesis that the African people did have a rich and glorious history. Clarke committed himself to meeting Schomburg.

Early Years in Harlem

Clarke left the South in 1933 at the age of 17. After stopping briefly in Chicago, he went to Harlem, where he met Schomburg and studied with him as part of the Harlem History Club. His apprenticeship with Schomburg sparked Clarke's dedication to the task of digging up the intellectual, cultural, and political past of the African in a global world and to engaging and organizing the Pan African community in its collective search for identity. Throughout his life, Clarke would credit Schomburg as having a profound influence on his understanding of the relationship of African history to world history and thus shaping his own conception of African American studies.

Clarke's initial and enduring relationship with Harlem also shaped his later work. Harlem became Clarke's living laboratory; he published or edited numerous texts and articles on the community. In the celebrated volume Clarke edited, *Harlem: A Community in Transition*, he pored over Harlem's central role in the launching of critical scholars and movements. He noted the dynamic nature of

Harlem as manifested in the "street speaker" culture, the momentum that engulfed the "Back to Africa" movement, the cultivation of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement, as well as the warm reception of Black Nationalism.

Immediately after becoming acquainted with Harlem, Clarke began taking creative writing courses at the League of American Writers. Working in Harlem during the Depression years made it difficult for Clarke to avoid being attracted to the more radical social and political antagonisms that shaped his community and work space. Though Clarke claimed no formal allegiance to the Communist Party, he did become actively engaged with the Young Communist League (YCL). Clarke rejected some elements of Marxist doctrine, faulting Marx for ignoring African tribal societies, which were in Clarke's opinion socialist in nature and preceded the emergence of a European-based concept of socialism. Nevertheless, he worked as a street speaker and fund-raiser with the League.

Despite Clarke's involvement with the YCL, it was the Harlem History Club that served as the center of his work. Joining with other noted Pan African social thinkers such as Willis N. Huggins, John C. Jackson, and Kwame Nkrumah, Clarke received his methodological introduction to history. After serving in the U.S. Army Air Force from 1941 to 1945, Clarke returned to Harlem and attended New York University from 1948 until 1952. His arrival back in Harlem heralded a renewal in his search for identity rooted in scholarship, creative writing, and activism. Clarke cofounded and became associate editor of the *Harlem Quarterly* and published a book of poetry entitled *Rebellion in Rhyme*. By 1954, he also founded the movement magazine *Freedom Ways*. He returned as a student in the classroom at the New School for Social Research. After traveling to Ghana and reuniting with his friend Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of the independent Ghana, Clarke returned back to Harlem and in 1962 founded the National Council of Black studies.

Career in Education

Clarke then began teaching history in community centers across Harlem and became director of the Heritage Teaching Program at HARYOU-ACT, which was founded in 1964 and served as the leading antipoverty agency in Harlem. The creation of

this agency also marked a turning point in Harlem's political consciousness, as the agency's programs advocated for social action rather than reliance on social services. Clarke asserted that HARYOU-ACT illustrated how knowledge could foster mass action and force the government to address the concerns and needs of Harlem and its youth. Clarke demonstrated his talent for developing in others a deep appreciation for historical study and knowledge as emancipatory tools. While at HARYOU-ACT, Clarke published a curriculum guide for the instruction of African American history.

At the same time as he began his work with HARYOU-ACT, Clarke collaborated closely with Malcolm X. When Malcolm left the Nation of Islam and formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Clarke assisted in the writing of the organization's charter and organizing the curriculum of the OAAU's liberation school. (Clarke would recall this collaboration in his edited volume entitled *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*.) Clarke's work with HARYOU-ACT and the OAAU led him to redefine his concept of a school; for him the entirety of Harlem was his classroom. Moreover, much as Clark was indebted to the work of W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter J. Woodson, Schomburg, and Marcus Garvey, the scholars and activists who emerged in the 1960s turn to "Black power" were beholden to Clarke's role in pioneering rigorous Black studies scholarship that corrected the many misconceptions pertaining to African Americans and the greater Pan African people. The fostering of African consciousness and historical knowledge as a liberating force was manifest in not only Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity but also in such groups as the Black Panther Party and Detroit's League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

After serving as director of the Heritage Teaching Program from 1964 to 1969, Clarke began his long tenure at Hunter College, where he became chair of the Black and Puerto Rican Studies Center. Clarke remained at Hunter College until he retired in 1985 and became a professor emeritus. He continued to write, contribute to, or edit more than 30 books and countless conference papers. In 1985, Cornell University renamed its Africana studies and Research Center's library the John Henrik Clarke Africana Library. In 1995, Clarke received the highest honor bestowed by the Association for

the Study of African American Life and History, the Carter G. Woodson Medallion. Clarke was also honored in 2000 when New York City renamed 137th Street in Harlem as Dr. John Henrik Clarke Place. Clarke was indeed a vibrant and formidable historian whose commitment to truth remains an enduring and unrivaled lesson.

Views of African History

In the 1996 film documentary titled *John Henrik Clarke: A Great and Mighty Warrior*, Clarke insisted that "History is a clock that people use to tell their political and cultural time of day; it also serves as a compass that a people use to find themselves on the map of human geography." For Clarke and his allies, the urgent endeavor to resurrect a historical past and present enable Africans to traverse the map of human geography. Clarke feared that the distorted popular vision of Africans had tainted the ability of African people to see themselves as a unified people with a historical past free from colonialism or enslavement. In pursuit of a flourish, honest African American history, he was committed to resurrecting a conception of African American history that began with the story of African history, its richness, glory, conquest, and decline. To help bring clarity to the historical record, in 1968, he published the edited volume *William Styron's Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond*.

Clarke maintained that the tradition of storytelling was a timeless African custom and served as the root of African history. His "Origin and Growth of Afro-American Literature" examines this historical legacy on African American life. The decision to begin with Africa was and remains a contentious issue among those who maintain that the history of African Americans began with enslavement and on a larger scale that African world history began with contact with Europe. Yet, Clarke displayed an unyielding determination that in order for an African American historical tradition to come to fruition, the epic record of the continent of Africa would need to be restored to the pages of world history.

Pan African Perspective

Pan Africanism is not a concept that began with Clarke, but it is one that he supported with great intensity. The concept and movement were indebted

the West Indian lawyer, H. Sylvester Williams, who called together the first Pan-African Conference held in London in 1900, and W. E. B. Du Bois, who led the first U.S. delegation to the inaugural conference. Clarke acknowledged that the idea of a “Pan” movement had been used historically in other ethnic groups’ struggles to reclaim their national or historical identity after forced or migratory displacement. As a concept, it represents a movement to profess the proper African role in world history and to also assert a definition of Africans as a people. His text *Pan Africanism: A Brief History of An Idea in the African World* explores this theme at length.

Exceedingly important in Clarke’s work is how he defined African people and how this related to his conception of Pan Africanism as necessary and urgent. His was a vision of a united people, including both the people who lived in Africa and those who claim African ancestry throughout the world. Among the greatest influences on Clarke’s views on Pan Africanism were W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. Clarke published works on both Du Bois and Garvey, the latter entitled *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*. Garvey’s work served as an important point of strategic departure and provided the necessary impetus to guide Clarke’s work toward a synthesis of Black Nationalism and Pan Africanism that he asserted in “The New Afro-American Nationalism.”

In 1958, Clarke traveled to Ghana, where he worked as a journalist for the *Ghana Evening News* in Accra. At the same time, Clarke looked for insight to other third world nations that were tainted by a colonial past and were home to diaspora. In 1961, he traveled to Cuba to witness and join in the first anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. In 1974, he wrote an introduction for and translated the distinguished African historian Cheik Anta Diop’s text, *African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. In this way, Clarke continuously looked to the Pan African world for guidance and support in building a unified Pan African intellectual and activist tradition.

Concept of African American/Black Studies

Clarke’s conception of education for African Americans understandably began with a purpose-driven and dutiful study of African world history. His

work fostered and built on the enthusiasm for African American studies as a method of cultivating a new identity that arose in wake of the “Freedom Now” and subsequent “Black power” movements. Clarke embraced and advocated a turn to African American studies as an educational program that also represented a new form of strategy in those times.

Because of Clarke’s boundless contributions to the study of Pan African civilizations and people, his mentorship of emerging African American scholars and activists such as Audre Lorde and Julian Mayfield, and his role in the founding of the National Council of Black Studies, he is regarded the “Father of Black Studies.” Seeking out African social thought concerning religion, economics, politics, culture, and knowledge as it related to past, present, and future questions and theories is how Clarke intended African American studies to fulfill its practical role in a global project of decolonization. A special emphasis on the necessary study of African world history played a central role in what Clarke foresaw as a proper and comprehensive education for African Americans.

Clarke’s work exemplifies the importance of attaining an exhaustive knowledge of self and one’s people in order to confront the distorted image that had been deliberately imposed upon African peoples for centuries. From 1969 to 1973, he served as president of the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA) in an effort to bring about intentionality in the study of African history in higher education. His membership with the AHSA, an association that evolved as a result of a demand that the study of African history proceed from a Pan African perspective, solidified his belief that scholarship be linked to activism toward the liberation and unification of all African people. This was in essence the central argument in Clarke’s “Education for a New Reality in the African World.”

Bianca Ayanna Suárez

See also African American Studies; Du Bois, W. E. B.

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COLE, JOHNNETTA (1936–)

Activist, educator, and humanitarian Johnnetta Betsch Cole is best known for her leadership role as president of the only two historically Black women's colleges in the United States: Spelman College, founded in 1881, and Bennett College, founded in 1873 (it became a women's college in 1926). At Spelman, she was the seventh president and first African American woman to lead the institution. Cole's distinctive legacy was cemented by her tremendous work in developing Spelman College into a premier institution of higher education from 1987 to 1997. When she later assumed the role of president at Bennett College for Women in 2002, she continued her work in advancing the causes of African American women by using her unique talents to assist this fiscally challenged institution. Cole's distinctive skills as fund-raiser, outspoken advocate for African American women, and scholar have led many to herald her as the "Sister President." This entry looks at her life and contributions.

Early Years

Cole was born in Jacksonville, Florida, on October 19, 1936. She was the second of three children born to the union of John Betsch Sr. and Mary Frances Lewis Betsch. Her maternal great-grandfather, Abraham Lincoln Lewis, was the first

African American millionaire in Florida and the cofounder of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company, the first insurance company established in Florida (in 1901). Her parents were both graduates of historically Black colleges, her father from Knoxville College in Tennessee and her mother from Wilberforce University in Ohio.

Cole's father, John Betsch Sr., originally worked for the Atlanta Life Insurance Company but later worked with other Lewis family members at the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. Cole's mother, Mary Frances Betsch, was an educator who taught English and was the registrar at Edward Waters College. She later joined the family's insurance business after her husband's death. Cole has often credited much of her success to her family's prominence and service in the community of Jacksonville.

Cole's family was close to the great educator and leader Mary McLeod Bethune. She recalled fond memories of visiting Bethune in Daytona Beach, Florida. Cole remembers how her interactions with Bethune as a role model would serve as a great source of inspiration for many years. Cole was heavily influenced by the educational and service-oriented values of her family members and close friends.

Cole entered the early admission program at Fisk University in 1952 when she was 15, the same year that her father passed away. After one year at Fisk, she left to attend Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, where her older sister Marvyne Betsch was enrolled as a music major. While at Oberlin, Cole was impressed by a course taught by George Eaton Simpson that focused on racial and cultural underrepresented groups. Although she originally intended to major in medicine, she quickly changed to sociology. She completed a bachelor of arts degree in sociology with a minor in anthropology in 1957. She was admitted to Northwestern University for graduate school and completed a master of arts (MA) in 1959 and doctor of philosophy (PhD) in anthropology in 1967, studying under leading anthropologists including Melville J. Herskovits and Paul J. Bohannan.

While at Northwestern, Cole met and married Robert Cole in 1960. He was from Iowa and a graduate student in economics at Northwestern. The couple had three sons, David, Aaron, and Ethan Che. While both were graduate students

working on their dissertations, they moved to Liberia, West Africa, to conduct research. They were married for 22 years, divorcing in 1982. Cole also held teaching positions at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Washington State University in Pullman.

At Washington State, Cole taught courses in anthropology and directed the Black Studies Program. In 1970, Cole left Washington State and accepted a tenured faculty position at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. There she was instrumental in establishing a Black studies program and continued to teach anthropology. She later became the associate provost for undergraduate education at this institution.

Cole left the University of Massachusetts for a position at Hunter College in 1983, where she became the Russell Sage Visiting Professor and later a tenured faculty member. She also became the director of the Latin American and Caribbean Studies program. She held visiting appointments at Oberlin College, City College of New York, and Williams College during her time at Hunter College. It was while Cole was in her position at Hunter that she came to the attention of those interested in appointing the first African American female president of Spelman College.

The Spelman Period

Cole was an esteemed scholar whose research had often focused on intersections of race, class, and gender with specific emphasis on the persistence of social inequities for African American women. Prior to 1987, she published numerous articles and authored the book *All American Women: Lines That Divide, Ties That Bind* in 1986. She was also the editor of the anthologies *Anthropology for the Eighties: Introductory Readings*, published in 1982, and later *Anthropology for the Nineties: Introductory Readings*, published in 1988. Spelman students had long advocated for the college to hire an African American woman as president, and the path was laid for Johnnetta Cole.

When Cole assumed the presidency of Spelman in 1987, this marked a significant moment in higher education. Also during this time, she married her second husband, public health administrator Arthur J. Robinson Jr., whom she later divorced. Cole's inauguration on September 8, 1988, was marked

by another historic occasion when it was announced that Bill and Camille Cosby would honor this moment with a \$20 million gift to this small liberal arts institution. At that time, this gift was the single largest personal donation by any individual to a historically Black college or university.

This donation would become a mark of distinction for Cole, since she spent much of her time raising funds to build the college's endowment. Other gifts followed: \$1 million from Oprah Winfrey and \$37 million from the DeWitt Wallace Fund in 1992. Under her presidency, the Spelman College endowment grew from \$41 million to \$143 million. At the time, this was the largest endowment of any historically Black college or university (HBCU).

In addition, under her leadership Spelman's national profile and rankings greatly improved. The *U.S. News & World Report* named Spelman the number one liberal arts college in the South in 1992. Cole made significant changes on Spelman's campus by focusing heavily on fostering a spirit of giving within the campus community. While at Spelman, Cole was also actively involved in establishing the Office of Community Service and linking the concept of volunteerism to the mission of the college.

Former President George H. W. Bush recognized one of Spelman College's service projects as a "Point of Light" due to the volunteerism of the students. Cole's fund-raising also led to the establishment of endowed scholarships, professorships, and mentoring programs for students. Cole consistently taught one anthropology course a year while she was president of Spelman. She was known as an accessible and very involved president who encouraged and motivated her young female students. Cole authored the book *Conversations: Straight Talk With America's Sister President*, which was published in 1993.

Cole's influence on Spelman and her charismatic leadership led her to receive even more national attention when in 1992, President-Elect Bill Clinton appointed her as cluster coordinator for education, labor, and the arts and humanities. For this role, she was to be responsible for advising the administration on education issues and reviewing the personnel, budget, and programming of the Department of Education. It was during this time that her leadership came under attack as criticisms of her membership in organizations that were considered leftist

prevented her from being appointed as secretary of education, for which many thought she was highly qualified.

Money magazine recognized Spelman in the Top 10 of “Best College Buys” in 1996, based upon its stellar reputation. In 1997, after 10 years at Spelman, Cole retired from Spelman. That same year, her inspirational book *Dream the Boldest Dreams: And Other Lessons of Life* was published. She chose to return to teaching and accepted a position at Emory University in Atlanta as a Presidential Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, Women’s Studies and African American Studies in 1998. She remained at Emory until her retirement in 2001.

The Bennett Presidency

Cole’s retirement was short lived; she accepted the presidency of Bennett College for Women in July 2002. Bennett is a small, 4-year liberal arts college that was founded by formerly enslaved Africans with assistance from the United Methodist Church in 1873. It was struggling financially, and Cole was just the person that they needed to revive the institution, which had formerly been a beacon for civil rights. Bennett students had been actively involved in the civil rights movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the college had hosted Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. when no one else in their small town would welcome him. When Cole stepped in to shepherd the school, it was in danger of losing its accreditation and had a deficit of more than \$2 million.

Cole’s leadership of Bennett was supported by many dignitaries and notable individuals, including poet Maya Angelou, former Senator Bob Dole, former U.S. President Bill Clinton, and Oprah Winfrey. Cole began the “Revitalizing Bennett Campaign,” led by Clinton and Dole, who held a benefit gala resulting in more than \$700,000 being raised in 2005. Overall, under Cole’s leadership, Bennett’s endowment reached well over \$8 million. Cole’s leadership was once again signified by her development of new departments, an increase in enrollment of students, and initiatives to encourage community service among Bennett students.

Cole’s leadership also presented some challenges, which became evident when she suddenly announced her retirement in April 2005. During

this period, Cole was in a disagreement with faculty over budget cuts that would decrease some jobs in various departments. Due to the conflict with the faculty, Cole publicly considered leaving Bennett. As soon as her intent to resign became national news, she was besieged by requests from faculty, staff, board members, and students to remain at Bennett. Rallies were held to convince her to remain in the presidency, and she stayed for two additional years.

Cole announced plans to permanently retire from Bennett in 2006 and was in the position until 2007. Just before her departure from Bennett, she accomplished her goal to raise \$50 million, with Bennett alumnae giving major donations during her tenure at the institution. She was succeeded by Julianne Malveaux, who became the 15th president of the institution.

Honors and Awards

Cole has continued to be actively involved in creating a more diverse and inclusive world as the president emerita of Spelman College, professor emerita of Emory University, and president emerita of Bennett College. As a dynamic, engaging speaker whose leadership of African American women’s colleges served as an inspiration for countless individuals, she has consistently demonstrated that she will continue to change the world.

Cole was the first woman named to the board of directors of Coca-Cola Enterprises. She also became the first African American woman to serve as chair of the Board of the United Way of America in 2004; she held that position until 2006. She has also served on the Board of Directors of Merck and Company; the Atlanta Falcons; the Carter Center, Trans-Africa; Africa University in Mutare, Zimbabwe; and the National Visionary Leadership Project. Cole has received more than 51 honorary degrees and numerous awards from both international and national organizations. She has held leadership positions with the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change, the Rockefeller Foundation, the United Negro College Fund, and the American Council on Education.

In 2005, Spelman College broke ground on a building named the Johnnetta Betsch Cole Living and Learning Center, which they dedicated in her honor on her 70th birthday on October 19 of that

year. The Johnnetta B. Cole Global Diversity and Inclusion Institute at Bennett College is an enduring and vibrant part of her legacy. This institute exists to provide an additional resource to create and cultivate a more diverse and inclusive society, and Cole remains an active part of ensuring that these goals are reached as chair of the board.

In 2007, just after her retirement from Bennett College, Cole married her friend and partner James D. Stanton Jr. at the Carter Center in Atlanta. She touched many lives through her service at Spelman and Bennett. Her unwavering commitment to the advancement of women continues to ensure that her two granddaughters will live fuller and richer lives in a world where their grandmother chose to make a difference in the lives of those around her through active and civic engagement.

Kijua Sanders-McMurtry

See also Bennett College for Women; Black Females in College; Spelman College; United Negro College Fund (UNCF)

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COLEMAN REPORT

The Coleman Report was named for James Coleman, the primary researcher and author of a large-scale, nationwide study of school inequality. It was the product of an extensive survey that was requested as Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The purpose of the survey was to document the availability of equal opportunities in public schools. The report particularly focused on the educational opportunities of underrepresented groups such as African Americans.

The findings indicated that school quality and school resources did not significantly affect academic achievement as measured by test scores. Rather, the results suggested the importance of family background in academic achievement. In addition, it found that African American students and teachers in public education were unequally segregated from their White counterparts. African American students were found to be more influenced by school segregation than were White students. Finally, the findings indicated that African American students achieved less or scored lower on standardized tests than did their White counterparts.

There is perhaps no more influential study in education related to school quality, school segregation, and the achievement of African American students than the Coleman Report. The unexpected findings in many ways shifted the national focus and responsibility for achievement from schools to students, families, and communities. The findings related to school segregation provided a significant impetus for school busing and a path toward school desegregation. This entry focuses on the context and purposes, findings, later interpretations, and policy implications of the Coleman Report as it relates to the education of African American students.

Context and Findings

As part of the legislation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in Title IV, James Coleman, Ernest Campbell, Carol Hobson, James McPartland, Alexander Mood, Frederick Weinfeld, and Robert York were commissioned by the federal government to conduct a large-scale survey study of public schooling in the United States. The final product was entitled *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, but it has been more commonly referred to as the Coleman Report. The purpose of the study conducted by Coleman and his colleagues was to explore racial segregation and resource inequalities in the public school system in the United States.

The study was a large-scale survey study, one of the largest of its time, including 600,000 public school teachers, principals, district school superintendents, and pupils from 4,000 public schools across the United States. The project was funded by the federal government, and it was intended to demonstrate that unequal school achievement

between students from different racial or socioeconomic groups was a function of unequal educational opportunity. Both government officials and the research team expected that school quality would help to explain the differences in achievement between White and African American students. Yet, the findings were quite unexpected, indicating that there was almost no relationship between measures of school quality and student achievement.

The most cited finding of the Coleman Report was that school quality did not influence academic achievement. In rank order of their effect on the academic achievement of African American students, the study found that a student's background was most influential, followed by teacher quality, with school quality and school resources coming in as the least important factors related to the academic achievement.

Yet, other findings should not be overlooked. For example, the finding that the *peer composition* of schools and *student's family background* significantly influenced student outcomes had significant implications for policy and subsequent research studies. Here, findings related to the following issues are explained: school quality and academic achievement, public school segregation, achievement in schools, and families and achievement.

School Quality

Perhaps the most significant and influential finding in Coleman's study was that there was little relationship between school quality and student achievement. School quality was evaluated in terms of the entire school environment, including such things as the facilities, programs, and student body characteristics. Classroom sizes differed for White and African American students. White children generally attended elementary schools with a smaller average number of pupils or student-to-teacher ratios in each class. African American students did not have as much access to facilities like physics, chemistry, and language laboratories as did White students.

In addition, other resources were lacking in schools with high African American populations. For example, there were fewer books per pupil in schools with larger African American populations. In terms of programmatic differences, African

American students had less access to extracurricular programs. Additionally, they were less likely to attend regionally accredited schools.

Public School Segregation

One of the first studies to identify racial segregation in schools, the Coleman Report maintained that the majority of students in the United States attended schools that were racially segregated, where the majority of students were from the same racial background. However, the study found that no group was more unequally affected by this segregation than were African American students. This was particularly the case in the South, but the report found that segregation did extend into all parts of the country.

In addition to segregation by students, the Coleman Report indicated that schools were segregated in terms of teachers. That is, most African American students attended schools with primarily (approximately 65%) African American teachers, and most White students attended schools with primarily (approximately 97%) White teachers. Given these statistics, one could surmise that African American students were sometimes taught by White teachers but White students were seldom, if ever, taught by African American teachers.

Due to the segregation in schools, the Coleman Report indicated that the classmates of African American students were less likely to have mothers who had graduated from high school and more likely to have classmates with larger families. African American students were also less likely to have classmates enrolled in college preparatory classes, and African American students' classmates had taken fewer courses in English, mathematics, and foreign languages than had the classmates of their White counterparts.

Achievement Measures

The Coleman Report asserted that standardized tests were "culture bound," measuring skills that were important for getting a good job or moving to a better job in the United States. This perspective differed in that it considered testing as a marker of the opportunities available to students, and it outwardly identified the potential for bias in the tests. African American students had significantly lower

standardized test scores—one standard deviation lower—at every level than did their White peers.

The Coleman Report argued that because of this consistent test gap, schooling provided few opportunities for African American students to overcome this initial inequality. In fact, given the one standard deviation difference in test scores, the study suggested that the cumulative effects of this test score gap actually increased for African American students as they progressed through schooling. That is, the effects and implications of this gap in test scores would become greater for African American students in the higher grades.

School Characteristics

While the Coleman Report asserted that differences between schools and between school resources generally did *not* account for differences in student achievement, the findings did indicate that African American students were *more* affected by school quality and school resources than were White students. In other words, the academic achievement of African American students was more readily influenced by schooling and school quality than was the academic achievement of White students.

The Coleman Report further offered a consideration of the *types* of school characteristics that most heavily affected African American student achievement. The findings suggested that the existence of science laboratories, the quality of teachers, and the educational background and aspirations of peers all influenced African American student achievement. Due to the differential resources, facilities, and peers within predominantly African American schools, the Coleman Report hypothesized that desegregation of schooling should be expected to have a positive effect on African American achievement.

Family Background

The findings of the Coleman Report indicated that students' background and families, rather than schools, were integral to the academic achievement of African American students. While the data did not support a link between school quality and academic achievement, the interpretations of Coleman and his colleagues ascertained that differences in achievement between African American

and White students must be related to factors *outside* of the school, such as characteristics within the family.

Limitations of the Report

While the Coleman Report has been cited and discussed in many circles since the 1960s, there are some potential limitations to this research that need to be considered. These limitations are separated here by methodological limitations and theoretical limitations.

Many critics of the work of Coleman and his colleagues suggest that the measures of school characteristics were crude and that crude measures of test scores were also employed in this research. For instance, the measures used to represent particular variables may not have been appropriate, and the statistical analyses employed in the analysis were not highly advanced. These critiques indicate that the surveys, questionnaires, and statistical tools available at the time do not do justice to the complex nature of schools.

Related to the complexity of schools, there has been some general critique of the use of large-scale survey research for the Coleman study. In this type of research, it can be difficult to gather detailed and subtle indicators of school quality or of student learning. Thus, some generalizations were made that disallowed for an analysis of the nuances in schools. Second, some scholars asserted that the tests used in Coleman's survey were designed to reflect individual differences *within* schools. Following this logic, it would be inappropriate to reflect on *between*-school differences.

Related to the testing of particular concepts, some scholars questioned the lack of a theoretical model with regard to educational achievement in the Coleman Report. Therefore, the testing of academic achievement in this study could have been hampered. This argument indicates that the interpretation of the results may have been weakened due to lack of specification of determinants of educational achievement.

Revisiting the Data

Following the widespread dissemination of the Coleman Report, the findings were debated and much controversy ensued over the unexpected

result that school quality did not influence academic achievement. Other scholars reanalyzed the data collected in Coleman's research, and new data were gathered. Arguably one of the most important scholars in this reanalysis of Coleman's data was Christopher Jencks. In the early 1970s, Jencks and his colleagues reanalyzed the data in their book entitled *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*, maintaining that differences between schools and differences in school resources did not account for variations in student educational attainment.

Jencks and his colleagues concluded that the Coleman Report had *overestimated* the strength of the relationships between school quality and students' test scores. While this extensive reanalysis of the data by multiple scholars was expected to offer different findings, with few exceptions, the results of these studies not only reaffirmed but at times also strengthened the initial findings suggested by the Coleman Report.

The reanalysis of the Coleman data conducted by Jencks and his colleagues was significant because it provided an evidence-based rationale for the link between student achievement and family background. This link in many ways became an impetus for studies that connected IQ, race, and class: for instance, studies like those of Arthur Jensen, which claimed that differences in test scores were due to inherited intellectual traits. In part, the findings of the Coleman Report and the subsequent analyses of them data can be connected to the line of research that claims that differences in achievement between African American students and White students are linked to inherited differences in IQ. A good example of this line of research is the controversially acclaimed work of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray in their book *The Bell Curve*.

Policy Impact

The unexpected finding in the Coleman Report that school quality had little influence on the differential academic achievement of African American students had serious ramifications for policy and practice in education. From a policy standpoint, this finding undercut the primary rationale for requesting increased expenditures on schools from the federal government.

In addition, the finding that school quality was not related to academic achievement had serious consequences for the way that African American students were studied and discussed in research. Some began to speculate about the difference in intelligence between African American and White students, claiming that if schools were not able to overcome inequalities in achievement it was because some students (namely, African American students in this case) had lower intelligence than others (namely, White students).

In addition, because the findings of the Coleman Report shifted away from the responsibility of school quality and school resources in closing the achievement gap between African American and White students, there was a shift in focus from schooling to the family. Thus, many researchers began to change their focus from considerations of the influence of schooling on student achievement to interventions in home environments as being the way to overcome inequality.

Related to research in education, the Coleman Report's suggestion that school resources were not as important as once thought shifted the focus to students' backgrounds. Many subsequent studies in education began to explore students' racial and socioeconomic background, attempting to offer suggestions for ways that students' backgrounds could affect academic achievement. A potential caution of this shift however, particularly for African American students, was that the shift in focus to families and background also represented a shift in responsibility for achievement. Thus, there arguably was a shift in research and national discussion toward blaming students, students' families, and students' general background for the achievement gap between African American and White students.

The Coleman Report did, however, provide compelling evidence of educational inequalities that worked to the general disadvantage of African American and other underrepresented students in the public school system in the United States. This finding was particularly influential in providing a rationale for school busing, whereby students were bused from one school district to another in order to diminish racial segregation in public schooling.

In addition to providing a rationale for school busing, the findings about racial segregation had other implications. The Coleman Report suggested

that students' peers influenced academic achievement. In particular, large concentrations of African American students or segregated African American peer groups were found to have lower academic achievement. Yet, African American students in predominantly White peer groups had higher academic achievement. This finding became one of the rationales for school desegregation, suggesting that African American students should be in schools with lower concentrations of African American students. This also affected research; a long line of subsequent work has focused on the effect of African American peer groups on academic achievement.

Finally, the Coleman Report's findings suggested that teachers played a central role in students' academic achievement. This became a rationale for discussions of teacher quality that influenced teacher training and the national perspective on teaching and teachers' roles. In addition, this finding became a rationale for the professionalization of teaching.

Many questions are still being considered, such as: Does school quality and inequality of resources in school affect student achievement? What does explain the achievement gap between White and African American students? Is it *between*-school differences or *within*-school differences that influence inequalities in student achievement? Researchers, practitioners, and teachers have grappled with these questions since the Coleman Report, and many of these questions still remain.

Rachelle Winkle-Wagner

See also Academic Achievement; Busing; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; Effective Schools; Standardized Testing

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COLLEGE ATHLETICS

College athletics has provided millions of students with opportunities not only to compete in athletics but also to achieve an education and ultimately

a college degree. College sports have evolved into a profitable industry that has combined the pursuit of athletic excellence with the academic mission of institutions of higher learning. African American athletes have made significant contributions in elevating college athletics to a profitable commercial entity. College athletics continue to offer the student body an avenue to unite and share in a common tradition and sociocultural practice while giving athletes the opportunity to use their talents in exchange for an athletic scholarship (especially at the National Collegiate Athletic Association [NCAA] Division I and II levels). For many, this means getting a college education, as well as the opportunity to develop transferable and marketable skills (for example, character development, hard-work ethic, ability to work with members of a team to achieve a common goal) within the highly competitive environment of college athletics. Finally, it provides national and international exposure to institutions that previously have not enjoyed this privilege.

Thus, the future of college athletics presents an ambiguous forecast for the African American athlete: continual controversy and criticism about low graduation rates and the exploitation of athletic labor in the revenue-generating sports of football and basketball. This entry begins with a brief look at the origins of college athletics, then discusses African American involvement and related issues.

Early History

College athletics has very modest beginnings, dating back to the Gilded Age of 1865–1900. What we consider college athletics today began as student-controlled sporting opportunities for members of the university student body; they were not sanctioned by the institution, thus they did not receive financial support. As these activities became popular and profitable enterprises, alumni, faculty, and administrators took control, which created a shift from college athletics being informal student-controlled activities to formal university-sanctioned events. This move from informal to formal required additional administrative and governance structure to oversee these events.

A major part of college athletics history is the development of its organizational and governance structures. Therefore, a major shift in college athletics

took place in 1905, when President Theodore Roosevelt summoned 13 institutions to the White House to address the need for athletic reform—more specifically, the need for rule changes in the game of football. Thus, the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (IAAUS) was formed by 62 institutions to address additional concerns that emerged since college athletics' inception. In 1910, the IAAUS changed its name to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, continued to grow beyond its initial aims of being an advising and rule-making association, and sought to address issues, including commercialization, institutional control, player safety, and so on, that were challenging the very nature of college athletics.

African Americans in College Athletics

In the early years, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) provided the major avenue, and many times the only avenue, of intercollegiate competition for talented African American high school athletes seeking to extend their athletic careers and obtain a college education. Although a few African American athletes attended predominantly White colleges and universities in the late 1800s, the majority competed at HBCUs. They competed in a variety of sports, but the dominant sports were initially football, baseball, basketball; later, tennis, golf, wrestling, and track were popular intercollegiate sports at HBCUs. The sports HBCUs offered reflected the demands and interests of the African American community as well as mirroring their White counterparts.

Athletic excellence for African American women also had its roots at HBCUs. Though ideologies about female physical abilities restricted many of their White counterparts and to a certain degree African American females in general, African American females excelled in a variety of sports at HBCUs. Among the pioneers in women's athletics at HBCUs were Wilma Rudolph, Wyomia Tyus, Willye White, and Madeline Manning, who competed for Tennessee State; Althea Gibson, who attended Florida Agricultural and Mechanical Institute (FAMU); and Alice Coachman, who competed for Tuskegee Institute. Not only did African American female athletes receive conference and national honors and awards, but many also represented the United States in international

events such as the Olympic and Pan American Games.

African American students (including athletes) have made a major shift from attending traditional Black colleges and universities in the South to attending predominantly White colleges and universities throughout the United States. At the beginning of World War II, only 10% of African American college students attended mostly White schools. As of 1984, 80% of African American students in higher education attended these institutions. Currently, according to the *2007 Status on Minorities in Higher Education Report*, this percentage remains fairly consistent, with a fluctuation between stagnation and decline.

African American athletes' contributions to intercollegiate athletics have been well noted, especially in the revenue-generating sports of football and basketball. Currently, African American male athletes represent more than 50% of the football players, more than 60% of men basketball players, and more than 45% of women basketball players. Their representation in non-revenue-generating sports—for example softball, volleyball, soccer—has been meager, except for track and field; however, progress is being made by African American collegiate athletes in these sports.

The role of the athlete in collegiate sports has changed considerably since the first intercollegiate athletic competition. Initiated originally as extra-curricular or intramural activities, some of these competitions have evolved into multimillion-dollar events. Athletic competitions were once events used to break the monotony of the rigorous academic pursuit; now they have become staples and major attractions at many collegiate institutions in the United States. Thus, the athlete has evolved from simply a leisurely participant in these competitive engagements to a celebrity on campuses throughout this country.

Issues and Controversies

These NCAA Division I Institutions are the top-tier athletic programs in the country, and the athletic operating budgets of the top 20 of these institutions ranges from \$32 million to \$75 million. They sponsor football programs with stadiums that seat 60,000 to 100,000 people and basketball arenas that seat from 10,000 to more

than 25,000 people. These programs operate like corporations in which the athletic talent is the major commodity. These programs require a premium on athletic talent; thus, they spend a significant amount of time and money recruiting the best athletes.

This form of corporate athleticism or athletic capitalism places the athlete within controversial and sometimes diametrically opposing roles, especially in revenue-generating sports (that is, football and basketball). The extensive demands on students that arise from their athletic participation often make academic demands a lower priority. The roles of student and athlete require a healthy balance that many young men and women competing in intercollegiate athletics learn to master effectively. Many African American athletes have met the challenges of the academic rigor of higher education and the mental and physical demands of collegiate athletics. Some have experience social mobility through obtaining a college degree, while others have had the opportunity to compete in various professional sport leagues (for example, NBA, NFL, WNBA, MLB).

However, graduation rates are often the determining factor as to whether athletes are successfully balancing the role of student and athlete. At this level, the NCAA reported in 2006 that athletes graduated at a rate of 77%, while the regular student body graduated at a rate of 61%. The revenue-generating sports of football and men's basketball have had the lowest rates, graduating at 55% and 45%, respectively. The most alarming statistic was the graduate rates of African American male athletes, which were reported as 49% in football and 38% in basketball. Thus, women, especially White women athletes, and White male athletes have fared better at balancing the role of student and athlete and continue on to graduation than do their African American male counterparts.

One of the remedies for the low graduation rates among athletes in sports that generate millions of dollars a year in revenue is the Academic Progress Report (APR). The APR was designed to assist in reforming college athletics by improving academic success and graduation rates among athletes. It is calculated whereby one point is given to a team each term a scholarship athlete meets the required academic eligibility standards and an additional point if he or she remains with the institution.

A cutoff score of 925 corresponds to graduating 59% of scholarship athletes. If a team does not meet the cutoff on what the NCAA refers to as a “basis” that is statistically significant, they can be penalized by losing a scholarship in that sport.

The need for athletic reform speaks to the demands athletes have faced in balancing the roles of student and athlete. It also speaks to the incongruence many critics see between institutions that earn millions off of the blood, sweat, and tears of young vulnerable men and women and the lack of academic integrity demonstrated each year when institutions are exposed for academic fraud.

Billy Hawkins

See also Black Females in College; High School Athletics; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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COLLINS, MARVA (1936–)

Marva Collins has been a lifelong educator and founder of the nationally recognized Westside Preparatory School in Chicago. Her career reminds

educators of the possibilities that can emerge from a persistent insistence on success. Children, communities, and educators associated with Westside Preparatory School provide evidence of the transformative effects that can emerge from appropriate learning conditions and dedicated individuals.

As an elementary school teacher in Chicago public schools, Collins became convinced that the policies, practices, and bureaucracy of public schools eroded institutional effectiveness and stymied student success. Her eventual resignation from the Chicago school system signaled the beginning of a well-regarded journey to educate children separate and apart from the public school system. African Americans, economically disadvantaged youth, and students labeled as “uneducable” became primary beneficiaries of her efforts. This entry profiles her life and her work at Westside Preparatory School.

Early Years

Marva Collins was born August 31, 1936, in Monroeville, Alabama, and later spent part of her life in nearby Atmore, Alabama. Although her father, Henry Knight, secured only a fourth grade education, he became a highly respected and accomplished businessman who challenged prevailing norms of the segregated era. His example as a risk taker and nonconformist encouraged Collins's lifelong sense of determination, independence, and resiliency in achieving identified goals.

Combining such characteristics with her abilities as a strong reader and thoughtful learner positioned Collins to continue her family's tradition of study and excellence. She became the family's first college graduate by receiving a degree in secretarial science from Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia. In her 1982 coauthored book, *Marva Collins' Way*, the educator confessed to completing a few education courses based on personal interest rather than any particular desire to become a teacher. Paradoxically, Collins would become one of the nation's best-known teachers and forge a long, robust career in education.

Following brief employment stints in the business sector and an Alabama school, Collins served as a Chicago public school teacher for 14 years. She found an inadequate focus on teaching in

public schools and believed that such a school atmosphere detracted from instructional quality, diminished meaningful learning, and underserved children.

School Founder

After resigning from the public school system, Collins established her own institution, Westside Preparatory School, in Garfield Park in September 1975. Her long residence in the area sensitized Collins to the needs of children from inner-city locations and heightened her desire to educate youngsters who were not likely to thrive in public schools. During its infancy, Westside had limited finances and, as a result, was forced to operate from Daniel Hale Williams University, the Collins's family house, and the National Bank of Commerce Building. Eventually, it gained the fiscal stability to acquire a permanent facility.

Westside's educational approach draws on traditional and inclusive techniques that are geared toward educating the whole child. Instructionally, teachers rely heavily on the Socratic method, with the aim of developing students' reasoning and logic skills. The technique then becomes a logical bridge to building youngsters' capacities for language use, divergent thinking, interrelated learning, and creativity.

Instructional sources are selected from children's reading materials, such as Leo Tolstoy's *Fables and Fairy Tales* as well as classic writings by Paul Dunbar, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Plato. Directing children's attention to abstract concepts, advanced vocabulary, and grand ideas debated throughout society enables young people to puzzle through multidimensional concepts and complex thoughts as they make sense of societal values, ideals, and dilemmas. Moreover, students learn to craft their own perceptions and opinions of important realities. Daily recitation, phonics, and repetition drills are favored tools for imparting and reinforcing lesson content.

Behaviorally, students are encouraged to engage in productive actions through encouragement, positive reinforcement, and firm, loving guidance by teachers. As students chart gains in their coursework, intellectual base, and applied abilities, their success and enjoyment of learning becomes the strongest motivator for continued efforts.

The enrollment and success of scholastically lagging students eventually attracted national attention to Westside School and Marva Collins's life narrative. Major media organizations have raised awareness about her work through featured pieces on *Good Morning America*, *20/20*, and *60 Minutes*, among others. Presently, Collins's daughter, a former Westside Preparatory student, oversees the school while Collins devotes her energy to teacher training and speaking engagements via the Marva Collins Seminars. While the Westside model has attracted supporters, false imitations of her work have damaged the program's reputation.

To date, Marva Collins's contributions to education and young people have been recognized with the Jefferson Award for Benefiting the Disadvantaged, the Humanitarian Award for Excellence, the Legendary Women of the World Award, the National Humanities Medal, and a number of honorary degrees.

Carla R. Monroe

See also Academic Achievement; Black Female Teachers; Effective Schools

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COLUMBUS BOARD OF EDUCATION V. PENICK

Columbus Board of Education v. Penick (1979) significantly affected the education of African Americans because the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that even if there was no statutory mandate to have separate schools for African American and White students, a school system's segregation intent could be inferred from its decisions on school construction and attendance zones where they ignored the resultant unconstitutional disparities.

In *Columbus Board of Education v. Penick*, African Americans parents were protesting the resegregating of Columbus schools—which occurred in the early 1900s, after a brief period in which segregated schools had been declared illegal—and still continued in the second half of the century as a result of the board of education’s efforts to maintain a dual system. The Supreme Court, the court of appeals, and the district court found the board of education’s actions were unconstitutional and ordered systemwide distribution of resources in building facilities and creating attended zones in the Columbus public school system.

Historical Background

Although school segregation is often associated with public schools in the South, the education system in the North was not immune to the disparities in educating White and African American children. Prior to 1848, the State of Ohio did not provide any means of educating African American children within the state. Non-White children could attend White schools if no White parents objected. However, if a White parent objected and there were 20 or more African American children in the district, then a school for African Americans could be created but was not required.

Then, in 1848, the Ohio General Assembly required school boards to establish separate schools for colored children when there were 20 or more such students who wanted an education. An Ohio Act defined in 1853 *colored* children as having at least three-eighths African blood and being regarded as colored by the community. The new colored schools were funded by property taxes exacted from African American property owners. The small number of African American property owners ensured that the colored schools began with insufficient funding.

In 1871, an African American parent filed a lawsuit in Ohio arguing that separate schools for African American and White children violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The Ohio Supreme Court in *State ex rel. Gaines v. McCann* disagreed and held that separate schools were not unconstitutional. Seven years later, in 1878, the Ohio General Assembly created a law that gave localities the authority to create and fund schools exclusively for African American children with funding to

come from taxes paid by all property owners. White students attended schools in their residential districts, while African American students, who may have lived closer to a neighborhood school, attended schools that were specifically designated for African Americans. As a consequence of the 1878 Ohio law, all African American children in Columbus attended Loving School.

Within 3 years, in 1881, the Columbus Board of Education abolished its separate school system and reassigned all students to their residential districts. In 1887, the Ohio legislature abolished segregated public schools and it was enforced in another lawsuit, *Board of Education v. State* (1888), when the Ohio Supreme Court struck down segregated schools in Ohio, finding that separate schools for African Americans and Whites were unconstitutional; it agreed that students should be assigned to their neighborhood schools. Columbus had ended its de jure policy of segregated public schools. This was 73 years before the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954; *Brown I*) decision. In fact, from 1900 to 1907, schools in Columbus were racially mixed or desegregated. Later, the Columbus Board of Education would take legal steps to re-create a separate education for African Americans and Whites in the city.

In 1909, the Columbus Board of Education built the Champion Avenue School in an African American neighborhood and staffed it with African American teachers. Charles W. Smith, an African American parent, objected to the creation of a “Black” school and subsequently filed suit. He argued in the Common Pleas Court of Franklin County that although not officially designated as such, Champion Avenue was a “Black” school and in direct violation of Ohio law. The court of common pleas dismissed the case in 1911.

Mr. Smith appealed the dismissal, but the circuit court agreed with the court of common pleas. In dismissing the appeal, the circuit court held that the school board had the authority to determine where to create a school district and it was not within the court’s jurisdiction to second-guess that decision. During the 1920s and 1930s, Champion had an African American student population and even employed all of the African American teachers who worked in the Columbus school system.

During the next 40 years, leading up to *Brown I*, the Columbus Board of Education built schools

and instituted policies that solidified separate school systems for African American and White students. By 1943, there were five public schools in Columbus attended by all the African American students in the city. School districts were gerrymandered in such convoluted ways that in one district, African American students who lived in the 340 through 500 blocks of the street attended the African American public school, while White students who lived on the very same side of the street, but in the 500 through 940 blocks, attended the White public school. White principals were assigned to White public schools, and all of the school system's African American administrators were assigned to African American public schools.

After several complaints from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Columbus Urban League, the Columbus Board of Education in 1967 adopted a policy to consider racial balance when creating public school districts. The board of education also instituted a voluntary transfer program whereby students could transfer to another public school if it improved the racial mix at each school. Unfortunately, the program had very little impact on the racial distribution of the public schools.

Six years later, the board of education adopted the Columbus Plan. The Columbus Plan expanded the voluntary transfer program to include four types: racial balance, vocational program, educational program, and occupational program. Despite the introduction of the additional programs, in the 1975–1976 school term, 70.4% of all students in Columbus attended schools that were either 80% to 100% African American or White.

The Case and the Rulings

On June 21, 1973, Gary L. Penick (a 13-year-old), acting on behalf of African American parents and 14 other children, filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio against the Columbus Board of Education, the State Board of Education, and other local and state officials. The plaintiffs argued that the Columbus Board of Education had built new facilities in certain areas, thereby maintaining the racial imbalance in the public schools. The plaintiffs requested that the proposed \$89.5 million funding for future building projects be used in such a way that Columbus

public school students would have a desegregated educational experience.

In October, 1974, the complaint was amended as a class action. It alleged that the board of education took advantage of segregated housing patterns in the city to create a neighborhood school policy that maintained segregation in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In response, the board of education argued that it had not intentionally segregated public school students and that any existing school segregation was due to segregated housing patterns and a racially neutral neighborhood school policy.

The next year, the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. The district court held that in 1954, the Columbus Board of Education had intentionally segregated its public schools by race; the board of education was well aware of the dual school system, but did not actively try to change it; the board of education had created and implemented attendance zones and other boundary changes that maintained the racial imbalance in the school system, and the board of education continued to follow its neighborhood school policy, knowing that such adherence would produce racial imbalances in the public schools.

The district court then directed the board of education to create and submit a desegregation plan for the whole Columbus public school system. The board of education appealed the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. On July 14, 1978, the circuit court ruled in favor of the parents (*Penick v. Columbus Board of Education*, 1978). The board of education then appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In affirming the decision of the court of appeals, the Supreme Court often quoted from the district court opinion. The Supreme Court held that Columbus did have a dual public school system in 1954 and that current practices by the Columbus Board of Education maintained a separate school for African Americans and Whites. The Court considered the actions of the Columbus Board of Education unconstitutional and ruled that the systemwide remedy ordered by the district court was appropriate.

Outcome and Impact

The case of *Columbus Board of Education v. Penick* was significant because the Supreme Court

agreed that unconstitutional racial disparities could be caused by a school system even without a statutory mandate to create separate schools for African Americans and Whites. The Court affirmed that intent to segregate could be inferred when a school board intentionally disregarded the consequences of where it chose to build new facilities or create attendance zones.

Since the *Penick* decision, the Columbus public school system has gone through amazing change. In the 1950s, African American students were approximately 15% of the total public school population. Today, African American students are approximately 61% of the student body, while White students are only 28%. This dramatic change in the racial composition of the public schools has been credited to changing demographics. In the mid-1960s, Columbus annexed several surrounding communities. During the annexation period, the city agreed that the surrounding communities could be designated within the city limits yet still maintain their own school districts. As a consequence, the city of Columbus has grown by approximately 33% since 1970. In 1972, Columbus public schools had 112,000 students. But, from 1979 to 1996, when the Columbus Board of Education used busing as a means of desegregation, White parents responded by removing their children from the public school system. Today, the number of students in Columbus public schools has dropped by nearly 50%.

Although the Supreme Court did not agree with the board of education's argument that demographics in the city were the reason for the racial disparities in the public school system, it is ironic that demographics today still play a significant large role in the racial imbalance in the Columbus public school system.

Rhea Ballard-Thrower

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Plessy v. Ferguson

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COMER, JAMES (1934–)

James Comer is a Yale University professor of psychiatry and associate dean of the School of Medicine whose accomplishments extend to the field of education. His school development program, now called the “Comer Process,” is a highly regarded roadmap for organizing schools to be effective in educating the nation's youth.

Comer's family members were among the significant number of African Americans who altered the nation's demographic landscape early in the 20th century by leaving the South and migrating to northern and midwestern spaces. Migrants frequently moved with the hopes of securing improved educational, economic, political, and social opportunities as compared to their experiences in the segregated South. Unfortunately, obstacles stemming from personal and structural discrimination too often prevented African Americans from achieving their desired goals.

Although Comer's lineage resonates with the difficulties that African Americans faced in leaving the South to carve new lives, his personal narrative stands as an inspiring model of how communal tenets have enabled African Americans to persevere and thrive. According to his 1988 book,

Maggie's American Dream: The Life and Times of a Black Family, dedication to educational excellence was a central driving force throughout his upbringing. Schools, moreover, emerged as spaces in which he learned lifelong lessons about dynamics of race and social class in moving toward professional goals and navigating human arrangements. This entry looks at his life and accomplishments.

Early Years

Comer was born in East Chicago, Indiana, the oldest of Hugh and Maggie Comer's four shared biological children. His older sister, Louise, was the product of his father's previous marriage. Although lacking elevated levels of formal education, Comer's parents structured their household so that their children were expected to perform well and graduate from college.

Comer, like his siblings, responded to their standard by cultivating his talents both scholastically and in the extracurricular realm. As a youth, for instance, Comer involved himself in student government affairs, participated in piano competitions, and was active in basketball. Comer's interactions in and outside of the classroom placed him in regular contact with both the White and African American communities, thereby creating opportunities to witness extremes and norms of cross-cultural and within-group interactions. Throughout elementary and high school, the sting of discrimination sprung from some Whites' racialized beliefs about Black inferiority, manifested in decreased expectations, circumscribed learning and work opportunities, and the articulation of racial insults.

Promises of inclusion, however, materialized in peer friendships, encouraging teachers, and broad community respect earned from observation of the Comer family's sturdy values. Taken together, such experiences prepared Comer to navigate trying years as an undergraduate student at Indiana University, where he earned an AB degree in 1956. Disappointment with the fallacy of a meritocratic system and race relations at the predominantly White state university prompted Comer to complete his medical degree at the Howard University College of Medicine in Washington, D.C., in 1960. He later completed requirements for a master's degree in public health at the University of Michigan in 1964.

Focusing His Career

Concerned with the psychological and developmental aspects of well-being, Comer eventually shifted his interests from becoming a general practitioner to becoming a psychiatrist. His training at the Yale University School of Medicine and Child Study Center provided the basis for worthwhile contributions in medicine, education, and psychology. Life in the nation's capital had further sensitized him to the value of holistic care and the complexities of African American life.

Following his appointment to the Yale University School of Medicine, Comer was tapped to develop a program to merge the fields of education and child psychology. Conceived as a schoolwide intervention, the school development program maintained responsibility for implementing what is now known as the "Comer Process." Branches of the framework address the multiplicity of children's growth and are grounded in a developmental prototype. As a consequence, schools that adopt the reform design attend to pathways such as young people's physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and ethical competencies.

In practice, a successful school requires the creation of school planning and management, student and staff support, and parent teams. Members of the three groups collaboratively work to create schools that adhere to clear goals, courageous leadership, high standards, caring environments, ongoing student assessment with feedback, working with competent practitioners, engaging learners, and making children's circumstances conducive to learning. Input from parents and communities is expected to lend additional support, modeling, and rewards for success. Guilford County, North Carolina, officials, for example, report diminished dropout rates and rising standardized test scores based on their decision to employ the Comer Process.

A Record of Achievement

Colleagues have honored Comer's work with extensive recognition and acknowledgment of the useful roadmap that he has provided to better communities. He is the recipient of more than 40 honorary degrees, the John P. McGovern Behavioral Science Award from the Smithsonian Institute, the James Bryant Conant Award from the Education

Commission of the States, the Rockefeller Public Service Award, the John and Mary Markel Foundation Scholar Award, and the University of Louisville Grawemeyer Award.

Today, Comer serves as the Maurice Falk Professor of Child Psychiatry at the Yale Child Study Center and is associate dean of the Yale University School of Medicine. Beyond his teaching and research responsibilities, he has been a consultant with the Children's Television Workshop and the Public Committee on Mental Health, a member of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, and a director or member of several college, university, and civic boards. His publications include several books and more than 150 articles.

Carla R. Monroe

See *also* Comer Process; Howard University

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COMER PROCESS

The Comer Process is a school development program (SDP) associated with Yale University and named after Dr. James Comer, a faculty member in the School of Medicine. It is a well-regarded example of how to restructure organizations for improved educational practice. The SDP prototype has been influential in informing educators nationally and internationally. Communities find the model compelling because the Comer Process

encompasses many tenets of effective schooling and actively recruits input from diverse constituents. This entry provides an overview of the Comer Process and describes its implementation.

Context and Theory

Creating effective schools requires steady adherence to a sound vision, contributions from multiple stakeholders that are designed to enact articulated ideals, and avoiding simplistic tendencies to attribute success or failure to a single cause, group, or facilitating condition. Accomplishing each task can be a complex endeavor, particularly in schools where traditional evidence of success is scarce. To redress such challenges, reformers have promoted numerous blueprints to guide the reshaping of educational institutions and districts that suffer from chronic underperformance, among them, the SDP.

What makes the SDP model successful? And, how does the Comer Process differ from other frameworks? SDP staff claim that the Comer approach contributes to the school reform movement by promoting a developmental method of working with students and adults—a lens that program organizers believe is unique. Program proponents suggest that James Comer is the only prominent educational reformer who connects life success and academic achievement with critical approaches to good health and human development.

The Comer Process specifically stresses six areas of human growth. These are physical, cognitive, psychological, language, social, and ethical trajectories. *Physical* domains include meeting students' bodily health needs such as sight, hearing, and nutritional necessities. *Cognitive* strands center on scholastic outcomes as evidenced by measures of knowledge acquisition and application. *Psychological* factors act to direct progress in self-perception, negotiate emotions, and the like. Proficiency in expressed and received communication, relationship building, and personal growth undergirds the *language* branch. Cultivation of latent characteristics, such as empathy, for positive interpersonal relationships and human understanding forms the *social* sphere. Finally, *ethical* concerns lend themselves to learning about and promoting universal values including respect, fairness, and justice. Whereas such an integrated approach may have been unusual during the program's inception in

1968, the pillars stand as an integral part of most reform initiatives today.

How It Works

Changes within schools are driven by an operating system inclusive of three structures (school planning and management team, student and staff support team, and parent team) and guiding principles (no-fault, consensus, and collaboration). Organizers created the school planning and management team to place administrators, teachers, support staff, and parents in dialogue around overarching school plans, goals, activities, and forms of monitoring. More specifically, the group develops the comprehensive school plan, provides staff development, and outlines needed assessments and modifications.

The student and staff support team consists of school personnel who attempt to create favorable conditions in which individuals can thrive. For example, members may devise prevention and intervention programs to boost graduation rates, set up conflict resolution teams, and create alternative programs to decrease grade retention. The parent team draws on family knowledge to move identified decisions forward. The shape of parental involvement may range from daily volunteer assistance in classrooms to mothers, fathers, and other family members coordinating offices and centers within participating schools.

Schools must complete a 5-year implementation cycle prior to becoming fully certified. Dr. Comer describes school experiences related to these areas in his book *School Power: Implications of an Intervention Project*.

Advocates assert that the Comer Process is most effective when operating under mutually reinforcing philosophical concepts. No-fault accountability embodies the spirit of meaningful reform by fostering shared responsibility and broad-based investment. In practice, no-fault schools emphasize problem solving rather than blame. As a consequence, all stakeholders are expected to play an integral role in resolving weaknesses and facilitating improvements.

Consensus efforts, moreover, remind participants to back choices that most factions lean toward, bearing in mind, of course, that new plans may be pursued. Although school principals maintain their legal role, teams and principals are

expected to work collaboratively. Teams should not—individually or collectively—be hostile to principal leadership. Principals in turn must be faithful to empowering the school community. Massaging traditional hierarchies to distribute power differently may partially remove the barriers to school improvement that can stem from controlling or personality-driven environments.

In the Comer Process, students are not viewed one dimensionally; they are appreciated as thinking, maturing, moral, communicative beings. Additionally, structures are employed to stimulate institutional exchange and encourage parents, teachers, administrators, and other parties to channel their energies in a complimentary fashion. Contemporary supporters have chronicled reviews and reflections of the process in publications such as *Child by Child: The Comer Process for Change in Education*.

Reforming underperforming schools is a major challenge, and the Comer Process certainly presents a viable means of maneuvering organizations toward healthy ends. The program intentionally inserts important—although sometimes neglected—human and institutional aspects of schooling. Yet, the vitality of any reform, of course, extends beyond the conceptual blocks to employing well-selected personnel, having ongoing access to good resources, and becoming skilled in working with recalcitrant people and conditions, among other issues. Educators and policymakers who adopt the Comer Process must insist on keeping high standards in such areas as they combat educational ills.

Carla R. Monroe

See also Academic Achievement; Comer, James; Effective Schools

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COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA V. BROWN

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Brown, 270 F. Supp. 782 (E.D., Pa. 1967), was one of the last in a series of lawsuits and court decisions related to a Philadelphia school for orphans—specifically, White boys with no living fathers—that had been funded by a private individual in 1831 and administered by the city. The struggle to integrate Girard College, a private school for orphaned boys in North Philadelphia, took nearly 10 years and involved almost as many court decisions. Efforts to integrate the school both preceded and followed on the heels of the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas*, rendering segregation in education illegal in 1954.

The initial Girard litigation culminated in a favorable U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1957 and represented an early victory in the Court's march toward dismantling the "separate but equal" doctrine after its decision in *Brown*. This march included immediately striking down laws permitting segregation in public recreation facilities in 1955 and intrastate transportation in 1956 (*Dawson v. Mayor and City Council* and *Browder v. Gayle*, respectively). However, a decade passed before Girard College was integrated, and not before the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County, in an effort to evade the Supreme Court decision, removed the school's city-appointed trustee board and only after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) years later staged a daily protest campaign lasting more than 6 months outside Girard walls. This entry tells the story of this extended case.

Historical Background

Girard College was established pursuant to the last will and testament of Stephen Girard, who was born in Bordeaux, France. He was a mariner who eventually settled in Philadelphia in 1777, never to return to France. He became a banker, taking over

what was once the first Bank of the United States; renamed it the Bank of Stephen Girard and made his fortune in banking, commerce, and foreign trade. He died in 1831, leaving a last will and testament so meticulously considered and drafted that it has been the subject of study.

Girard left a major portion of his vast estate to the "Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of Philadelphia" for the establishment of a college to maintain and educate "poor male White orphans" (*orphans* defined as those without fathers), initially between the ages of "six and ten." He also left money to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on the condition that it enact the laws necessary to ensure the college's construction and the city's administration of the school.

Girard's relatives challenged the will, specifically the trusteeship over and gift to the city of Philadelphia, in cases said to have established the basic principles of the law of charitable trusts in the United States. Nevertheless, the will stood, the legislature passed the necessary laws, Philadelphia supervised the construction of the school, and it opened in 1858. In 1869, the legislature created the "Board of Directors of City Trust" and transferred the administration of the college trust to it. By the 1950s, the city's stewardship had increased the trust to more than \$98 million, while the land on which the college sat was valued at more than \$10 million.

By the 1950s, both the city of Philadelphia and the area in which the college was located had changed considerably from the largely undeveloped land it had been in Girard's time. The area had become quite urban and its population increasingly African American. In February, two African American boys, Ashe Foust and Robert Felder, by the hand of their mothers, applied to attend Girard College. They were orphan boys by the school's definition, and it was subsequently determined that they met all of the qualifications for admission except they were not "White." The board of trustees dismissed their applications, ruling that it had no choice but to adhere to the terms of the will, which was established for male White orphans.

Facts of the Case

In July, Foust and Felder, joined by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia,

petitioned the Orphan's Court of Philadelphia County for an order to direct the board to admit them. The petition argued that the word *White* should be struck from the will as inconsistent with constitutional law and public policy as it had developed during 125 years since the will was written. These changes included the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. In doing so, they suggested that the exclusion of the boys violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Orphan's Court noted that the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to state action, not to individual or private action. So the first question for the Court was whether the city's administration of the trust constituted "state action" or "individual action." The second question was whether city officials in operating the trust and denying the applicants admission were denying them equal protection.

The Court held that the exclusion did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. It noted first that the college was a public charity and a private school, not a government institution. Second, it noted that the will not only excluded non-Whites but also girls, those who were not poor, and those who had living fathers. It explained that the *Brown v. Board of Education* case involved a right to *public* education. Further it suggested that the U.S. Supreme Court in another case, *Shelly v. Kramer*, had found that private restrictive agreements, even where discriminatory, did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment; rather, states violated the Fourteenth Amendment when they enforced the private agreements against the right to property of others. *Shelly* involved parties who, by selling their property to African Americans, breached real estate covenants (agreements) that restricted the sale of property to Whites only. Other parties to the covenant brought suit, and the state ordered the African American purchasers to vacate the property. The Supreme Court reversed the state, finding that the *enforcement* of the covenant by the state violated equal protection.

The Orphan Court, applying this analysis, reasoned that the exclusion, dictated by Girard, the benefactor, was private action, and although discriminatory, it was nonetheless constitutional. Further, it reasoned that the restriction did not

impinge upon the constitutional rights of others, including the right to public education, the right to property, or any other guaranteed constitutional rights. In addition, the Court distinguished between the city acting in its governmental capacity and in its fiduciary (trustee) capacity, finding that there was no state action because there was no governmental activity in the operation of the trust. The Orphan Court then intimated that even if the administration of this private trust by the city constituted government action, the administration of this private trust by private trustees would not violate the Fourteenth Amendment.

The First Appeals

The petitioners appealed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which affirmed the earlier decision. It emphasized the fundamental right of individuals to dispose of their own property by gift or will as they saw fit. The question the court posed was whether the limitation in Girard's will to White orphans as the beneficiaries of his college, although undoubtedly lawful at the time he executed the will, had become invalid as a result of the Fourteenth Amendment's adoption. The court then explained that to use property in a way other than that instructed by the benefactor was to inappropriately appropriate the property. It reasoned that the property belonged to the estate and that the city's nominal title and function were merely to facilitate the disposal of this property consistent with its benefactor's wishes. It reemphasized the distinction between the city acting in its fiduciary capacity as opposed to its governmental capacity, finding that the city was operating in its fiduciary capacity, holding that there no governmental action, and thus finding that the government action necessary to trigger application of the Fourteenth Amendment was not present.

The petitioner then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In a short opinion, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania's decision and remanded the case back to the state court for further proceedings consistent with its decision. The Court noted that the city of Philadelphia and the state had carried out the provisions of the will, that an act of Pennsylvania legislature in 1869 had established the Board of Directors of City Trust of the city of Philadelphia

to administer the trust, and that the board had administered and operated the college since then. As such, the Court held that the board was an agency of the state, and even though the state was acting as a trustee, its refusal to admit applicants was discrimination by a state, a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Upon remand, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania vacated the Orphan Court's prior decree dismissing the two boys' applications and sent the case back to the Orphan's Court. The Orphan Court then, without an opportunity of the parties to be heard, removed the Board of City Trust of the city of Philadelphia as trustee and appointed as new trustee private persons who could administer the trust pursuant to its benefactor's express wishes.

The applicants, the city, and the commonwealth appealed the Orphan Court's removal of the city as trustee again to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, arguing that the action of the Orphan Court was inconsistent with the U.S. Supreme Court decision. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania held that the action was not inconsistent with the Supreme Court's decision. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case again. The college was thus left with a new board committed to operating the college as an institution for poor male White orphans.

Later Protests and Litigation

By the early 1960s, the civil rights movement was in full swing in Philadelphia as it was in other places, and the frustration with the unchanged conditions of poverty were evident. In fact, 1964 had seen three days of rioting in poor African American neighborhoods of North Philadelphia in response to police brutality and the perception of high prices and poor-quality goods in White-owned businesses in these areas. A year later, Girard College, still segregated space in the heart of North Philadelphia and a symbol of city-sponsored African American exclusion, again became the focus of civil rights activity and African American anger.

That same year, the head of the Philadelphia NAACP, Cecil Moore, spearheaded a protest against Girard's White-only admission policies. The protest consisted mostly of young African American men picketing and protesting outside the 10-foot wall outside Girard. They protested for 6

months, from May 1 through December 18, 1965. Efforts to resolve the Girard protest resulted in Governor William Scranton appointing two prominent lawyers to file suit to force the trustees to allow admission of African Americans. On December 16, 1965, these lawyers instituted yet another suit, this time in the federal district court and on behalf of seven African American boys, their mothers as well as the state and the city. They sought to enjoin the school from continuing to refuse to admit the applicants and other similarly situated persons because they were African Americans. They again, specifically alleged violation of the Constitution, specifically the Fourteenth Amendment. But they also alleged violation of the Pennsylvania Public Accommodations Act.

The district court, after deciding a number of jurisdictional questions and motions in separate decisions, ruled only on the Public Accommodations Act, a state law, holding that the trustees' decision violated it. It then granted an injunction against continuing the discrimination. However, on appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals, Third Circuit reversed, finding the state had previously ruled on the act and that the federal court was bound by the prior decision. It then remanded the case for resolution on the Fourteenth Amendment claim.

On remand, the district court found that the board of trustees' continuing racial discrimination constituted unconstitutional state action. It relied on the then-recent Supreme Court decision in *Evans v. Newton*, deriving from it a two-part test seeking to determine the nature of the institution concerned and the nature of state involvement. In *Evans*, a tester willed land to Macon, Georgia's, mayor and city council for development of a park, to be controlled by the White board of managers for the benefit of White people. The managers sued to remove the city as trustee after it desegregated the park, requesting a court to appoint private trustees who would enforce the racial restriction. The court did so and the state supreme court upheld the new appointment and the terms of the will. The U.S. Supreme Court reversed, noting that the momentum the park acquired as a public facility had not disappeared because of the private trust appointment and that the character of the park required that it be treated as a public institution subject to the demands of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The district court applied the admittedly novel test to the Girard case. It first noted that private discrimination such as that found in Girard's will was constitutionally permissible and that the mere administration of that will consistent with its terms, alone, would not constitute state action in the design of the discrimination violating the Fourteenth Amendment.

As to the nature of the state involvement, the court found that even though there was a transfer of control over to a private trustee, the state was still associated with the college in its discriminatory policies. In support of this finding, the court noted that the college not only benefited from tax exemptions but also from other public agencies' assistance as well. Furthermore, the state failed to remove the perceived public approval that was imbedded in the college's policies.

As for the nature of the institution, the court found that Girard College performed a service to the community, and although private, it did entail state involvement. Specifically it found that the public nature of the college, the testator's involvement of the city in administration of the College that lasted for more than 125 years, and the Orphans' Court's appointment of private trustees for the primary purpose of perpetuating the will's discriminatory intent, together with the Orphans' Court's continued supervision of the trust, rendered the exclusion at Girard afflicted with state action and thus unconstitutional.

The Third Circuit affirmed the district court's decision holding that Girard College's discriminatory admissions violated the Fourteenth Amendment because it involved state action. The court centered its decision on the State Orphans' Court's appointment of private trustees after it removed the city from the board. It found that the appointment increased the state's involvement with the college and its discriminatory design and that the court's action and motivation, together with the long history of city and state administration of the college, were conspicuous in encouraging and involving the state in private discrimination. This action violated the Fourteenth Amendment and was consistent with the Supreme Court's holding in *Evans v. Newton*. Further, it gained support from the Supreme Court's decision in *Shelley v. Kramer*, which prohibited the state enforcement of restrictive covenants.

Girard College admitted its first African American students in 1968.

Athena D. Mutua

See also Affirmative Action; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Open Admissions

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COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

Community control of schools was the rallying cry of African American activists in the late 1960s, as they sought to replace New York City's central board of education with "community control" boards governing inner-city schools. The campaign for community control centered on the creation of two boards governing a number of schools in Harlem and Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Brooklyn. African American activists embraced community control not only as a means of addressing racism in education but also as a means opening school jobs to African Americans and as a lever for achieving political power.

Their demand mirrored the wider eclipse of desegregation by nationalism as a goal of African American activists and reconfirmed the central place of schooling in the racial politics of the United States. African Americans across the United States looked to community control as a way to win racial justice in education, and African American educators such as Jitu Weusi, Herman Ferguson, and Rhody McCoy in New York won recognition as leaders in the Black nationalist liberation struggle. This entry looks at the background and history of the struggle, along with its impact.

Historical Context

The movement for community control was the climactic chapter in a long struggle to achieve racial equality in New York City's schools. In the decade following the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision, the city's school board repeatedly proclaimed its commitment to desegregation. Behind the scenes, however, the board blocked crucial changes in teacher assignment and school zoning policies.

African American activists organized ever-larger and more militant actions in support of desegregation, culminating in a February 1964 school boycott that remains among the largest civil rights protests in U.S. history. Meanwhile, declining blue-collar employment, discrimination in housing, and massive government highway construction and urban renewal programs propelled the simultaneous growth of White suburbs and African American inner-city communities. The schools became increasingly segregated.

The April 1966 opening of a new Harlem intermediate school marked the end of the desegregation movement in New York. Although school officials had promised a desegregated school offering a state-of-the-art education, when I.S. 201 opened, it was understaffed and segregated. Parents responded by boycotting the school. Echoing national calls for Black power, they no longer called for desegregated schools and instead demanded African American control of segregated ones.

The New York Campaign

Militant school activism spread, and in April 1967, experimental neighborhood school boards were created in Harlem (I.S. 201) and Ocean

Hill-Brownsville, Brooklyn, together with a third neighborhood in Manhattan's Lower East Side. Community control led to a number of curricular reforms, including new attention to African American, Puerto Rican, and African history and culture. Still, the movement for community control did not focus on culture or learning styles; rather, activists believed that African American educational failure was the intended outcome of a brutal system designed to exploit and oppress African American people. The campaign for community control was deemed a crucial step in African American people's collective struggle for self-determination.

Although the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) initially supported the decentralization of New York's mammoth, dysfunctional school bureaucracy, tensions grew steadily as African American parents and activists sought control over staffing and curriculum. In May 1968, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Board ordered 14 teachers, five assistant principals, and one principal out of the district. The UFT increasingly viewed community control as a threat to due process, job security, race-blind standards of equal opportunity, and unbiased quality education. The conflict between the African American activists and the UFT brought to the surface extraordinary levels of racial animosity, along with charges of Black anti-Semitism.

In the fall of 1968, the UFT and the Council of Supervisory Associations went out on a series of three strikes against community control, with nearly 90% of teachers and administrators honoring picket lines. The strikes shut down the schools for most of the fall. Meanwhile, in the community control demonstration districts and scattered neighborhoods around the city, dissident teachers, parents, and community activists confronted police and strikers in an effort to keep African American schools open. Only when the UFT had succeeded in dismantling community control did union teachers return to work.

Outcomes

A state-appointed trustee took over control of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district; the transferred teachers were allowed back into their classrooms; and a 1969 union-endorsed "decentralization" law replaced the community control districts with 32 "community" school districts, each containing a few hundred thousand residents. The community

school boards tended to preserve the power of school professionals and to preclude effective community political mobilization. The central board of education retained authority over the city's high schools, along with substantial power over teacher hiring, textbooks, curriculum, and school construction. At the same time, the existence of the new boards allowed White New Yorkers to blame failure of schools serving poor underrepresented children on the communities from which those schools drew their students.

Despite their defeat in the battle over community control, African American activists could point to significant achievements. By creating a number of autonomous African American schools and other institutions, they legitimized the notion of Black self-determination. And, as Black nationalists repudiated the desegregation ideal, they laid to rest notions that African American culture was merely a distorted version of White life. Community control educators substantially advanced attention to African American history and culture within the public schools. Even decades later, both proponents of African-centered schools around the country and activists demanding the creation of individual school councils invoked New York's struggle over community control.

And yet, the defeat of community control left a decades-long residue of bitterness, alienation, and distrust in New York's schools. Meanwhile, the rhetoric of community control and the rhetoric of race-blind equal treatment were both appropriated by opponents of racial equality.

Daniel Perlstein

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation

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COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

Compensatory education is a term that generally refers to governmental programs designed to

enhance or improve the academic standing of children from economically or educationally disadvantaged groups. These children can be classified as disadvantaged due to poverty, linguistic competency, and physical or mental impairment. The aim of these programs is to provide disadvantaged children with positive early educational experiences. It is thought that this form of early educational intervention will help these children perform at their highest abilities both in regular school and afterward as citizens. African American children have been singled out as especially needing compensatory educational programs. This entry looks at the origins of compensatory education and then examines the programs and their efficacy.

Historical Background

The 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, decision forced many legislators to re-examine the quality of education that African Americans were receiving. Because of the high rates of poverty in many African American communities, it became widely accepted that poverty was a leading cause of the low educational scores of many African American students. Poverty was at the root of the dreadful educational experience of many African Americans because schools in poor communities were underfunded and had less competent teachers and limited academic resources. Children who lived in poverty often came to school hungry, which affected their ability to learn. Poor education and/or the lack of ability to perform well academically (both caused by poverty) were the primary reasons, it was argued, that African Americans failed to succeed in the United States.

This reasoning led then-President Lyndon B. Johnson to declare his famous "War on Poverty." It was thought that if poverty could be eliminated, disadvantaged children would have a better chance of doing well academically and have better lives. A good education was viewed as the key to success and happiness. With the belief that education was one of the best remedies for a life of poverty, it was also argued that it was the job of the federal government to ensure that all children regardless of class or race should be able to compete in the academic arena.

To facilitate this mandate, President Johnson pushed for a federal law that would supplement

and support educational programs meant to enhance the education of disadvantaged students. One of the important pieces of legislation of the Johnson presidency was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). It was an act “to strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation’s elementary and secondary schools.” Section 201 of the act reads as follows:

In recognition of the special educational needs of children of low-income families and the impact that concentrations of low income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance (as set forth in this title) to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.

Care was taken to ensure state and local governments that these programs were not an attempt by the federal government to usurp the authority of local communities regarding the education of children. To this end, the act mandated that the monies for compensatory education programs followed the child.

Over the next 20 years, other categories of disadvantage were added, including children of immigrants, children with physical and mental impairments, and children with emotional problems.

Programs and Assessment

Head Start

Of all of the programs created by ESEA, Head Start has been the most researched and evaluated. While there have been success stories regarding Head Start, there is debate as to the degree of academic carryover from early educational intervention programs. There has been some improvement in the levels of educational attainment of African American students in Grades K–12, but there is

still debate about the overall success of compensatory programs funded by ESEA.

While much of the literature on compensatory education has focused on Title I programs of ESEA, there were other compensatory education programs developed within the purview of the Education Act of 1965. The focus of the government was not solely on K–12 education. In the 1960s, African American students started to enroll in large numbers in predominantly White colleges and universities. The federal government addressed this issue with the Higher Education Act of 1965. This act was meant to supplement and support the entrance of underrepresented and disadvantaged students into the nation’s institutions of higher learning.

College-Oriented Programs

Title IV of the act states that the act is meant to address the problem of disadvantaged students. The act provides funding for special programs and projects designed to identify and encourage qualified youth with financial need with a potential for postsecondary education, and it provides remedial preparation (including remedial language study) and other services to students and assistance to institutions of higher education.

Along with the Pell Grant Program, the act created three programs to identify qualified disadvantaged students who would benefit from compensatory education programs: Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Special Services for Disadvantaged Students, which was later renamed Student Support Services. These three programs, now known as TRIO, form the basis for programs designed to identify qualified disadvantaged youths at the high school level and to get these students ready for the higher education experience. These programs are designed to supplement and support the educational experience in higher education. The legislative requirements for all TRIO programs can be found in the Higher Education Act of 1965, Title IV, Part A, Subpart 2. As conceived, these programs are designed to provide a compensatory educational experience for underrepresented students.

These programs have been seen as primarily geared to support African American students. While this is not true, it is still the public’s perception. There has been and continues to be much

debate over the effectiveness of these programs. Supporters cite the many success stories from both Head Start and other ESEA-funded programs, including the programs created by the Higher Education Act. Detractors, on the other hand, cite the high cost of these programs and the slow change in academic advancement of underrepresented students. As long as there is a perceived educational attainment gap between African American and White students, there will be arguments for and against compensatory education programs.

Bill E. Lawson

See also Developmental Education; Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; Head Start; Higher Education Act of 1965; Poverty and Education; TRIO Programs

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COOPER, ANNA JULIA HAYWOOD (1860–1964)

Anna Julia Haywood Cooper was one of the most influential African American women of the late 19th and early to mid-20th centuries. She was an acclaimed educator, community activist, and author who devoted her life to the education and racial advancement of the African American community. Cooper lived and worked during a period when the civil and human rights of African Americans were under systematic assault. It was also a period when women were oppressed politically and economically due to their gender status in society. The intersections of being African American and female in 19th-century United

States contributed to multiple forms of oppression African American women experienced at that time. Refusing to acquiesce to the yoke of oppression, Cooper struggled tirelessly to transform inequitable social institutions that pervaded every facet of U.S. society and that negatively affected the lives of African Americans. As a result of her battles, Cooper made noteworthy contributions to the empowerment of the African American community in the areas of education and social reform. This entry looks at her life and accomplishments.

Early Years

Cooper was born during U.S. enslavement, in Raleigh, North Carolina, on August 10, 1860. Her mother, Hannah Haywood, was enslaved and her father, George Haywood, was from a prominent North Carolina enslaving family. Anna was the youngest of Hannah's three children. Although her early years were spent during the tremendous upheaval of the Civil War, hope for freedom and full rights to citizenship brought new dreams and possibilities for her and the approximately 4 million newly freed people.

Anna was among the first group of students to attend the St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute in 1868. She remained at this school for 14 years, completing her course of study in the classical arts in 1877. In 1877, Anna married George Cooper, a St. Augustine theology student and instructor. George passed away in 1879.

Cooper's experience as a teacher began at the age of 8, when she was required to work as a "pupil teacher" to satisfy her scholarship. In later years, she became a teacher of the female students and taught Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Cooper described St. Augustine as a wonderful place for her because it contributed to her growth and development.

Cooper relocated to Ohio, to attend Oberlin College in 1881; she graduated in 1884, with two other Black women, Mary Church (Terrell) and Ida A. Gibbs (Hunt). After graduation, Cooper taught at Wilberforce University for one year, and then returned to Raleigh to teach at St. Augustine. While there, she fought to secure equal treatment and salaries for African American teachers in the North Carolina schools and argued for public school provisions for African American youth. In 1887,

Cooper accepted a teaching position at the Washington Colored High School (nicknamed “M Street” and later renamed Paul Laurence Dunbar), the most prestigious African American high school in the nation during that time. Also in 1887, she was awarded a master’s degree from Oberlin.

Promoting Women’s Clubs

The period from 1887 to 1906 marked a turning point in Cooper’s professional career. In the 1890s, she became a major figure in the African American women’s club movement on the local and national level. In the various organizations where Cooper was active, she sought to ameliorate the educational and social welfare issues that were plaguing the African American community. One of the clubs included the National Association of Colored Women, a major African American organization that heavily campaigned for an antilynching bill. Cooper was one of the founders of this club, which was established in 1896.

During the same period, numerous organizations asked Cooper to give presentations on topics pertaining to race uplift, women’s equality, and education. Cooper wrote *A Voice From the South, by a Black Woman of the South*, in 1892. In this collection of Cooper’s essays, she critiques racism and sexism in 19th-century United States and passionately argues for the higher education of African American women because she believed *only* African American women were capable of being pivotal players in the advancement of the race.

In 1893, Cooper spoke at a special session that focused on the progress of African American women in the United States, at the Women’s Congress in Chicago. Two years later, Cooper attended the First National Conference of Colored Women in Boston, where she delivered a paper that outlined the need for African American women to organize on a national level. In 1900, Cooper was invited to speak at the first Pan-African Conference in London, along with her friend and supporter, W. E. B. Du Bois.

A Consummate Educator

By 1902, Cooper became principal of the Washington Colored High School (“M Street”). During the 4 years Cooper served as principal, the

school achieved significant recognition. As a result of the school’s prominent status, Harvard University awarded admissions to large numbers of this “M Street’s” graduates. Many of “M Street’s” students were also granted admissions to numerous major universities in the North. Despite her successes as a principal, Cooper became enmeshed in a controversy over her refusal to allow the school board to dismantle “M Street’s” college preparatory curriculum and replace it with an industrial one. Following her dismissal from the school, Cooper moved to Missouri to teach at Lincoln University in 1906. Four years later, she was asked to return to “M Street” as a teacher of Latin.

Not long after Cooper returned to Washington, she began raising one of her brother’s five grandchildren. In 1925, Cooper earned a PhD from the Universite de Paris, Sorbonne; she became the fourth African American woman in the United States to hold a PhD. Cooper’s dissertation, *L’Attitude de la France a l’egard de l’esclavage pendant la Revolution* (France’s Attitude Toward Slavery During the Revolution), examines the relationship between France’s involvement in enslavement in Santo Domingo (now Haiti) and class exploitation in France, and how the revolts of the enslaved in Santo Domingo catapulted the revolutionary uprisings in France.

Cooper was a consummate educator who passionately enjoyed teaching. In 1930, she became president of Frelinghuysen University, an independent university for working-class African American adults. She brought many years of successful teaching, administrative skills, and a strong sense of commitment to this school. Her adult educational ideas predate the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire’s ideas. The school closed its doors in 1964, the year Cooper passed away at the age of 105. In honor of Cooper’s commitment to education and social advocacies, the District of Columbia named a street after her, the Anna J. Cooper Memorial, which is in the LeDroit Park community. In 2009, the U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative Black Heritage Stamp in honor of Cooper’s life and accomplishments.

Karen A. Johnson

See also Black Female Teachers; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Dunbar High School (Washington, D.C.)

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COOPERATIVE ECONOMICS EDUCATION

African Americans have used cooperative economic development as a strategy in the struggle for economic stability and independence. This requires that co-op members as well as clientele be educated about the model and understand cooperative economics and consumer cooperation. African Americans in most cases have had to educate themselves in this area, sponsoring study circles and classes about cooperative economics through public as well as private schools, labor unions, and religious organizations. In some cases, they have established high school and college courses about cooperative economics and consumer cooperation. African Americans have also gained knowledge and shared knowledge about cooperative business ownership through conferences and articles in African-American-owned newspapers and magazines. This entry provides an overview of the types of cooperative education African Americans have developed and practiced, particularly throughout the 20th century.

Basic Principles

The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), founded in 1895, defines a *cooperative business* as "an autonomous association of persons united

voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise." Cooperative economics includes the study of the theory and practice of cooperative ownership of economic enterprises; the values, principles, and practices of democratic economic participation, shared ownership, and democratic governance; and sometimes includes consumer education and rights. Continuous education is the fifth of seven international principles of cooperation (part of the cooperative statement of identity adopted in 1995 by the ICA).

W. E. B. Du Bois noted in his autobiography that continuous education of co-op leaders and members, especially the proper training of managers, was essential to the success of African American cooperatives. He also discussed the importance of selecting and developing leaders who could be good business managers and would be accountable to "intelligent democratic control."

The success and growth of many cooperatives depend on education strategies: orientation and training about economic cooperation and democratic economic participation, as well as how to operate in and manage a particular business. Future co-op business development also depends on reaching young people with knowledge about alternative economic structures and cooperative economics, as well as experiences with entrepreneurship. In addition, leadership developed through cooperative economic experiences is practiced in other areas of civic engagement.

Formal Cooperative Economic Training Among African Americans

Historical research by Jessica Gordon Nembhard on African American-owned cooperative businesses suggests that most African-American-owned cooperative businesses started with a group of people coming together to study their economic circumstances and teach themselves about cooperative economics. Consumers' Cooperative Trading Company (CCTC) in Gary, Indiana, for example, began with a study circle in 1932, according to one of the founders, Jacob Reddix. In 1933, the course CCTC developed on cooperative economics and management had the largest enrollment of any of the local high school's evening classes at

that time. Also in the 1930s in North Carolina, Brick Rural Life School and Tyrrell County Training School offered courses and/or training in cooperative economics.

Lee Brooks and Ruth Lynch surveyed the coverage of the “cooperative movement” and “consumer problems” in courses in 75 southern African American universities, colleges, and junior colleges in 1943. Of the 57 institutions that responded, about 25 different institutions taught a course or a section of a course on cooperatives, with eight indicating they taught an entire course on the cooperative movement. More recently, evidence suggests that only a handful of African American economists and social scientists include cooperative business structures and cooperative economics in economics and/or African American studies undergraduate courses.

African American labor unions have also supported cooperative and consumer economics education. As early as 1938, in the “Bulletin of Instruction on Decisions and Orders,” the Ladies Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters dictated that local auxiliaries should subscribe to *Consumers Union* and *Consumers Guide* publications. They were also advised to study credit unions and were directed to information about consumer cooperatives, particularly books on cooperation by James Warbasse, Beatrice Potter Webb, and African American cooperators Jacob L. Reddix. In the 1990s, the APR Educational Fund of the A. Philip Randolph Institute (Washington, D.C.) began to support the development of worker cooperatives among its members.

For Black youth, less than a handful of public school programs include cooperative business training. Those that exist are often connected to school gardening programs such as “Food From the ‘Hood” in Los Angeles and the Urban Nutrition Initiative in Philadelphia. These programs introduce students to buyers’ clubs and cooperative business structures and provide some overview of cooperative economics.

Public and Informal Cooperative Education

The Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund trains young African Americans in cooperative economics, business development, and sustainable agriculture through workshops

and summer programs. One strategy used is to call students’ attention to culturally familiar ideas and apply them to cooperative economics, and refer to the principles celebrated during the Kwanzaa festivals (in particular *ujamaa*, a Kiswahili term used by Julius Nyerere to refer to cooperative economics). This helps the participants feel more comfortable thinking in new ways and feel a connection between the democratic economic concepts and their own culture and family values.

Many African American cooperatives and leaders also engage in public education—educating their customers, potential customers, and surrounding communities about cooperative economics and the missions of their enterprise. This may consist simply of providing informational brochures and bulletin boards about the cooperative, its mission and products, or more extensively with forums and workshops for customers. Many cooperatives or cooperative trade associations produce newsletters, brochures, and Web sites to educate the public about what they do and to introduce the concept of cooperative economics.

African Americans have also participated in conferences on cooperative businesses and cooperative economics, and consumer cooperation and organized labor sponsored, for example, by Atlanta University (in 1907), the Young Negroes’ Cooperative League (1930s), and by other African American and White cooperative trade organizations and trade unions. African American newspapers and magazines (such as *The Crisis* magazine, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *The Messenger*, *The Black Worker*, *The Negro World*) also published articles and opinion pieces on cooperative economics as an economic development strategy and highlighting African American cooperative businesses.

In sum, African Americans have engaged in economic cooperation and cooperative ownership of businesses, farms, and houses throughout their history, as part of their economic self-help strategies and efforts toward economic independence in the United States. They also have a long and strong history of educating themselves, their children, and their neighbors about cooperative economics and consumer cooperation. These have been both through informal structures such as newspaper articles, conferences, workshops, flyers, and more recently Web sites, as well as

occasionally through formal courses taught in accredited educational institutions.

Jessica Gordon Nembhard

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.

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COOPER V. AARON

Cooper v. Aaron (1958) began with a lawsuit in the federal district court in 1955 brought by a group of Black plaintiffs asking the court to order the full desegregation of the Little Rock, Arkansas, schools based on the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*. While this case began as a simple question of how to fashion a remedy based on a decision already handed down by the high Court, it was soon transformed into the profound legal question of who had the final authority to interpret the U.S. Constitution.

Cooper v. Aaron raised once again one of the most crucial questions in the constitutional history of our country: Who had the authority to interpret the Constitution and determine what its provisions meant? Equally important, if a state court, or in this case a state governor or legislature, disagreed with the Supreme Court, were they bound by the Constitution to follow the Supreme Court's ruling? Few would have imagined that this case would not only raise questions about school desegregation but would also confront the very balance of power between states and our national government known as "federalism." The outcome was an assertion of both the need to proceed with school desegregation and the primacy of the U.S. Supreme Court in determining the law of the land.

Historical Context

Following the Supreme Court's historic decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, (*Brown*, 1954; *Brown II*, 1955) civil rights advocates began the long and arduous process of dismantling the system of public school segregation that had been in place in southern states since the advent of public education itself. They knew the task would be difficult, but armed with the legal authority of *Brown*, they set out to change history. While *Brown* was a both a legal and social watershed, the Supreme Court divided its desegregation decision into two parts and

in doing so shaped the direction of equal opportunity in public education in ways that were both remarkably successful and tragically disappointing.

In *Brown I*, the Court asked the question of whether the *Plessy* doctrine of “separate but equal” that underpinned segregation in public schools was permitted under the equal protection clause. They answered with a unanimous decision that it was not. But the Court had reserved ruling on the equally important question of how to implement desegregation, given that nearly a third of the nation’s schools governed by a myriad of regulations and laws were now operating in violation of the mandate articulated in *Brown*.

Usually, appellate court decisions are simply remanded to lower courts with instructions to apply the new ruling accordingly. But the school cases were more complicated. While today most commentators look back on *Brown* as one of the most important of the Supreme Court, in 1954, the local and state response of “massive resistance” to *Brown* raised questions about the capacity of our legal system to implement the principle of the equal protection of the law that the court had handed down. To address these concerns, the Court heard *Brown II* in 1955, and the parties were asked to brief issues concerning the implementation of the Court’s earlier decision. In the *Brown II* decision, the Court took a cautious route, and instead of ordering desegregation immediately, or at least on a set timetable, they instructed the federal district courts to proceed with desegregation on a case-by-case basis “with all deliberate speed.”

To be fair, the Court’s path on these matters was not as clear then as it might seem today. The justices were rightfully concerned about the resistance in the South, where the codes of racial subordination were often enforced with violence. Despite the existence of several post-Civil War statutes empowering the federal government to protect African Americans whose civil rights were being violated, the political power wielded by southerners in Congress had nullified any serious enforcement of those provisions. They were also mindful of the history of race relations in the South. Since the end of Reconstruction in 1876, the southern states had erected an elaborate system known as “Jim Crow” segregation that had become part of the fabric of everyday life. Against this historical backdrop, the Court might have

rightfully expected resistance to its ruling. But by announcing an “all deliberate speed” policy the Supreme Court was in effect subordinating the principle of the equal protection of the law to the need for the South to “adjust” to the new realities that school desegregation would require. However, despite the furious reaction throughout the South against *Brown*, few would have predicted the constitutional crisis that ensued when the state of Arkansas challenged both the Supreme Court and the federal government in the case that became known as *Cooper v. Aaron*.

Facts of the Case

The case of *Cooper v. Aaron* began in 1956, when a local Black attorney named Wiley Branton along with Thurgood Marshall and Robert Carter representing the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed a lawsuit against the Little Rock Board of Education in the federal district court, calling for the speedy desegregation of the local public schools. The Little Rock School Board had initially reacted to the *Brown* decision in 1955 by changing its official policy of maintaining segregated schools even before the “all deliberate speed” order from *Brown II* was issued. Their plan, which included the building of several new schools, called for desegregating the high schools first and then gradually desegregating the lower grades over a 7-year period.

When *Brown II* was announced, this 7-year plan raised the question of whether such a gradual approach was consistent with the “all deliberate speed” order from the Court. In response to the NAACP lawsuit, the school board claimed as follows:

The plaintiffs unreasonably insist on a hasty integration which will be unwise, unworkable, and fraught with danger; that would prove detrimental to the personal interest of plaintiffs and the educational needs of both races, and would unnecessarily and inevitably hinder and retard the accomplishment of integration of the schools of the defendant District.

The first phase of the plan called for a few African American students to enroll in the all-White Central High School. The judge hearing the case agreed with the school board that token desegregation was

appropriate as a start and so ordered only nine African American students to be transferred to Central High School. The plaintiffs appealed to the Eight Circuit Court of Appeals arguing for more students and a faster pace that would address the entire school district, but the court denied their request and affirmed the district court's order.

The Little Rock Nine

On September 3, 1957, nine African American students were chosen by local African American leaders to be the first to integrate Central High School in Little Rock and were scheduled to start school the next day. John Aaron was simply the first of the nine African American students listed on the petition in alphabetical order. William Cooper was the president of the board of education. While the school board had agreed to comply with at least these minimal steps toward desegregation, local resistance to school desegregation was growing in the streets as well as in the elite circles of law and politics.

On September 4, 1957, as the new school year was about to begin under the mandate of *Brown*, Governor Orvill Faubus, a vociferous supporter of segregation, called out the Arkansas National Guard. Although they were under orders to prevent violence at Little Rock Central High School, they were also instructed to ignore the Court's desegregation order and to turn away any African American student seeking to attend the school. With this act of defiance against federal authority, a constitutional crisis was joined.

For the next 3 weeks, tense negotiations took place between the governor's office and the White House, but by the third week of this standoff, the "Little Rock Nine," as they were called, once again attempted to enter the school, this time under local police escort. When the police declared that they were unable to ensure the safety of the African American students, President Dwight D. Eisenhower finally sent in Army paratroopers who surrounded the campus and escorted the nine African American students to school each day. As the school year progressed, Eisenhower withdrew the federal troops but federalized the Arkansas National Guard, requiring them to follow Army orders to keep the school open rather than those of the governor. Ironically, the very troops that had once

kept the Little Rock Nine out of Central High School were now required to protect them.

The Legal Issues

The issue that the court was ultimately called on to address in *Cooper v. Aaron* was hardly new to our constitutional jurisprudence. Early in the nation's history, the question of who had the final authority to interpret the Constitution was presented in the case of *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). There, Chief Justice John Marshall fashioned a legal theory of profound constitutional significance. That critical doctrine grew out of a minor dispute over whether a Whig Party functionary was entitled to a judicial commission that had been signed just as the old administration was going out of office but had not yet been delivered before power was turned over to the Republicans. The new administration refused to deliver the commission, and *Marbury* sued.

In 1803, when the case came before the Supreme Court, the political arrangements of the nation's new democracy were still very fragile, and Marshall knew that his decision would have implications far beyond the issue of party patronage that the Republicans would later practice just as vigorously as the Whigs. In a decision that is still debated among legal scholars, Marshall crafted an opinion that held that in our tripartite system of government, it is the Supreme Court that has the final say over the interpretation of the Constitution.

Ironically, the drafters of the Constitution had not clearly addressed this crucial question in the specific language of Article III of the Constitution, where the structure and duties of the Supreme Court were spelled out. So Marshall, with what some call skill and others claim was circuitous logic, reasoned that the Supreme Court must have the final authority to decide what the language of the Constitution means. He reasoned that the founders intended that authority to lie with the Supreme Court, even though it was not explicitly stated in Article III. After all, he argued, if the Supreme Court did not have that authority, then either Congress or the president might take actions that were contrary to the Constitution, and since the founders had declared that the Constitution was the supreme law of the land, then it followed that for that proposition to have effect there had to be some final determination other than by

Congress or the president as to what that written document meant.

The Constitution, Marshall reasoned, was designed to define the powers and authorities of the federal government but also to place certain limits on that authority. He held that this included the power of the Supreme Court to invalidate decisions of either Congress or the president that were inconsistent with what the words of the Constitution required, thus preserving the document as the supreme law of the land. Years later, the same principle was held to apply to laws enacted by the states. It was this exercise of constitutional authority over the states authorized by the Fourteenth Amendment that was in fact the cornerstone of *Brown*.

Marbury had been cited by the court for more than a hundred years for its jurisdictional authority to decide constitutional issues, and the Fourteenth Amendment had made it clear that this power also extended over the states. Now, both the Arkansas legislature and the governor openly proclaimed that not only had the Supreme Court been wrong in its *Brown* decision, but that the states had the right to hold a federal court order in abeyance until they could devise a system that would produce a different result. Specifically, “all deliberate speed” would mean what the governor and legislature of Arkansas decided it meant, not what a federal district court had declared.

Governor Faubus knew that if he could prevail with his arguments on the need to maintain public order as a delaying tactic that this rational could trump the Court’s decision on school segregation and would set a precedent for the entire South. In effect, popular opposition to a rule of law would be cited as a reason for refusing to implement court orders based *Brown I* and *Brown II*. Mob rule would bring the promises of the equal protection clause to a grinding halt. The issue of who had the last word on the Constitution that Justice Marshall had settled in 1803 was reopened in 1957 by the festering wound called segregation.

The Supreme Court Steps In

The Supreme Court term normally begins in October of each year; however because of the nature of this case, Chief Justice Earl Warren called the Court out of recess to a special term on September 11, 1958. This was only the third time in the Court’s history

that a special term had been called. Judge Harry Lemley of the federal district court had initially issued the order to admit the Little Rock Nine to Central High School. However, after violent opposition erupted, he agreed with the local school board to delay any further desegregation efforts for another 2 years. The plaintiffs appealed to the circuit court, which reversed his decision. This conflict now set the stage for the matter to be decided on appeal by the Supreme Court.

Richard Butler, an experienced local attorney, argued on behalf of the city of Little Rock. Thurgood Marshall, who had argued the first *Brown* case, represented the plaintiffs. Butler began by stating the obvious, that he was arguing on behalf of not just the city of Little Rock but “for the great mass of people throughout the South.” He claimed that the real problem in this case was that the law-abiding White citizens of the South simply were not clear on whether they had an obligation to follow the mandate of *Brown*. After all, he pointed out, despite the Court’s ruling, the Arkansas legislature and the governor had both proclaimed the *Brown* decision to have no basis in the Constitution.

He further argued that a decision of such profound “cultural implications” needed time to be worked out on the local level and pointed to the language of *Brown II*. He declared that the language “all deliberate speed” provided precisely the flexibility that Judge Lemley had granted the school board in their request for the two-year delay.

Marshall’s argument was blunt and to the point. He reminded the Court that this delay was simply one among many tactics to obstruct the process of school desegregation. Finally he argued that what was really at stake in this case was the rule of law. He asked the Court for a “definitive decision” that would leave no doubt in Arkansas that the “orders that district courts hand down must be respected and cannot be suspended and cannot be interfered with by the legislature or anybody else.” Anything less than that, he concluded, “would not give these young children the protection that they need and that they most certainly deserve[s].”

The solicitor general, J. Lee Rankin, representing the administration, weighed in on behalf of the plaintiffs and reminded the Court that “this case involved the question of the maintenance of law and order, not only in this community in the state of Arkansas, but around the country.”

The Supreme Court's Ruling

Normally, one justice writes the opinion for the Court and the others either concur in the judgment, concur in the reasoning, or both. Those who disagree are assigned to write a dissenting opinion in which other justices may join. However, because of the momentous impact of this decision, all nine justices signed the opinion as its authors. The decision was very brief for a case of this impact. Most of the text was taken up simply reciting the procedural history and the underlying facts that brought the matter before the Supreme Court. Then the Court got to the point:

The controlling legal principles are plain. The command of the 14th amendment is that no [State] shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. . . . The prohibitions of the 14th amendment extend to all actions of the state denying equal protection of the laws; whatever the agency of the state taking action . . . or whatever the guises in which it is taken. . . . In short, the constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the *Brown* case can neither be nullified openly and directly by the state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted ingeniously or ingenuously.

Citing *Marbury v. Madison*, the Court declared that “it is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is.” It naturally follows that this authority applies as much to the Court’s interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment as it does to any constitutional provision. The Court then went on to remind the nation that “no state legislator or executive or judicial officer can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it.”

Finally, the court declared as follows:

The principles announced in that decision [*Brown*] and the obedience of the states to them, according to the command of the Constitution, are indispensable for the protection of the freedoms guaranteed by our fundamental charter for

all of us. Our constitutional ideal of equal justice under law is thus made a living truth.

Impact of the Case

With this firm declaration of principle, the case of *Cooper v. Aaron* came to a close. Following the Supreme Court’s decision, the Little Rock School Board was ordered to follow its original desegregation plan beginning with the start of the school year in September 1958. Governor Faubus, whose defiance had helped him get reelected, reacted by ordering the Little Rock schools closed for the remainder of that year. Although his order and the legislation on which it was based were eventually ruled unconstitutional, by the time the appeals had been heard, the entire school year had been lost.

In the fall of 1959, the Little Rock schools finally reopened under a court order to follow a desegregation mandate. Despite the violent protests to the original desegregation order, the 1959 school year began with relative peace. In addition to the desegregation of Central High School, five African American students also enrolled in the previously all-White Hall High School. Unfortunately, Little Rock’s response to *Brown* simply became a model for how local school boards throughout the South decided to address the issue of school desegregation. Initial reluctance or outright refusal to desegregate the schools resulted in lawsuits and court orders for desegregation. But in responding to the court order, the school boards used their local authority to set district lines and to establish pupil assignment criteria in ways that continued to leave most of the school’s almost as segregated under the desegregation order as they had been prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Cooper v. Aaron gave way to a new desegregation lawsuit titled *Clark v. Board of Education* (1966). This suit, filed in 1965 against the Little Rock School Board, alleged that the school assignment plan that the board had been using was effectively being used to deny African American students entrance to predominantly White schools. These new plaintiffs showed that by 1966, only 16.7% of all African American students in Little Rock attended schools with White students. A combination of local housing discrimination and creatively drawn district lines resulted in essentially a dual-race school system, with seven schools in Little

Rock being almost all White and 12 schools all African American.

This case dragged on for another 15 years as the school board proposed various desegregation options while the White population of Little Rock began to empty out to the suburbs or choose private education for their children. Toward the end of the federal courts' supervision of the Little Rock school system, substantial busing of both White and African American students had become the only reasonably effective means of achieving desegregation.

The Little Rock Nine, as they have become known, faced enormous pressure during their time at Central High School. Harassment was continuous, including death threats to them and their families. Some chose not to continue at Central High under those torments. One was expelled in an incident instigated by her harassers, and bullying was a daily affair. But others graduated from Central High School, and all went on to have productive lives and careers. While they did not seek notoriety or fame, the courage and sacrifice of these nine students was recognized in 1999 when each was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest civilian award that may be bestowed by the U.S. Congress. The decoration is awarded to an individual who performs an outstanding deed or act of service to the security, prosperity, and national interest of the United States. Their courage was both exemplary and common among the African American students in the 1950s who first sought to break the color barrier in public education in the South.

Despite the Court's emphasis on its constitutional authority in *Cooper v. Aaron*, the justices did not revisit or alter their decision in *Brown II*. Little Rock and other southern school districts knew that they would not get the Court to overturn *Brown*, so they proceeded to turn "all deliberate speed" into an endless process of judicial appeals and foot dragging to delay effective school desegregation for years. But despite these often successful delaying tactics, *Cooper v. Aaron* stands today as one of the landmark decisions in the long saga judicial recognition of the right to an equal education.

Victor M. Goode

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Little Rock Nine; Marshall, Thurgood; Resegregation

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COUNCIL OF INDEPENDENT BLACK INSTITUTIONS

The Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI) was established in 1973 in Frogmore, South Carolina, to enable African American educators to share information, materials, and curriculum and to have material unity that would support the development of independent African-centered schools. CIBI is an umbrella organization for independent African-centered schools whose purpose is to promote an African-centered education. African-centered education, as defined by CIBI, is the means by which African culture is systematically developed and advanced. While membership once spanned from the United States to Europe and Africa, CIBI schools nowadays are primarily found in the United States. In 2002, a few original CIBI schools separated from the organization to become charter schools.

CIBI hold several annual professional meetings: the teacher training institutes that cater to both public and private school teachers, the science exposition in April for children from various member schools, and the CIBI convention that provides a forum for educators to share curricular information and to elect the new *Ndundu* (executive officers).

CIBI's newsletter, *Fundisha! Teach!*, is used to disseminate ideas about innovations in curriculum development and updates on member schools and students. CIBI has also published African-centered curriculum materials and guides. These publications are described at <http://www.cibi.org/publications.html>. In addition, the CIBI speaker's bureau and the alumni association for graduates are two

other organizations that help provide technical assistance to individual operating or wishing to start an African-centered institution.

Sessi S. F. Aboh

See also African-Centered Education; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Culture-Based Education

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CRISIS, THE

The Crisis was founded in 1910 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP), and it has historically served as the voice of the organization, chronicling its growth and its participation and leadership in the struggles by African Americans for greater civil rights and equality. Under the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois, cofounder of the NAACP and the editor of *The Crisis* from its inception in 1910 to 1935, *The Crisis* emerged as the premier African American magazine of the early 20th century. This entry begins by providing a brief survey of earlier African American journalistic publications, then looks at the history of *The Crisis* and its contributions.

Historical Context

The birth of the African American press in the United States is marked by the establishment the first African American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, in 1827 by John Russwurm. By the beginning of the Civil War, more than 40 African American newspapers, including Frederick Douglass's *North Star*, had been established. Many of these papers, due to lack of funding and small readership bases, would be short-lived.

As the primary conduit of information for both freed and enslaved African Americans, the African American press emerged in the antebellum United States as one of the most significant advocates in the abolitionist movement, organizing the thoughts and actions of freed African Americans against enslavement as well as fighting for the civil rights of freed African Americans in the North.

In the decades after the Civil War, before the turn of the century, African American magazines and newspapers growing in significant numbers addressed a wide range of issues facing African Americans, such as education, political, and economic disenfranchisement and the continued fight for greater civil rights for African Americans. Dominated previously by African American newspapers, the first quarter of the 20th century saw the rise of African American magazines like *The Crisis* that would be catalysts in advancing the African American press to its greatest heights.

Early Years

The Crisis was originally titled *The Crisis: Record of the Darker Races*, after James Lowell's poem, "The Present Crisis." Designed to appeal to the educated African American reader, with its deliberate and cultural quality, the magazine began with a small subscription base; the first issue of the magazine in 1910 sold only 1,000 copies. These numbers increased steadily, and by July 1919, the magazine reached its greatest circulation, selling 100,000 copies for the month, closely rivaling the daily sales of popular African American newspapers of the time, like the *Chicago Defender* and the *New York Age*.

The first issue of the magazine established that its goal was "to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice,

particularly as manifested towards colored people.” To fulfill this mission its editorial page “would stand for the rights of men, irrespective of color or race, in the highest ideals of American Democracy.” Innovative features included “Along the Color Line,” which focused on the activities of African Americans; “Opinion,” a synthesis of news and reports significant to African Americans in the United States; “What to Read,” suggestions and reviews of literature pertinent to African Americans; and “Men of the Month,” profiling the achievements of prominent African Americans. These features highlighted Du Bois’s interest in helping to educate and uplift, promote and advocate for civil rights as well as foster political empowerment among African Americans and other underrepresented peoples in the United States.

The editorial pages of the magazine, the dominant feature of the magazine for the 25 years Du Bois was the editor, were reflective of his opinions and critiques on a wide range of topics from education, the NAACP, the race problem, racial justice, women’s suffrage, lynching, segregation, discrimination, civil rights, and social equality to housing, business, travel, patriotism, music, and war. Uncompromising in addressing issues significant to African Americans in the United States, Du Bois’s editorials were the subject of criticism from both Whites and African Americans. He critiqued subjects like Booker T. Washington’s accommodationist stance, the hypocrisy of White Christianity, the African American church, support of African American participation in World War I, and the NAACP itself. Increasingly in his last years as editor, his views and his support of Black separatism were considered too radical and threatening to the status quo. These editorials outside of the well-known publications of Du Bois represent an archive of some of his best-known thoughts, opinions, and critiques on a wide variety of topics and were critical to the early success of the magazine.

Accomplishments

Primarily focused on news and current affairs, *The Crisis* played an essential role in the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance through its publication of creative writing in the form of essays, poetry, and fiction and its support of creative writing contests.

During a time when young talented African American writers had very few outlets for their work, Du Bois encouraged and provided an important space for the work of young writers and scholars like Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, and Arna Bontemps.

In 1934, due to his increasing support of Black separatism and the lack of support from the NAACP for his new stance, Du Bois left the organization and his role as editor of *The Crisis*. In the decades after his departure, the magazine struggled to remain the premier African American magazine of its time. Despite a drop in its prestige, the magazine remained significant in the development of the burgeoning civil rights movement and the efforts of the NAACP to end legal segregation in the 1950s and 1960s.

The role of the African American press as one of the earliest and consistent advocates for the emancipation of enslaved Africans and civil rights of African Americans, promoter of African American education, culture, and history, chronicler of African American history and culture and as the primary conduit for the hopes, aspirations, and dreams for African Americans in the United States has been severely understudied. Continuing the historical legacy of the African American Press, *The Crisis* magazine under the control of Du Bois, noted by Elliot Rudwick as the “father of militant journalism,” significantly contributed to the empowerment and education of a generation of African Americans and advanced the standards of political journalism and activism to previously unknown heights.

Olanipekun Oladotun Laosebikan

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Washington, Booker T.

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CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

The concept of cultural deprivation began circulating in educational discourse in the 1960s, when many theorists argued that high rates of academic failure among African American children residing in economically devastated areas was indicative of the fact that they lacked the necessary cultural capital to succeed in school. It was believed that their families and communities did not possess and thus could not transmit the appropriate cultural values and patterns that would stimulate intellectual development and translate to school success.

Unlike those who subscribed to theories of biological or genetic deficiencies, cultural deprivation theorists believe that African Americans can succeed in school with appropriate interventions in their early childhood years. Like the biological theories, the cultural deprivation perspective has also faded from the literature, as more contemporary views see the positive assets of African American culture and attempt to incorporate them in the curriculum. This entry examines the background of theories about African American academic difficulties and looks at the evolution and decline of the cultural deprivation theory.

Theoretical Background

Prior to the 1960s, mainstream perspectives on race included a belief that African Americans were biologically inferior and faced difficult social and economic challenges primarily for that reason. Biological determinism—greatly influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution—suggested that African American children were, by virtue of their genetic makeup, intellectually inferior, and as such would likely not succeed on par with their White peers. Although a host of African American intellectuals, including Horace Mann Bond, Carter G. Woodson, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Anna Julia Cooper, consistently challenged the notion of racial inferiority, it persisted and was often reinforced in the scientific community. At various historical moments, biological determinism has been used to rationalize efforts to deny education, to maintain substandard education, and/or to support specific kinds of education over others (that is, vocational over academic).

Biological notions of race began to change slowly among scientists with the work of anthropologist Franz Boas. Boas disagreed with the conception of the evolutionary scale, that represented a continuum from savagery to culture and as such deemed African American inherently inferior to Whites. Instead, Boas argued that environment played a significant role in the development of human cultures. Early in the 20th century, he proposed the idea of cultural relativism, which held that (a) all humans have culture; (b) while there are differences among cultures, they should not be judged hierarchically; and (c) cultures are complex.

While some might suggest that deterministic ideas about race began to shift in the public domain on the heels of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), it is probably more accurate to insist that instead of shifting, they expanded to include a more Boasian perspective. Thus, some of the views that came to dominate thinking about race throughout the 1960s and thereafter focused on the ideas that an individual's culture could result in an inability to achieve academically and that academic failure precluded the possibility of realizing the American dream.

The major distinction between biological and the cultural explanations of failure was that biological conditions are considered permanent and thus unchangeable, while cultural ones can be changed through the right intervention. This shift in thinking affected perceptions not only of race but also of poverty. The sociological concept of a "culture of poverty," for instance, drew attention to the socialization processes of the poor and the need to positively intervene on them.

A New Perspective

In the educational literature, the culture of poverty perspective emerged in the concepts of cultural deprivation, cultural deficit, and culturally disadvantaged. The idea gained early prominence with the work of Frank Reissman in *The Culturally Deprived Child*, published in 1962. While the central thesis focused on the lack of cultural capital among low-income students, ideas of race were more often than not inextricably linked to images of urban poverty in particular.

During the next several decades, the cultural deprivation paradigm would influence a host of

compensatory educational programs, including Operation Head Start and Upward Bound, which were initiated as part of the Johnson administration's "War on Poverty" in the 1960s. With the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, millions of dollars were allocated for educational reforms, reflecting the ideas and goals of the cultural deprivation paradigm.

Throughout the 1960s, the cultural deprivation paradigm continued to play out and reinforce the dominant ideologies about race and poverty that were drawing significant attention at the time. With the onset of deindustrialization, economic decline, and White flight, many social scientists were turning their attention toward African American communities to describe the socialization and behavior of many of their inhabitants.

Two reports in particular contributed significantly to representations of African American people residing in poor urban areas. In Daniel Moynihan's study of the African American family, which was published in 1965 and became known as the Moynihan Report, he argued that the situation in many of these devastated African American urban areas reflected a "tangle of pathology" that had become entrenched and circuitous. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders published the Kerner Report in 1968 as an effort to understand urban riots, and while the commission supported an agenda of inner-city revitalization, it also warned that the United States was functioning as two separate societies, one African American and one White.

Together, these reports offered images of African American poverty that became solidified in the term *underclass*, which came to describe both the conditions of urban poverty and pathological behaviors or, rather, behaviors not consistent with dominant norms and expectations. The idea of the "underclass" influenced many of the political ideologies and social policies during the next several decades.

Criticisms and Decline

Although the shift from biological explanations to cultural explanations was progressive for its time, criticisms of the cultural deprivation paradigm began to emerge alongside an effort by anthropologists to challenge the idea that people can lack

culture or that one's culture can be deficient. There was a proliferation of critiques throughout the 1970s. One of the major criticisms of cultural deprivation theories was that they rearticulated a belief in the inferiority of African Americans from a cultural lens, which continued to hold up mainstream cultural values as the desired and expected norm.

It also failed to contend with the fact that African American children possessed the self-esteem, motivation, and familial support to succeed within their cultural milieu. Arguments against cultural deprivation took shape within the context of one of the most significant movements in the history of U.S. education. The multicultural education movement, buttressed by the work of many scholars, including James A. Banks and Geneva Gay, has brought about the proliferation of a host of other cultural theories, including cultural difference, cultural pluralism, biculturalism, and multiculturalism, all of which attempt to recognize not only the value of the diverse cultural backgrounds children bring to school but also the importance of engaging their backgrounds as part of the teaching and learning process.

While one theory of culture or another may dominate thinking at a particular time, these perspectives usually do not disappear altogether; rather, they tend to take a back seat or morph into new forms. To this extent, although the language of cultural deprivation is no longer very popular in the educational literature, the idea that in order for African American children to be academically successful, they must strive to assimilate to the mainstream cultural values, continues to influence much of our everyday thinking about race and education.

Denise Taliaferro Baszile

See also Compensatory Education; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Culture-Based Education; Head Start; Multicultural Education; Poverty and Education, White Flight

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CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE CURRICULUM/EDUCATION

Culturally appropriate education is a pedagogical approach that is student centered and authentic. It is rooted in the belief that students and their culture are intricately intertwined and that teachers can intentionally enhance student learning by embracing and utilizing various aspects of each student's culture. This student-centered approach considers the historical, social, political, and economic conditions that influence the daily lives of students and subsequently come to bear on the students' schooling. Teachers employing culturally appropriate education integrate these aspects of students' lives into the curriculum and their teaching in order to meet the academic needs of the students, enhance their teaching, and sustain quality teacher–student interactions. By doing so, the content becomes relevant and comprehensible, thereby empowering all students.

Culturally appropriate education is also intimately tied to the ethic of care. In order for teachers to utilize such an approach, they must have a genuine care for the students they serve. In essence, culturally appropriate education is defined as a tangible and learnable approach to education; however, it is also a disposition that drives the interactions that teachers are likely to have with their students. In other words, those teachers who genuinely care about African American students, for example, must understand their students'

historical, social, economical, and political positioning and believe that they are capable of meeting and/or exceeding high standard and expectations.

Misperceptions about culturally appropriate curriculum and education view it as the desegregation of a few multicultural facts within the curriculum and/or teaching, the addition of units that are based on holidays or cultural events, or that it is only for one subset of the U.S. population. While African American scholars have been leaders in the field of culturally appropriate curriculum and education, as a pedagogical approach, it is much more dynamic and applicable to other racial-ethnic groups. Essentially, culturally appropriate curriculum is an authentic student-centered approach that involves the use of a variety of instructional strategies that help students attain and experience academic success through the consistent use of curricular materials and instructional strategies that are validating, comprehensive, empowering, emancipatory, and transformative.

Culturally appropriate education emerged within the context of the standards movement. The mandate that all states use standardized tests to measure achievement disproportionately had a negative impact on the academic achievement of African American students. Culturally appropriate education is an approach that allows teachers to meet the needs of all students by providing them with opportunities to experience school success. It also has the potential to be a way to encourage students' further exploration in various subject areas, particularly those in which African Americans and other groups are disproportionately underrepresented. Furthermore, scholars in culturally appropriate education argue that it validates and empowers groups such as African American students because it capitalizes on their culture by appreciating the perspectives and experiences that they bring into the classroom.

There is much research on the interaction between student and school culture. Thus, many researchers and key terms have emerged from the literature; subsequently, culturally appropriate education is also described using the following terms: culturally relevant teaching; culturally responsive teaching; cultural synchronization; culturally relevant pedagogy; cultural congruence; as well as culturally relevant curriculum. Although the terms vary and may focus on one aspect of the

intersection of culture and teaching and learning, the underlying theme persists: How do teachers increase student achievement for culturally diverse students?

Four of the leading figures on culturally relevant teaching are Gloria Ladson-Billings, Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, Geneva Gay, and Michele Foster. Gloria Ladson-Billings's research on successful teachers of African American students, published in *The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African-American Students*, defined and illustrated how teachers can use culturally appropriate education to bring about an increase in student achievement for African American students. Geneva Gay's contributions to the field have shaped the understanding of culturally appropriate teaching. Her work *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, and Practice* defined culturally appropriate teaching and provided practical strategies that teachers can use to help under-represented students attain and experience academic success.

Another scholar who has been instrumental in defining the need and relevance of culturally appropriate teaching is Jacqueline Jordan Irvine. Through her research she introduced to the field the concept of the "cultural eye" and "lack of cultural synchronization." The latter concept helped bring to light the conflict that often exists between student culture and the culture of the school and/or teacher; *cultural eye* refers to the way in which teachers acknowledge the impact culture has on teaching and learning. The work of Michele Foster also has been pivotal in illuminating the connection between culture and education. In her review, *African American Teachers and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*, she describes research that examined the characteristics of successful teachers of African American students. From her work emerged the concepts of teachers exhibiting cultural solidarity, connectedness, and affiliation with the community of their African American students, all of which are used by teachers who deliver culturally appropriate education.

Vanesso Dodo Seriki

See also Academic Achievement; African-Centered Education; Black Female Teachers; Black Male Teachers; Culture-Based Education; Multicultural Education; Standardized Testing

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CULTURE-BASED EDUCATION

Culture-based education consists of educational practices that affirm a community's culture by recognizing and validating its spiritual, cultural, and social mores, global perspectives, and language while promoting awareness of the community's ancestral and contemporary accomplishments. It uses familiar cultural contexts to facilitate the assimilation of new information, thereby preventing *cultural mismatch*, a term used to indicate cultural differences between the home and school environment that make it difficult for a child to determine appropriate school practices.

The distinction of culture-based education in each culture is prescribed by the community's individual cultural values and experiences. Native Americans, Hawaiian Americans, and Australian Aborigines have incorporated cultural practices in schools to contextualize academic content. This entry describes African American culture-based education, including the concept of double consciousness, spiritual reverence, and features characteristics of African American learning and linguistic styles. Of equal importance, African American culture-based education epitomizes the

fundamental belief that education is the prerequisite to obtaining and maintaining all rights, both civil and human.

Features

Racially based enslavement and oppression resulted in conflict between European-based mainstream popular views and views that acknowledged links with Africa and its descendants. W. E. B. Du Bois termed this conflict “double consciousness.” He believed its resolution was to use African American culture as the basis for navigating U.S. society. Culture-based education codifies and reconciles these dual perspectives through critical thinking and interactive discourse.

Across Africa’s ethnic groups and throughout the diaspora, that which is interpreted as spiritual is given central importance. Furthermore, religious and secular thought is inseparable. For instance, God is perceived as existing in every living thing and as part of daily affairs. Additionally, there is a notion that the soul survives death by becoming an ancestor and is enlisted to guide daily activities and cause psychophysical interactions and therapeutics. Culture-based education employs aspects of spiritual reverence to foster resiliency by using it as a basis for overcoming challenges (for example, through God all things are possible).

African American learning styles reflect distinctive behaviors that affect learning and classroom social interactions. Factors that may affect learning are the African American conceptual orientation, which leans toward categorizing information according to function, verve (receptiveness to high sensate stimulation), and affect (emphasis of emotion or feelings). Factors that may affect social interaction are the African American propensity for attending to and communicating using nonverbal behaviors, expressive individualism (distinctive personality and spontaneity), orality (preference for oral modalities), and social time (time passes through social rather than material space), less concern about personal space, value placed on words that embody themes of social needs and racial desegregation, preference for cooperative efforts over individual endeavors, and response to the authority figure within a kinship network while successively moving toward independence. Culture-based education promotes active group-based learning that praises individual

contribution to the group’s goal and subscribes to discussions that incorporate emotional interpretations of sociohistorical experiences.

African Americans have a vibrant linguistic style. Many orators maintain attention and simplify information while using a rhythmic preaching style filled with repetition and call-response features. Recognition within the African American community is garnered through superior oral telling characterized by meandering from the point to take on episodic frames; signifying characterized by talking about listeners to drive home a point or initiate verbal war; and verbal dueling known in various regions as “woofing,” “joining,” or “playing the dozens.” Signifying incorporates simile and metaphor building figurative language understanding. Culture-based education uses rhythmic call-response features to assist students in remembering declarative and procedural information and employs oral telling and debates.

Pedagogical Perspective

Culture-based education from an African American perspective requires that teachers be able to link African descendants throughout the diaspora to traditional African views by identifying the common theme of human beings as divine and teachable with free will to produce in the objective world. They must accept morality as an essential attribute and believe that learning should be lifelong. This perspective is an outgrowth of the Egyptian system of Maat, which recognizes the importance of truth in all affairs. Teachers must be committed to using cultural and historical contexts that illustrate the resiliency of Africa’s descendants to overcome enslavement, colonialism, and foster a spirit of uplift.

In culture-based education, teachers engage in critical pedagogy emphasizing group and individual agency that consider relationships to the African Diaspora. They are culturally responsive, having the constructivist understanding that teachers’ and students’ preexisting perspectives are derived from their personal and cultural experiences. They are adept at figuring out a culture’s cognitive tools, including words, concepts, mental strategies, and problem-solving procedures that help learners interpret and address situations and problems they face. Consistent research findings across content areas (for example, math, reading, social science)

have demonstrated that tasks building upon cultural themes and values result in favorable achievement outcomes. However, these research initiatives were confined to low-income African American students and did not incorporate variations based on ethnic group and social class.

Culture-based education is much more than an outlet for cultural expression (for example, enjoying cultural holidays, food, and literature), broad cultural diversity considerations described in national standards (for example, social studies or language arts), or the need to culturalize content instruction (that is, math or science) by including cultural achievements throughout the curricula. Culture-based education is a comprehensive focus that embraces a culture's perspectives and accordant pedagogical practices.

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See also African-Centered Education; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Multicultural Education

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CUMMING V. RICHMOND COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education (1899) was an important case involving the education of African Americans in the United States that clearly

signaled how the *Plessy v. Ferguson* “separate but equal” doctrine could be used to continue racial segregation. As the first U.S. Supreme Court case on education heard after the *Plessy* ruling, it emboldened states, especially those in the Deep South, to use their discretion in determining what was legally permissible racial segregation of government-funded services and facilities. In effect, the Court in *Cumming* ruled that inequalities between public schools for Whites and those for African Americans did not violate the federal or state constitutions where economic exigencies were involved. This entry looks at the background of the case, the Supreme Court ruling, and its impact.

In the landmark 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court adopted the “separate but equal” doctrine, which maintained that segregated public facilities were legal. This doctrine underscored the second-class citizenship of African Americans and other underrepresented for the next 60 years. Still, African Americans and others fought these barriers by going to court and continued to fight until *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) finally struck down *Plessy*. Repeatedly, African Americans plaintiffs, both as individuals and in class action, asked the Supreme Court to look at the constitutional issues posed by *Plessy* in several different ways. One of those cases, *Cumming v. Richmond*, is the topic of this entry.

Facts of the Case

In 1897, the Augusta, Georgia, Board of Education decided to close Ware High School, the only secondary school for African Americans in the state. The prestigious Ware High School was founded in 1880 after a long struggle by the African American community. The board reasoned that it was not economically feasible to continue to operate the African American high school for 60 students when there were about 300 elementary-school-aged African American children without a school. The board closed the African American high school and opened four primary schools for African American students; the high school's \$845 budget was put toward the salaries of teachers in the grammar schools.

Further, the board claimed that three other high schools—Payne Institute, Walker Baptist Institute, and Haines Normal and Industrial Institute—were available for the African American high school students. The board claimed that they would reopen the

school when it was economically feasible. At the same time, the Richmond County Board of Education levied taxes against all county residents for the support of primary, intermediate, and high schools.

The plaintiffs, African American residents of Richmond County, Georgia, and taxpayers, sued the Richmond County Board of Education and the county tax collector, alleging that the county violated the Fourteenth Amendment, which makes it illegal for a state to deny anyone within its jurisdiction equal protection of personal rights under the law. The plaintiffs said the county violated this amendment because it taxed them but used the revenues to support two White high public schools (Tubman High School for girls and Richmond Academy for boys), which their children could not attend, while closing the only African American high school. The three alternative high schools mentioned by the board were private fee schools were not supported by the taxpayers and were not public schools. The plaintiffs argued that the board illegally used tax money collected from African American residents to fund a Whites-only high school while there was no African American public high school their children could attend. They sued, claiming to be victims of unconstitutional and unequal treatment.

The plaintiffs filed their action in Superior Court, and the defendants filed *demurrers*, a legal response admitting the allegations are true but questioning whether the plaintiffs' pleadings were legally sufficient. The tax collector's demurrer was sustained by the Superior Court; the judge refused to issue an order preventing the tax collector from collecting taxes on this basis. However, the judge ordered the school board not to use the tax money collected to support the exclusively White public high schools until the board of education provided equal facilities for the high school education of the city's African American children.

The order was suspended, while the Augusta board of education appealed to the state Supreme Court. The Georgia Supreme Court reversed the injunction, and the Superior Court denied the plaintiffs' request for relief.

Supreme Court Ruling and Its Impact

The plaintiffs filed a writ of error to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the lower court

decision. The U.S. Supreme Court held that the plaintiffs failed to plead facts showing which paragraph of the Fourteenth Amendment the board violated. They also found that the Georgia constitution did not require the county to provide a public high school; the board therefore was not in violation of the Georgia state constitution.

The decision was a landmark case because it sanctioned *de jure* segregation of races in public school. This opinion was written and published by Justice John Marshall Harlan, who was well-known for decisions that supported the separation of the races.

This decision encouraged and allowed several school districts to discontinue high school education for African Americans. In 1900, the Orleans Parish School Board in Louisiana decided to discontinue public funding high school education for African Americans, arguing that an elementary school education was all African Americans needed for that "sphere of labor and social position and occupation to which they are best suited and seem ordained by the proper fitness of things." It was not until 1918 that New Orleans provided public high school to African Americans.

In 1908, the Supreme Court followed the same thinking in the *Cumming* decision in a Kentucky case. Berea was a small Presbyterian college that was integrated. The Kentucky State legislature passed a law requiring that different races could be taught at the same institution only if they were taught in different classrooms at least 25 miles apart. The U.S. Supreme Court did not find a constitutional violation in this case because the Kentucky law did not prevent Berea from teaching students of different races as long as they were taught at different times or at different places.

Crystal Alesia Gaines

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas
(and *Brown II*); Desegregation

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DAVIS V. COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

Davis v. School Board of Prince Edward County (1952) was a lawsuit filed on behalf of African American students of a legally segregated high school in Prince Edward, Virginia. The initial lawsuit was merged with other similar school desegregation cases into the cases eventually decided under the heading *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), and *Davis* became part of that landmark ruling. But despite the ruling in *Brown*, the *Davis* case continued on for many years while the school district evaded the desegregation order by shutting down all public schools and starting private academies for Whites only. Young African Americans, left with no local schools, endured significant hardship causing social disruption and extended hardship for many. This entry describes the *Davis* case and its aftermath.

Historical Context

Prince Edward County is a rural area in southeastern Virginia. As in the rest of Virginia, the schools there had been segregated by race since Virginia began supporting public education in 1869. In fact, the only provision of the Virginia Constitution that expressly mandated racial segregation referred explicitly to public schools. But following the end of World War II, many African American veterans returned to rural Virginia with a renewed sense of the importance of education. Although some sought

to escape from segregation by moving north, others chose to begin the struggle for equal educational opportunity right in their local Southern towns.

Prince Edward County's main city was Farmville, where African American and White children attended high school in roughly equal numbers, but in very different facilities. Moton High School, designated for African Americans, was built in 1939 to accommodate 180 students. When it opened, it was already inadequate for the needs of the African American community, and by 1951, nearly 450 students were enrolled. To accommodate these students, the local board of education added several wooden classrooms built adjacent to the main building. Although the district court that eventually heard the case of *Davis v. Prince Edward County* referred to the facilities as less adequate than those available in White schools, the testimony of the African American students was more vivid. They described them as little more than shacks whose wood sides were covered with tar paper to protect against the elements. The roofs leaked, and the potbellied coal stoves rarely provided enough heat, so in the winter students had to sit through lessons wearing their coats. There were no gym or science labs and no cafeteria; books were inadequate, and the African American high school lacked the range of courses that were offered at the White high school. It was a segregated, second-class school whose facilities reflected the second-class social status that African American students were expected to assume in the South.

Despite these deficiencies, Farmville had a cohesive African American community that while

the working class and the poor recognized the importance of education and decided to challenge the school board for its years of unfulfilled promises for better facilities. The political alignments that made up the school equality movement of Prince Edward County could not have been more unique. There were the usual civil rights leaders in the African American community, including local clergy. But unlike the struggles in some other towns, the *Davis* case was also driven by a talented and determined student movement. Although the history of the college students who participated in lunch counter sit-ins and freedom rides are fairly well known, the student movement in Moton High School in 1951—although receiving less attention—was an equally important part of the civil rights movement of that region.

As in most Southern schools, the African American principal at Moton, J. B. Pervall, was expected to run the school and to keep the students in line. But the African American students of Moton were tired of their cramped school and were acutely aware that nearly everything in their high school was inferior to the White school across town. Barbara Johns, the daughter of a local civil rights activist and president of the student body, tricked the faculty of Moton into thinking that a special assembly had been called, and when all the teachers went to the auditorium, the students left the high school and staged a demonstration in downtown Farmville demanding equal educational facilities. Their courage and audacity sparked a movement that eventually became the case of *Davis v. Prince Edward County*.

It was not as if the African American adults of Prince Edward County had done nothing to secure better schools. Each year they had petitioned the county board for better educational facilities, and every year promises were made, but never fulfilled. The student demonstration reflected both the frustration and the determination of the African American community to finally get results. Following the student demonstration, Johns wrote a letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund seeking their assistance. By the late 1940s, the NAACP had decided to abandon its strategy of filing lawsuits to simply equalize school facilities. Although they had been reasonably successful, Thurgood Marshall and the board

reasoned that this strategy would take years to generate real changes to the second-class status of the thousands of segregated schools in the South.

In 1951, the NAACP agreed to help the African American families of Prince Edward County, but only on the condition that they sign off on their new policy of attacking segregation itself rather than seeking separate, but equally funded schools. This new policy was not without controversy. For many African Americans in Farmville, as elsewhere in the South, the segregated schools played a complex role in the life of the community. On one hand, they were a clear symbol of the second-class status forced on the African American community by law. Moton High School, with its overcrowding and inadequate facilities, was all too typical. On the other hand, these schools were also social centers for an African American community that was cut off from the civic life of the larger White cities and towns. These all-African American schools had sports teams and marching bands, debate societies, and glee clubs, and graduation ceremonies were often special events for the entire community in the spring of each year. Thus, pride was often mixed with the frustration and anger over the segregated school system. Though separated from the White community, African American schools were a source of local pride, and the African American teachers and principals were frequently regarded by African Americans and by Whites alike as the civic leaders of their community. Despite the fact that some African Americans in Farmville actually preferred an equalization lawsuit as opposed to a desegregation case, after a mass meeting, they finally agreed to the NAACP's terms and asked them to represent them to secure better schools. In May of 1951, the lawyers for the NAACP filed suit in federal district court in the case that became known as *Davis v. Prince Edward County*. With that decision, a course of events was set into motion that changed the course of education in United States.

The Facts of the Case

The lawyers for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed a lawsuit in federal court for the Eastern District of Virginia alleging that the racial segregation of the schools of Prince Edward County violated the African American students' rights under

the equal protection clause. They also charged in the alternative that the two county high schools, one African American and the other White, were unequal in terms of buildings, facilities, curricula, and buses and that this inequality also violated the Constitution.

Their first charge represented a new strategy by the NAACP to get the court to look squarely at the issue of legally imposed segregation and hopefully find that it was unconstitutional. Their second argument was a holdover from an older plan that sought to chip away at the margins of segregation. This strategy of equalization lawsuits sought to use the existing *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) separate-but-equal doctrine but found it simply too expensive to maintain.

In its frontal attack on school segregation, the NAACP had marshaled the testimony of educators, psychologists, anthropologists, and psychiatrists to prove that segregation was not simply the separation of the races, but a legally imposed stigma of inferiority, marking African Americans for a host of subordinate roles throughout society. Although the focus of the case was the state's policy of forced segregation in the public schools, it was clear that schools were simply one of many examples of state-imposed segregation across Virginia. Attacking segregation head on as a constitutional strategy raised the stakes in *Davis*, and the lawyers on both sides knew that if the state could not require separate schools, they would lack the legal authority to impose segregation in other public facilities as well.

In its defense, the state of Virginia responded with its own witnesses who argued there was no real evidence in psychology or other fields that the separation of the races imposed a badge of inferiority on African Americans. The state also took pains to assert that equalization of school facilities across the state was in fact well under way by 1952 and that although they conceded that the Black Prince Edward facilities were inferior to the local White high school, in other parts of the state newly constructed Black schools were now superior to those for local White students. This testimony made it clear that despite the cost of building new schools for African Americans, even this burden would be borne if that was necessary to prevent the commingling of African American and White students.

The District Court Decision

Finally, in March of 1952, the district court held that the schools of Virginia had been segregated by law since the inception of public education in the state and there was no federal or state constitutional requirement to change that practice. They pointed out that other federal courts faced with cases dealing with segregated public schools had declined to find segregation unconstitutional, so the court found no precedent for siding with the plaintiffs.

The court described the Virginia laws as simply a way of life that was as old as the public school system itself. They pointed out that the legislative intent to maintain separate schools also had been made clear by the fact that separating the schools was consistent with the constitution of Virginia. On the basis of this reasoning, they refused to grant the broad relief sought by the first argument in the plaintiffs' case.

However, the court held that although the separation of the races by law authorized by *Plessy v. Ferguson* would not be disturbed, they were at least willing to be more open to enforcing the equal side of this separate-but-equal equation. As part of its defense, the state offered to appropriate funds to build a new African American high school, and the court incorporated this offer into its ruling. Although this political promise had been made to the African American community of Farmville many times before, this was the first time that it now had at least the potential to be enforced as part of a court order.

The court's conclusions were not unexpected. The African American students of Prince Edward County obviously had been denied equal educational facilities, but in the court's judgment, there was nothing constitutionally suspect about maintaining separate facilities based on race. As expected, the NAACP appealed this decision to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Davis and the Brown Case

In 1953, while the appeal of the district court decision in *Davis* was pending, Chief Justice Earl Warren granted certiorari to have *Davis v. Prince Edward County* consolidated, along with three other cases that lower courts had decided in which the issue of the continuing constitutionality of the school segregation statutes had been raised. These

cases were listed alphabetically on the Supreme Court docket, and *Davis* became subsumed under the heading of what would become its more famous companion case, *Brown v. Board Education*.

In 1954, the Supreme Courts landmark decision in *Brown* sent shockwaves throughout the Deep South. The expressions of anger and defiance to the court's decision that began springing up in several Southern states were also shared by many of the White residents of Prince Edward County Virginia. Chief Justice Warren's unanimous opinion declared as follows:

In the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and other similarly situated for whom actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. (347 U.S. at 493)

Despite this declaration, the governor of Virginia pledged to pursue all legal avenues to block desegregation because as the district court had stated, it was not just school assignments that were at stake, an entire way of life was about to be challenged. The local school board of Prince Edward County assumed that there would be some recourse to the *Brown* decision, so their first response was simply to do nothing.

But the plaintiffs in the *Davis* case were not to be deterred, and in September of 1955, they appealed to the district court to have the original decision in *Davis* modified to comply with *Brown*. Instead of equal facilities, they now demanded that the entire school system be desegregated. The local board responded to this new challenge by threatening to close the public schools and voted to fund the system on only a month-by-month basis so that if a desegregation order was issued, they could in short order make good on their threat.

Legal maneuvers continued through 1956 as the NAACP asked the district court for an immediate desegregation order, and the school board once again got the court to delay. By March of 1958, the *Davis* case found itself once again before the U.S. Supreme Court where the board argued that its 10-year desegregation plan that would slowly phase in integration was consistent with *Brown*.

But the Supreme Court declined to hear the case, and finally, in May of 1958, the court of appeals held that Prince Edward County had delayed enough and ordered them to start admitting African American students to the previously all-White schools beginning in September of 1958, 3 full years after the original *Brown* decision.

Protracted Litigation

One would have thought that with this decision the final chapter of this legal odyssey was about to be turned. But shortly after *Brown* was decided, the Prince Edward County School Board recognized a private group called the Prince Edward Educational Corporation, which was organized to provide private schooling for White students only. This corporation was the beginning of the White-academy movement that was occurring throughout the South, and in October of 1959, weeks after the public schools were scheduled to open, the board ordered the doors of all public schools closed and the school system effectively shut down.

It would take 6 more years of protracted litigation before the public schools of Prince Edward County were reopened. The legal struggle during that period included contests over whether county and state funds could be used to support private education in the county while refusing to open the public schools. In May of 1964, the Supreme Court answered that question in *Griffin v. County School Board*. They held that the closing of the public schools in Prince Edward County while public schools were maintained throughout the rest of Virginia denied African American students their rights protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, and they ordered the county schools reopened.

Although that decision marked the end of the litigation that began with *Davis*, it was the beginning of several more years of court battles over school funding, the use of busing to meet the desegregation order, and a host of other issues designed to make the simple request of African American students for an equal education a reality. Although *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* stands as a historic milestone in the history of civil rights litigation, it is also an example of the depth of racial prejudice that African American children have had to endure in their quest for educational opportunity.

Afterward and Impact

The case of *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* is one of the great ironies of the civil rights era. It started with the hopes and aspirations of a handful of courageous African American high school students who decided to challenge Jim Crow segregation to improve their own educational opportunities. But due to an odd convergence of political and legal forces, that simple request for equal educational opportunity took a number of twists and turns covering the next 40 years and would sadly leave most of those early aspirations unfulfilled.

Although some Southern towns reacted violently to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown*, the White residents of Prince Edward County made a calculated decision to maintain segregated schools by subterfuge rather than by force. By setting up a separate private school system, they planned to keep all-White schools that would be legally beyond the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment. Rather than blocking schoolhouse doors, they established The Prince Edward Educational Corporation, which later created the Prince Edward County Foundation to receive funds to maintain the free academy. In pursuing this plan, they relied upon two critical events, both of which needed to occur in order for the plan to succeed. One was simply their calculation that the federal and state court litigation would drag on for years. This gave them the time to develop the resources to establish the free academy for the White children in Prince Edward County. The second was their ability to skillfully utilize the Virginia state constitution and Virginia's various educational statutes to steer public monies in the direction of this private effort so that the academy, while legally private, would be supported to varying degrees by public resources.

Although White parents did pay tuition to the foundation, public monies found their way into this venture in a number of nefarious ways and accounted to some degree for the longevity of the academy. To add insult to injury, while the African American children of the county had no schools at all, their parent's taxes were supporting the education of the county's White children in segregated private academies.

The African American families who had signed on with the in NAACP in 1951 to initiate this

litigation were also not of a single mind as to its direction or its ultimate goal. Some supported the lawyers' efforts to desegregate the entire school system. Others would have been equally satisfied had the state simply been forced to support the African American high school to the same degree that the local White high school had been funded. The tensions between these perspectives, while kept under wraps during the early days of litigation, surfaced over time, and as the legal struggles stretched out from one decade to the next, it caused some of the earlier supporters of the school desegregation litigation to doubt the wisdom of that decision.

When the county closed the schools in 1955 the free White academy was up and operating and able to provide basic educational services for most of the White residents of Prince Edward County. But the facilities were nowhere near what they had been accustomed to with the all-White public schools, and it became clear that maintaining racial apartheid would indeed have its costs for White and African American students alike. Some local Whites were too poor to pay even the modest tuition and too proud to ask for assistance. So they, like their African American neighbors, were simply closed out of educational opportunities. But despite these burdens on a few Whites, the impact of the school closings for the African American community was nothing short of a catastrophe.

Many Black families in this rural corner of Virginia had little formal education under the segregated system. When their children were shut out of the public schools, they were unable to provide much support through homeschooling or tutoring to help them keep up with their studies. The tragic result was that in the initial year after the school closings, the majority of African American students in the county simply had no education at all. When it became clear that the legal struggle to reopen the schools was going to be a long struggle, many African American families were forced to send their children to friends and relatives across the state and some even out of state in order to continue their education.

The social impact on these children was devastating. They had gone to school with friends and neighbors, and life in the public schools had become a vital part of their social network. Suddenly, that was all gone. Families were split up as siblings were sent to different relatives to attend schools in other

parts of the state. Parents lost critical contact with their children at a time when they were developing and maturing and needing their guidance. Some students, despite efforts by churches and other outside groups, found no educational options at all. These African American children from Prince Edward County who endured these hardships for 5 long years became known as the lost generation.

Subsequent educational studies revealed that this metaphor was not an exaggeration. As the African American Prince Edward children drifted in and out of various schools, nearly all fell dramatically behind in their educational achievement. Although some persevered, for others, the effect of those lost years of instruction was too great to overcome, and they simply dropped out of school as soon as they were old enough. For others, they were forced to deal with the psychological trauma of being 2 or 3 years older than students in classes where they were eventually placed. For almost all, their aspirations were blunted in ways that were never recouped.

Although in 1963, the Supreme Court ordered the Prince Edward County schools to reopen and to implement a desegregation plan, even this decision did not mark the end of the litigation. In fact, various lawsuits over busing and other forms of administrative devices to create desegregated schools in the county would persist well into the 1980s. For most of those years, the free academy would exist side by side with the public schools and would continue to draw the majority of White residents of the county to its doors. Although the energy and cost necessary to run a separate all-White private school gradually began to work against the academy, reintegrating Whites into the public schools was a long and slow process and one that continues with mixed results to this day. The Virginia Civil Rights Memorial at the Virginia State Capitol pays tribute to the protest and to the case.

Victor M. Goode

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Busing; Desegregation; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Resegregation; White Flight

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DAYTON BOARD OF EDUCATION V. BRINKMAN, I AND II

The *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman I* (1977) and *II* (1979) desegregation cases represent a unique place in Ohio history. The Ohio legislature had disavowed segregated education in 1887. Although Ohio law stated that separated schools for White and African American students were illegal, the reality was quite different. In 1972, when Mark Brinkman filed a class action lawsuit on behalf of Dayton African American and White parents, 80% of all students in the Dayton public school system attended one-race schools. *Dayton I* and *II* addressed the scope of remedies for northern states in de jure desegregation cases and examined the right of local control by school boards. The Supreme Court confirmed its willingness to require broad and systemwide remedies in Northern schools, but insisted that constitutional violations be sufficiently significant. *Dayton I* was a setback for desegregation because the Supreme Court, in a decision written by Associate Justice William Rehnquist, set aside the court of appeals systemwide remedy where the record failed to indicate broad de jure underpinnings of the violation. But *Dayton II*, along with *Columbus Board of Education v. Penick* (1979) affirmed the court of appeals systemwide desegregation order when evidence showed that little desegregation had occurred between 1951 and 1952 and between 1971 and 1972. The Court found there was clear inference systemwide of intentional and purposeful operation of a dual school system. This entry explores the history, development, and impact of the *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman I* and *II*.

Historical Background

In 1799, Benjamin Van Cleve opened the first school in Dayton. Like those that soon followed, it was a private school. Until 1831, there were no public schools in Dayton. In December of that

year, the first public school was opened. Funds were appropriated for the school, which was for White students only, but those students still had to pay one dollar each academic quarter for tuition.

It would be 18 years before the first “colored school” was opened in Dayton. In 1848, the Ohio General Assembly required school boards to establish separate schools for colored children when there were 20 or more such students who wanted an education. The act defined “colored children” as those having at least three-eighths African blood and/or being regarded as colored by the community. The new colored schools were funded by property taxes exacted from African American property owners. Yet, since the number of African American property owners was quite small, the colored schools never had sufficient funding. From 1849 to 1853, only one colored school was available for African American children in Dayton.

In 1871, an African American parent filed a lawsuit arguing that separate schools for African American and White children violated the Fourteenth Amendment. However, the Ohio Supreme Court in *State ex rel. Garnes v. McCann* (1871) disagreed and held that the separate schools were not unconstitutional. In 1878, the Ohio General Assembly created a law that gave localities the authority to create and fund schools exclusively for African American children. Funding would be different from the past in that the schools would obtain monies from the taxes of all property owners.

On February 22, 1887, the Ohio General Assembly repealed the Ohio law that permitted separate schools for White and African American students. The next year in *Board of Education v. State* (1888), the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the new Ohio law when it ruled that separate schools for African Americans and Whites were unconstitutional and that students should be assigned to their neighborhood schools. In response, Dayton closed its separate schools for African American children and reassigned all children to their neighborhood public schools.

Unfortunately, racial harmony in the public schools did not exist for long. By the 1920s, African American and White students attended the same public schools, but the board of education provided separate buildings for African American students and their teachers. Then, in 1926, the Ohio Supreme Court ruled against segregated education

in *Board of Education of School District of City of Dayton v. State ex rel. Reese* (1926), again this time stating that racial separation of students and teachers into different physical locations within the same school was unconstitutional.

Despite these earlier decisive cases, by the time the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka Kansas II* (1955), Dayton public schools were still racially segregated. All of the African American principals and 11 of the 14 assistant principals were assigned to African American schools. Of the 181 African American high school teachers in the Dayton public school system, 156 were assigned to schools where African American students were at least 92% of the total student enrollment. The elementary schools were no different; 17 schools could claim 90% of all African American children enrolled in the public school system.

Dayton I

Facts of the Case

In 1967, as a response to community discontent, the Dayton Board of Education organized the Citizens Advisory Council to review alleged racial imbalances in the public school system. Two years later, in 1969, the U.S. Office of Civil Rights informed the Dayton Board of Education that the school system was not complying with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In opposition to proposed school busing, four new board members were elected. To ensure the passage of the school levy, all board members signed a resolution that there would be no school busing in Dayton unless the board was forced by lawful authority. Unfortunately, the school levy was still defeated.

On April 29, 1971, the board admitted by resolution that the city did not provide an equal educational opportunity for African American students. The president of the board then appointed a committee (known as the Committee of 75) of educators and community leaders to evaluate and advise the board on how to implement a desegregation plan. After the Committee of 75 submitted its report, the board passed three resolutions confirming that Dayton public schools were racially and economically segregated and that residential housing patterns were partially responsible for the

disparity, and past activity or inactivity of the board had exacerbated the problem of segregated education in the Dayton public schools. Yet, before a desegregation plan could be implemented, another new board, which was elected in November of that year, rescinded the three resolutions.

In response to the action of the new board of education, on April 17, 1972, Brinkman, on behalf of several African American and White parents, filed a class action lawsuit in U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio against the Dayton Board of Education. At that time, there were 50,000 students in the Dayton public school system with 44.6% of them being African American. Yet, 80% of all students in the public schools attended one-race schools (schools that were populated 90% by students of one race).

District Court Rulings

In 1973, the district court held that the public schools in Dayton were racially imbalanced, optional attendance zones (whereby students who resided in those districts could pick between two or more schools to attend) contributed to that imbalance, and rescission of the three resolutions cumulatively violated the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution. As a remedy, the district court required the board to submit a desegregation plan; it required the board to end improper procedures in the areas of attendance zones, student transfers, and faculty hiring and assignment.

In response, the board submitted a desegregation plan to the district court on February 7, 1973. In addition, separate plans were submitted to the district court by the African American members of the board of education and the Dayton Classroom Teachers' Association. Yet, it was the plan by the board of education that the district court accepted 5 months later.

On July 13, 1973, the district court issued its supplemental order on remedy accepting the desegregation plan drafted by the board of education. However, the court required the board to submit a freedom of choice plan for the Dayton high schools. Twenty-eight days later, in compliance with the district court's instructions, the board submitted another desegregation plan for Dayton high schools. The board argued that it had complied with the September 1973 directive of the

district court and requested that the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit dismiss Brinkman's pending appeal in district court.

After a review of the facts, the court of appeals denied the board's request, and on August 20, 1974, the court of appeals affirmed part of the district court decision holding that the public schools in Dayton were indeed racially imbalanced and optional attendance zones cumulatively violated the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution. However, for procedural reasons, the court of appeals chose not to address the issue of the rescinded resolutions. Thus, the court of appeals affirmed part of the district court opinion, but remanded the case for further action by the district court. In the remand, the court of appeals stated that a racially neutral plan that still did not fix the problem of segregation in the public schools was not an acceptable plan.

On remand, the district court required the board of education to submit another desegregation plan in accordance with the court of appeals directive. The board's plan was accepted and implemented for the 1975 to 1976 school year. Brinkman and the other parents appealed the decision of the district court alleging that the board's new desegregation plan still did not comply with the orders of the court of appeals. On June 24, 1975, the court of appeals held that the newest desegregation plan still failed to end desegregation in the Dayton public schools. The court of appeals then directed the district court to adopt a systemwide desegregation plan no later than the end of December 1975 and implement it by September 1976.

After the second decision by the court of appeals, the district court requested a master to establish new attendance zones for the Dayton public schools. On March 15, 1976, the master submitted a report to the district court, which included specific racial percentages for desegregating the public schools in Dayton. The district court then accepted the master's recommendations, but the board of education subsequently appealed. The board argued that the remedy accepted by the district court exceeded the scope of the violations and used a fixed percentage formula to achieve racial balance, a formula which it believed was contrary to the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971). On July 26, 1976, the court of appeals

supported the actions of the district court. The court of appeals reiterated that a systemwide desegregation plan was needed in order to eliminate discrimination in the Dayton public school system. The board of education then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling

In *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman I* and *II*, the Supreme Court held in 1977 that the court of appeals incorrectly required the district court to develop a systemwide desegregation plan. The court stated that the mere fact that a public school system has some predominantly African American and some predominantly White public schools does not automatically mean it has done something unconstitutional. In support of the Dayton board of education, the court ruled that a systemwide remedy was required only when a school board had taken such unconstitutional actions to promote improper racial distribution throughout the whole public school system. The judgment of the court of appeals was vacated and remanded with instructions for the district court to make new findings in accordance with the Supreme Court's opinion.

Dayton II

In response to the Supreme Court's remand, the district court held a supplemental evidentiary hearing from November 1 to 4, 1977. The Supreme Court directed the district court to first determine whether the Dayton board of education had discriminated against African American teachers, staff, and students. If the response to the first test was affirmative, the district court then had to compare how the board's actions impacted the current racial distribution in the public schools against what the racial distribution was in the past. If discrimination still existed in the public school system, then the district court had to create a remedy that was most appropriate under *Dayton I*.

The district court then proceeded with an exhaustive analysis of racial imbalance, faculty assignment and hiring, attendance zones, site selection, and transportation in the Dayton public school system. After an extensive review of the record, the district court held in *Brinkman v.*

Gilligan that Brinkman had to prove that the board of education was discriminatory in its actions and that an incremental segregative effect could be proved for racial imbalance, faculty assignment and hiring, attendance zones, site selection, and transportation. On December 15, 1977, the district court held that Brinkman failed to satisfy the incremental segregative effect test. Thus, the complaint was dismissed. Brinkman, once again, appealed the district court decision.

On July 27, 1978, the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit released its opinion on the *Brinkman v. Gilligan* case. It held that the district court had a misunderstanding of the Supreme Court decision in *Dayton I*. The court of appeals determined that the district court looked at isolated occurrences in the public school system and then incorrectly examined specific areas for segregative intent and incremental segregative effect. The court of appeals held that using an act-by-act approach was inappropriate and that it was the combined actions or inactions of the board of education that produced the dual public school system in Dayton. The court of appeals ruled in *Brinkman* that once plaintiffs established that the board of education's policies perpetuated segregation in the public school system, it was then the board's burden to prove that its actions were in accordance with racially neutral policies. The decision of the district court was reversed with instructions to reinstate the plan drafted by the court of appeals in *Dayton I*. The Dayton Board of Education subsequently appealed the decision of the court of appeals.

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling

Finally, on July 2, 1979, the Supreme Court held in *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman II* that the district court did indeed misunderstand the ruling in *Dayton I*. The Supreme Court stated that the court of appeals correctly determined that Dayton had a dual public school system. Thus, the board of education had an affirmative duty to end racial imbalance in the public schools. Agreeing with the court of appeals, the Supreme Court stated that the board's actions since *Brown v. Board of Education* had perpetuated a dual system in regard to faculty and student assignments, school site selection, optional attendance zones, and transportation. Thus, the burden was on the

board of education and not Brinkman to prove that its actions or inaction did not perpetuate or reestablish a dual system. *Dayton II* affirmed the decision of the court of appeals.

Impact of Dayton Cases

On April 17, 1972, when Brinkman filed a lawsuit on behalf of several African American and White parents who had children in the Dayton public school system, he began what would amount to a 7-year legal battle in the federal courts. After two U.S. Supreme Court decisions, it was determined that Dayton, Ohio, did indeed have a dual public school system and that it was the responsibility of the Dayton board of education to eradicate racial imbalances in the public school system. The *Dayton I* decision was significant because it gave the federal courts the power to dictate that certain measures be taken, like busing, to end racial imbalances in the schools. However, as the response to school busing was quite volatile, Brinkman's desire for Dayton children to attend public schools without racial imbalances was never quite fulfilled. During the time of *Brown v. Board of Education II*, African American students were only 18% of the public school community. By 1971, 17 years later and a year before Brinkman's initial lawsuit, the number had risen to 45%. Unfortunately, past real estate practices and personnel preferences have caused certain areas of Dayton to be predominantly African American or White. Today, the number of African American students in the Dayton public school system is 69%, while Whites are a mere 25% of all public school students.

Rhea Ballard-Thrower

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*

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DENTAL EDUCATION

Almost as long as dentistry has been the subject of formal education in the United States, African Americans have been included among the graduates of such programs. In recent years, however, there has been a decline in the proportion of African Americans pursuing this profession. The 1995 Institute of Medicine Report on the future of dental education identified the need for a dental work force that reflects the diversity in the United States. Specific racial and ethnic groups remain underrepresented in the active dental profession compared to their representation in the general population. African Americans comprise 2.2% of active dentists versus 12% of the general population. In addition, the percentage of African Americans who are dental school students is less than half of their proportion in the U.S. population. In the 2004 entering class of U.S. dental schools, the African American percentage was 5.4%. This entry begins with a look at the history of dental education for African Americans, examines the current diversity situation more closely, and then provides an overview of dentistry and dental education in the United States.

Historical Background

In 1840, the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, now a part of the University of Maryland, initiated the availability of formal education for the profession of dentistry. At that time, about 120 African American dental practitioners had been trained through the preceding apprentice system. The creation of the Baltimore College, however, signaled the end of apprentice-style training in dentistry.

Harvard University was the first to establish a dental school. It is noteworthy that Robert T. Freeman was among the six students accepted in the first class in 1867. Two years later, he became the first African American to graduate with a Doctor of Dental Medicine (DMD) degree from a university dental school in the United States.

Dental departments were created at Howard University in 1881 and at Meharry Medical College in 1886. Howard University's College of Dentistry, and Meharry Medical College's School of Dentistry were established specifically for training African Americans. They survived the 1926 William J. Gies Report on dental education in the United States, published through the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Gies Report was responsible for the disaccreditation and subsequent closure of deficient dental school facilities. However, the Gies Report emphasized the need for additional dental schools for African Americans. Despite this recommendation, Howard and Meharry continued to prepare most African American dentists to care for the oral health needs of African Americans and other minority and disadvantaged communities.

Current Representation

The Surgeon General's Report on Oral Health in America, published in 2000, pointed out that while diversity in U.S. society is increasing, the number of individuals from minority groups prepared to provide dental care is decreasing. The analysis of the ratios of dentists to population by race and ethnicity found in the Surgeon General's report revealed disparities, which are cause for national concern. In 1996, the ratio for Whites was 1 to 1,450; for Hispanics, 1 to 5,400; for African Americans, 1 to 6,150; and for Native Americans, 1 to 10,000. For the total population of U.S. citizens, the ratio was one dentist for every 1,700 people.

There has been a decrease in the total production of dentists since the early 1990s and into the 21st century. The decline of minority graduates from dental school is even more dramatic. More specifically, data for the period of 1995 to 1996 through 2001 to 2002 shows a 10% decline in total enrollment of African Americans during this period. In 2001 to 2002, 13 of the nation's dental schools had no African Americans enrolled in the entering class, and 10 schools had only one African American student enrolled in the entering class.

This challenge that dentistry faces cannot be solved without taking into consideration how the profession has addressed issues of diversity and outreach, especially for African Americans, in the past. More dentists are leaving the profession than entering. Of the 152,000 active, practicing dentists, over a third are over 55 years of age. The number of jobs exceeds the number of professionally active dentists, according to the U.S. Public Health Service.

Dental schools are strengthening their efforts to recruit students from underrepresented minorities, prompted by the efforts of the National Dental Association (NDA) and the American Dental Association (ADA). Traditionally, dentistry has not enjoyed great popularity attracting African Americans to its ranks. However, this is changing as an increasing segment of the population understands that dental infections influence the health of the whole body and is a critical component of public health and welfare of the populace.

Due to supply and demand, dentistry is a good career choice now and for the near future, offering exceptional opportunities for underrepresented minorities. Studies have shown that dental care is more readily accepted when the dentist is not only cognizant of a patient's language but also sensitive to his or her cultural and ethnic background.

What Is Dentistry?

Dentistry is defined as the evaluation, diagnosis, prevention, and/or treatment of the oral cavity through nonsurgical or related procedures. Dentists are often the first health care professionals to recognize and identify a variety of diseases ranging from diabetes to cancer. Technological advancements have improved the ability to assist dentists in the diagnosis and treatment of problems that

affect the mouth and jaws. Through surgical restoration and repair, retention of healthy teeth and gums can be accomplished. Implants, tissue grafts, and laser surgery are techniques used to reverse trauma caused by accident or disease.

Although dentists treat the mouth, by definition as health care professionals, they treat people. Through cosmetic dental procedures, dentists can improve the appearance of patients, ultimately improving their self-esteem. The profession of dentistry performs an important public service to help people maintain their health and appearance. General dentists provide a vast majority of dental care and perform a wide array of dental procedures. There are specialties in dentistry that make up approximately 20% of the profession. The following are specialties in dentistry: endodontics, the treatment of diseased or injured pulp (nerve) tissue; orthodontics, the treatment of malocclusion (straightening of teeth); oral and maxillofacial surgery (extractions and correction of injured or diseased jaws); pediatric dentistry, specializing in children's dentistry; periodontics, treatment of the gums, bone, and supporting teeth (pyorrhea); and prosthodontics, treatment by replacement of missing teeth with fixed or removable appliances.

In addition, there are areas in dentistry that are limited to specific procedures such as cosmetic or aesthetic dentistry (treatment focused on appearance) and implant dentistry (replacement of the support for which teeth can be replaced with stability), oral pathology, public health dentistry, oral biology, hospital dentistry, and dental education (being on a dental school faculty). The options are many, and in some instances, they are combined.

Qualifications and Licensing

All 50 states and the District of Columbia require dentists to be licensed. To qualify for a license in most states, a candidate must graduate from an accredited dental school approved by the Commission on Dental Accreditation and pass written and practical examinations on patients selected by the candidate. Most states require passing a written examination given by the National Board of Dental Examiners and permit dentists to engage in both general and specialized practice; in such cases, the dentist acknowledges his or her limitation. Some

states require that a specialty license be obtained before practicing as a specialist.

Dental license exams are given by individual states, but there are regional exams the results of which are accepted by states for licensure. To practice in a different state, a licensed dentist may have to pass that state's examination. However, there is growing acceptance of licensure by credential, where a licensed dentist from another state can also be licensed in that state. Eventually, there may be elimination of individual state or regional boards requiring practical examination on live patients with the establishment of a national, simulated practical examination.

Dental schools require a minimum of 2 to 4 years of college-level courses, that includes both science and nonscience courses. The traditional science major is joined by a variety of nonscience degrees from psychology to music to humanities. However, the core science courses—biology, inorganic chemistry, biochemistry, physics, and organic chemistry—and depending on some schools, additional science courses may be required or recommended. All dental schools participate in a nationwide testing program, the Dental Admission Test to evaluate dental applicants academically, in addition to the overall and science grade point average. Also used for consideration are the letters of recommendation, extracurricular activities, interviews, and the personal backgrounds of the applicants (i.e., disadvantaged status, research experience, publications, etc.).

Dental school generally lasts 4 years. There are both didactic and laboratory work in the sciences: anatomy, microbiology, biochemistry, physiology, and histology. Students are also taught dental biological sciences such as oral anatomy, oral pathology, and oral histology. There are prelaboratory technique courses that require manual (hands-on) skills and good visual memory. These are preparatory requirements before taking on patients in the clinic. Clinical experience can happen as early as the 1st year, but the most intensive is during the last 2 years, usually. During this time, students gain practical experience treating patients as they would as licensed dentists. This experience requires that students demonstrate a high level of diagnostic ability and a high degree of manual dexterity, the ability to use of the technologies available, and,

above all, a sensitivity to the needs and concerns of the patients they are treating.

Most dental schools award the degree, Doctor of Dental Surgery. An equivalent degree, DMD, is conferred by others. Earning a degree is costly. Dental school graduates may elect to go to a postdoctoral training program to increase their proficiency. This is usually an additional year and is in the form of an Advanced Education in General Dentistry (AEGD) or is a General Practice Residency (GPR).

In addition, postdoctoral students in GPR and AEGD, along with recent graduates from dental school, can elect to later take one of the dental specialties. Depending on the specialty, an additional 2 to 6 years of study is required. These are either certificated or degreed programs. If one is interested in academics, the degree programs are usually preferred. The ADEA sponsors the Post-Doctoral Application Support Service (PASS), making it easier to apply to the various postdoctoral programs.

Career Opportunities

Although African Americans are still underrepresented in dentistry and there is still shortage of dental practitioners in general, the career opportunities in the dental profession are exciting, challenging, and rewarding. Dental school graduates have a variety of options and opportunities. They can be self-employed in private practice; this is the traditional route. Ninety percent of private practice dentists own their own practice. Many begin by working for an established dentist in salaried or associate positions. This enables them to gain experience and save money to purchase or buy into the practice for which they are working. Some, however, purchase an established practice after graduation or set up their own offices after graduation or in partnership.

In 1999, the ADEA projected that there would be an increasing shortage of dentists through the year 2020. Just a few years ago, the number of dental school first-year enrollees dropped due to the reduction of class size and closing of some dental schools. However, two additional dental schools have opened in Nevada and Arizona, and a third is scheduled to open in California in 2009. Though the success of preventive dentistry has reduced the

occurrence of oral disease, there are more dental options, such as cosmetic dentistry and implants, which raise the demand for newer services in all segments of society.

A survey reported by the ADA in 1999 indicated that dental offices were the third highest in ranking of all start-up businesses. During the first year of practice, dentists earn more than the minimum to manage dental school debt over 25 years and, in many cases, over 10 years. The earnings of dentists rapidly rise from the beginning stages of practice. In 1992, the average income of dentists was \$80,000. In 2000, the average income of general dentists was over \$160,000, a 100% increase over the 8-year period. The income for dental specialists was over \$260,000. The average income for dentists is in the upper 5% of family incomes in the United States. The financial success by dentists outweighs the cost. Debt is usually managed and paid within 7 years.

In addition to working in the private sector as a self-employed or salaried employee or associate dentist, opportunities in academics, dental research, and service in the federal government and public health care sectors are available. These options, in many instances, overlap. The list of practice options continues to grow as new areas in dental service are developed. Dentistry is a highly rewarding profession that offers personal satisfaction, autonomy, financial security, cultural and ethnic interactions, and the opportunity to positively change an individual's life.

Gary France

See also Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; Medical Education; Meharry Medical College

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DESEGREGATION

Since the middle of the 20th century, desegregation has been widely used as a remedy for de jure (by law) and de facto (by practice) school segregation. Desegregation is the process that removes the formal and informal barriers preventing students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds from learning in the same classrooms and schools. The policy is intended to ensure that all children have equitable opportunities to learn.

The United States has a long history of providing racially segregated and unequal public education to its children. Racially separate and unequal public education was not an accident; it was created by laws that were enforced by state governments and policies enacted by local school systems. Even after a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions eliminated the formal legal foundation for segregation in the mid-20th century, segregation often was encouraged or re-created through racially discriminatory public policies and private practices in housing, transportation, lending for home purchases, and education.

These obstacles notwithstanding, from roughly the middle of the 1970s through the early 1990s, U.S. school systems under court orders to desegregate

employed a variety of strategies to create diverse student bodies and teaching staffs. Strategies included closing down and/or combining formerly racially separate schools, drawing new attendance boundaries across diverse neighborhoods, pairing of schools, busing students living in one neighborhood to a school in another neighborhood, race-conscious magnet school enrollments policies, and the siting of new schools in locations that maximize student diversity.

Efforts to desegregate U.S. K–12 public schools commenced with a series of state and federal lawsuits. *Mendez v. Westminster School District Orange County* (1947) was the first case in which a federal court ruled that racial segregation of schooling was unconstitutional. Latino families in Orange County, California, initiated the case. *Mendez* set a legal precedent for the Supreme Court's decision declaring all racial segregation unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), 7 years later. In the landmark 1954 *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court declared that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal and that they denied students equal protection of the laws. It took several additional court cases following *Brown* to actually begin the dismantling of dual educational systems.

Nonetheless, the *Brown* decision triggered a sea change in the larger U.S. society because it overturned the moral and constitutional basis of the separate-but-equal doctrine enshrined in the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case. Thus, many observers believe the most enduring legacy of the *Brown* decision is not desegregated public schools—especially in light of nationwide trends toward resegregation and the continuing struggle for educational equity—rather, *Brown* enshrined in law the principle that all people are citizens of this nation and are equal under the law.

The tension between legal mandates for racial justice in education and private beliefs and action taken to preserve White middle-class families' educational privileges hampered effective school desegregation. During the decades since the *Brown* decision, some regions of the United States have been more successful in desegregating their schools than others. Southern schools remained segregated well into the 1960s, and Northern schools remained segregated until the 1970s. Southern and border states eventually experienced the greatest degree of

desegregation. In some Southern school systems, the percentage of African Americans attending extremely segregated schools dropped from 78% in the late 1960s to 25% at its lowest in the mid-1980s. Other regions of the country where de facto segregation was the norm also desegregated to a large degree.

In the middle of the 1980s, the national trend toward greater interracial contact in public schools stalled and began a slow reversal by that decade's end. By the early 1990s, a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions permitted school districts to end mandatory desegregation efforts even if the districts had racially identifiable schools as long as the systems demonstrated that they had done all that was practicable to eliminate the vestiges of de jure segregation. Soon after their court orders to desegregate were lifted, many formerly desegregated school districts began to resegregate. Although the lifting of desegregation orders was not the only reason for widespread resegregation, it was a major contributing factor to it. By the first decade of the 21st century, levels of segregation in U.S. public schools approached those of the 1960s. This entry focuses on the impact of desegregation as shown in research over several decades.

Within-School Segregation

A nuanced discussion of desegregation must acknowledge that segregation exists both between and within schools, a distinction often discussed in terms of first- and second-generation segregation. First-generation segregation generally involves the racial composition of schools within a single district or between adjacent districts. It has been the focus of most national desegregation efforts since *Brown*. Second-generation segregation involves racially correlated ability grouping (in primary grades) and tracking (in secondary grades). First- and second-generation segregation can intersect in ways that subvert the goals of desegregation efforts. Second-generation segregation also has been the target of litigation, especially when tracking was instituted to circumvent court-mandated desegregation.

Ability grouping and tracking often resegregated students even in school districts operating under court-mandated desegregation plans. When compared with their comparably able White and Asian

peers, African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans are disproportionately absent from the accelerated tracks at the same time that they are disproportionately overrepresented in lower level classes or tracks. Racially stratified tracks create a cycle of restricted educational opportunities for students in them because compared to higher track courses, lower tracks generally offer less rigorous and narrower coverage of the curricula, weaker academic expectations, and less-qualified instructors. These circumstances lead to diminished school achievement and in turn contribute to race and social class differences in school outcomes.

Effects of Desegregation

Since *Brown*, researchers, parents, educators, and policymakers have examined the effects of desegregation on various educational outcomes. Effects typically fall into two categories: long-term effects, which refer to adults' educational and occupational attainment trajectories that are influenced by their interracial experiences during elementary and secondary school, and short-term effects, which refer to what happens to students' academic achievement and racial attitudes as a result of intergroup contact. The evidence showing that desegregation has a positive effect on African American students' long-term outcomes is well documented and rarely controversial: African Americans who attended desegregated schools have greater educational and occupational attainment and are more likely to work and live in integrated environments than those who went to segregated schools. Adults who attended desegregated schools have lower levels of racial fears and antagonisms than those who attended racially isolated schools.

Most of the scholarly and policy debates concern the short-term effects of desegregation on achievement. Early research on short-term effects on achievement was equivocal. Some social scientists found that desegregated education modestly benefited African American students' academic outcomes (especially in language) without harming Whites' achievement, while other research found no effects on achievement for any students.

There are several reasons for the mixed results from the earliest research on short-term desegregation effects. The earliest research studies were

conducted soon after the first desegregation programs were implemented and arguably, before many programs had sufficient time to be fully implemented. Most of the early empirical studies of desegregation suffered from limitations in their design, measurement, and samples. Researchers often did not have the data to adequately control for the high correlation between social class and race. However, some scholars argued the flawed logic of desegregation was responsible for the mixed results: Racial inequality in educational outcomes was largely due to social class differences, not racial isolation among students.

In 1984, a National Institute of Education (NIE) panel examined the then-extant corpus of empirical studies on the effects of desegregation on African American students' reading and math achievement. The panel did not examine effects of desegregation on Native American, Asian, and Latino/a students because at that time there was insufficient empirical research on these population subgroups. In their summary of their meta-analyses of the 19 best studies, the panel reported that while desegregation appeared not to either increase or decrease African Americans' mathematical achievement, evidence suggested desegregation modestly increased mean reading levels. Nevertheless, the panel's chair concluded that they had little confidence that the scientific community knew much about how desegregation affected reading achievement.

Results from the next generation of research conducted roughly from the late 1980s through the late 1990s continued to fall into several conflicting categories: those that found small positive effects of school diversity on achievement outcomes, those that found no positive effects, and those that concluded desegregation policies were essentially ineffective because the larger societal problems at the root of racially correlated school outcomes were left untouched by school desegregation.

Methodological Innovations in Desegregation Research

The results of empirical studies published roughly since 2000 generally show benefits from desegregated schooling and harms from racial isolation in school. One reason for the new trend in desegregation findings is that the advanced methodologies

used in the latest generation of studies allow researchers to address several shortcomings of the older empirical research and in addressing these shortcomings, to resolve many questions raised by the inconsistent findings. Recent studies share many of the following features: large-scale random samples of ethnically diverse students, high-quality measures, appropriate control variables, an examination of both classroom and school compositional effects, and cutting edge statistical techniques such as multilevel modeling.

Multilevel modeling is appropriate when student data are nested within schools. Analyses that do not take the nested nature of educational outcomes data into account can produce biased and incorrect results. For example, Geoffrey D. Borman and N. Maritza Dowling used hierarchical linear modeling to reanalyze the original data James Coleman collected for his landmark 1966 *Equality of Educational Opportunity Report*. One of Coleman's most provocative findings held that family background was far more important for student achievement than school factors. Coleman did not use multilevel modeling to analyze his data. In dramatic contrast to original Coleman findings, Borman and Dowling demonstrated that school factors dwarf the effects of family background. They found both the racial-ethnic and social class composition of a student's school are approximately 150% more important than a student's individual race-ethnicity or social class for understanding educational outcomes. They also reported that racially isolated high-poverty schools have a strong negative influence on student achievement.

In one of the largest U.S. studies of school compositional effects, Douglas N. Harris analyzed 2005 No Child Left Behind data from 22,000 schools and 18 million students. He reported that African Americans and Latinos/as learned more in desegregated schools and were more likely to perform better in college and in their adult jobs than those who attended racially isolated schools. He also found that controlled choice and other forms of desegregation that benefit African American students are relatively inexpensive school improvement strategies.

Other new generation studies conducted since 2005 demonstrate the negative effects of racial isolation on achievement. Eric A. Hanushek, John

F. Kain, and Steven G. Rivkin examined the effects of school racial composition on Texas students' math and reading outcomes. They found that an increasing percent of African American classmates had an adverse effect on the achievement of African American students, but a noticeably smaller adverse effect on White and Latino/a students. Borman and his colleagues analyzed statewide data from Florida. They found in 2005 that school segregation negatively influenced mathematics achievement among students from minority groups. Stephanie Southworth analyzed reading and mathematics scores of White, African American, and Latino North Carolina fourth-, sixth-, and eighth-grade students. She found that even after controlling for students' individual and family background factors, attending a high-poverty, racially isolated minority school had a significant negative effect on their outcomes. David J. Armor and Shana J. Watkins used 2003 and 2005 NAEP data to explore the relationship between school racial composition and achievement. They reported modest negative effects of segregation on math achievement, but no significant effects on reading. They also found complex patterns among state outcomes. For example, they found no segregation effects in some states and large effects in others.

Researchers also investigated long-term educational and occupational attainment and attitudinal and interpersonal outcomes of desegregation. Findings consistently indicate that African American and Latino/a college students who attended desegregated high schools are more likely to attend and graduate from college than their peers who went to segregated schools. Compared to their counterparts who attended racially isolated minority schools, minority students who attended desegregated schools are more likely to pursue degrees in scientific and technical fields, to work in integrated settings, and to earn higher wages. Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp's 2005 meta-analyses of over 500 studies on the effects of interracial contact on stereotypes and prejudice found students exposed to different other-race peers have more positive interracial relationships, less fear of those who are different, and have fewer prejudices and stereotypes than students who attended segregated schools.

The Future of Desegregation

Recent history suggests that once a school district is unitary, it will become segregated unless its leadership voluntarily pursues desegregation. For instance, school districts in Charlotte, North Carolina, and in Nashville, Tennessee, experienced striking resegregation soon after becoming unitary. In contrast, a number of unitary school systems have voluntarily pursued student diversity using strategic tools such as locating schools in integrated neighborhoods, race-conscious magnet school enrollments, or redrawing attendance boundaries. Wake County, North Carolina, uses socioeconomic status and test performance as criteria for pupil assignment. Rock Hill, South Carolina, redrew attendance boundaries to maximize racial diversity.

In 2007, in twin cases involving voluntary desegregation in Seattle, Washington, and Louisville, Kentucky (*Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 2007, and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, 2007), a majority of the Supreme Court affirmed the nation's compelling interest in creating an integrated society and avoiding racially isolated schools, but a different majority of justices struck down both plans' use of individual student race in their pupil assignment plans. These justices held that the Seattle and Louisville race-conscious assignment plans were unconstitutional because the plans were not sufficiently narrowly tailored to justify the use of an individual student's race in assignment plans.

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy's controlling opinion identified possible race-neutral alternatives that a school district could use to promote diversity. These include strategically selecting the location of new schools to maximize diversity, drawing attendance zones with general recognition of neighborhood demographics, allocating resources for special programs, recruiting students and faculty in a targeted fashion, and tracking enrollments, performance, and other statistics by race. Kennedy's controlling opinion left the door open (even if only slightly) to the possibility that a school district could constitutionally use race for pupil assignments if race is not the primary criterion for admission and it is one of several factors that a school board considers in making admissions decisions.

Many legal scholars and education experts expect that the extent of the *Parents Involved in Community Schools* decision's limitations on the use of race in K–12 public school assignments will be defined through future court challenges. The *Parents Involved in Community Schools* decision, however, does not affect the use of individual student's race in higher-education admission decisions. In the 2003, *Grutter v. Bollinger* Michigan Law School affirmative action case, the majority of the Court held that because diversity in higher education is a compelling state interest, institutions of higher education may use race, among other criteria, to create diverse student bodies.

After decades of collective struggles for civil and educational rights, a series of judicial decisions during the second half of the 20th century launched the United States on a path toward desegregated public schooling. Much of the nation's de jure segregation was dismantled for a period between the 1970s and the late 1980s; de facto segregation was markedly reduced as well. The regions of the country that were once the most segregated became the most highly desegregated. Racial gaps in academic achievement narrowed considerably when the nation's public schools were the most racially balanced.

A number of demographic and political shifts in U.S. society have made the pursuit of desegregation more difficult. As the federal government's judicial and executive branches retreated from desegregation after the 1980s, the demographic changes exacerbated the weaknesses in the nation's political resolve to end segregated schools. Burgeoning suburban growth along with large demographic changes in the ethnic composition of the U.S. population make desegregation logistics rather complex.

Support for desegregation efforts has declined in a number of minority communities as well. Some African American, Latino, and Asian parents have developed doubts about the policy. Disappointed by the results of desegregation's uneven and sometimes ineffective implementation and weary of continuing political struggles over the policy, some leaders have come to regard the costs of desegregation to their communities' cohesion, cultural identity, and educators' jobs as excessive, as discussed by Mwalimu Shujaa.

In addition, in school systems that actually accomplished some degree of desegregation, a

number of middle-class White parents seized opportunities to circumvent desegregation through practices such as tracking and school choice (originally termed freedom of choice plans). The willingness of school officials and other state actors to accommodate White parents seeking to maintain their race (and class) privileges, combined with the weakening resolve of many parents and federal officials charged with carrying out the courts' mandates to desegregate, made it increasingly difficult to fully implement desegregation policy during the last two decades of the 20th century.

The future of desegregation in the 21st century is uncertain. Although the Supreme Court's decision in the Seattle and Louisville cases recognized that achieving diverse public schools and overcoming racially isolated ones are compelling national interests, the decision also made the creation of diverse schools more difficult. Ironically, this development has occurred at a time when the U.S. population has become much more ethnically diverse, and recent research has clarified how integrated education contributes to all students' cognitive growth, diminishes interracial fears and stereotypes, and prepares youth for working in a global economy and for citizenship in a multiethnic democratic society.

Roslyn Arlin Mickelson and Martha Bottia

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Coleman Report; *Grutter v. Bollinger*; *Mendez v. Westminster School District Orange County*; *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Resegregation; School Choice; Unitary Status

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African American education. This entry looks at developmental education's goals and pedagogical strategies.

Academic and Political Goals

Developmental education is about creating a political, cultural-ideological frame of thought and social action, linking notions of culture, history, identity, freedom, and liberation to the political goal of achieving the sovereignty and dignity of all peoples. Developmental education is about the possibilities of critical, anticolonial education that can help learners subvert the taken-for-granted assumptions of colonial-imperial education. Developmental education, as a process of teaching, learning, and mode of educational delivery, also engages the local-social environments and multiple cultural knowings in diverse contexts. In the pursuit of developmental education, issues of curriculum, text, and classroom instruction are all structured to affirm self, individual, and group worth, as well as develop a collective pride and dignity of all peoples.

Developmental education is geared to social and community advancement. It seeks to promote the satisfaction of local needs and aspirations through a paradigm of social equity and justice, including a respect for the fundamental freedoms and rights of all peoples. Education is understood as the varied strategies, ways, and options through which we come to understand, live, and act in our complex social worlds. Developmental education broaches questions such as the purpose, objective, and goals of learning, as well as questions the intellectual and political ends of educational scholarship. It works with an understanding of local peoples' knowledge and how such knowing contains seeds of creativity and resourcefulness critical to self-actualization.

An important goal of developmental education is to address the unequal power relations between school-academic knowledge and local, indigenous, and community knowledges. Local cultural resource knowledges point to the ways in which communities come to share power and resources to address questions of difference and inequity. When tapped as part of formal educational processes, local knowings offer some of the possibilities of social transformation. Consequently, as one of its foremost objectives, developmental education ensures

DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION

African American education is education regarding the history, culture, identity, and politics of African peoples pursued through an African prism. This education has a clear sense of purpose to uphold the African presence, and it is fundamentally geared toward the development of peoples of African descent. Although African American education has relevance for all peoples, this form of education is critically and primarily (but not exclusively) about the holistic development of African peoples. In this regard, there is a powerful connection between what constitutes developmental education and

that the pursuit of social development extends beyond material, economic, technological, and material constraints and possibilities to affirm the spiritual, emotional, and social-cultural dimensions of existence.

Pedagogical Strategies

In connecting the foregoing with concerns about education of African Americans certain issues are salient. Proponents of developmental education see the need for a critical discursive approach from an African-centered prism in three interrelated aspects. First, the need to reclaim and affirm past intellectual traditions, knowledge, and contributions to world history is a necessary exercise in decolonization. Second, the need to reflect on the present and the necessity to theorize Africa beyond its boundaries. Africa matters politically, culturally, and intellectually. To understand the nature of the problems and challenges facing African Americans as a people today (e.g., education, health, development, etc.) requires bringing a critical reflection about collective consciousness of their interconnected realities and existence. And third, Africa and African Americans must set the terms of their development agenda so as to contest and project into the future.

When these concerns are taken up in the pursuit of developmental education, it necessitates a shift away from a politics of negotiation to a politics of transformation (e.g., setting the agenda and rules of engagement under African American terms). In other words, African Americans need to strategize and rethink ways of addressing the problems and many challenges confronting them as a people. This is only possible if African Americans are healed as a people—spiritually, mentally, and materially. This calls for an affirmation of the African American sense of community, social responsibility, and spiritual reembodiment. It also requires an engagement in a new anticolonial project that would allow African American learners to define their own agenda for education, freedom, and recognition while making linkages with others through an understanding of shared community, belonging, and responsibility.

In the midst of the contingencies of globalism, corporate international capitalism, imperialism, racism, and the dominance of Westernity, a critical

developmental education can hold some of the possibilities of social transformation, anchored in a sacred-secular nexus as (re)configured in the normative of contemporary education. The promotion of developmental education must, therefore, involve the lived experiences of multiple subjects and agents. Developmental education must connect youth schooling with histories of African enslavement and resistance while bringing a critical reading to allow the African diaspora to connect to their African past and heritage, not only in the geophysical sense but also in the spatial and temporal dimensions of an Africanness.

What surfaces then is a spiritual connection that reinvigorates and affirms a complex African American identity. Developmental education must promote an understanding of collective histories and experiences. This can be used to challenge the underlying colonial assumptions that have long informed dominant Western epistemologies (e.g., the discourse of development). Through an anticolonial prism, African Americans can contribute to the decolonizing project in concrete ways so that development is not about what people lack, or are expected to become, but what people do for themselves.

Indigenized epistemologies, emerging from the colonized, can challenge the institutionalized narrative that has upheld the Western ordering of knowing. Anticolonial thinking allows learners to work with a politics of identity-affirmation while bringing to the discussion questions about the interconnections of power, difference, and resistance.

Today, the relevance of developmental education, as defined in the context of schooling and education of African Americans, is that it helps to give a voice to oral histories and cultures, something which resides outside Western academic corridors is a much needed voice for an African American resurgence. Proponents argue that African American learners must be able to draw from their history, cultures, and traditions to be self-reflective of their experiences and be better prepared to encounter the global context. A critical African American education has to be steeped in local communities' experiences and be able to point to the political, social, historical, and spiritual connections of global humanity.

George J. Sefa Dei

See also African-Centered Education; Community Control of Schools; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Culture-Based Education

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DIVERSE: ISSUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The journal *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* was formally known as *Black Issues in Higher Education*. Founded in 1984, the journal's decision to take on a name change was a move that allowed for the embracing of a wider audience than that of African Americans alone, making it inclusive of Hispanic and other marginalized populations. As noted by the journal's corporate statement, the need for more resources for "groups of color" has increased tremendously in the past 10 to 20 years. This entry looks at the journal's content and describes the related Web site.

Journal Contents

Resorting to resources provided by the dominant culture, resources which are intentionally designed to leave out vital information, causes minority

groups to come up short in locating data they need in an efficient and time-conscious manner. Minorities may then be forced to settle for piecemeal stories and insufficient facts from sources that have no guarantee of reliability. *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* addresses those elements pertinent to education, especially at the undergraduate- and graduate-school levels, that provides access to tools needed for success.

In the past, patrons of *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* have used the journal to find information on current trends in the news, updates on happenings in government, and tips on financial resources for faculty and students. They have also been able to hear about minority men and women who have become trailblazers in their occupations and special interests. For more than 5 years, the journal has issued a special report titled "Emerging Scholars" (also previously called "Scholars of Note," "Rising Stars," and "The Academy's New Cast") where readers are able to discover the tremendous strides minorities are making each day in their respective fields by showcasing the biographies of the most promising academicians in higher education. The ages of those featured range from 31 to 45, each realizing amazing accomplishments and becoming major contributors in computer science, African American studies, mathematics, and chemistry, to name a few. This annual special report can serve as a vehicle of encouragement for rising graduate students who hope to soon reach the level where they too are recognized for their dedication to the causes in which they believe.

For updates on minorities who have been appointed new positions to advance their careers, *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* has a section titled "On the Move." Faculty and staff from various colleges and universities around the country are profiled with the names of their new positions, an explanation of their previous positions, and a list of accolades posted next to their photographs. This provides information on the many men and women who continue to climb the ladder at public and private institutions, paving paths for those who will follow and seek to make similar professional advancements.

The *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* section on historically Black colleges and university (HBCU) news provides readers with current events at academic institutions that educate thousands of minority

students around the United States each year and graduate many of the top scholars who go on to be leaders in their communities. Students from Hampton University and other historically Black schools made preparations to attend what became the historic “Jena 6” march in Jena, Louisiana, in the fall of 2007. Other HBCU news has included an explanation of a \$31 million federal research grant to Atlanta-area universities, the testimony from former Governor Mark White on behalf of Priscilla Slade, the former president of Texas Southern, and the approval for a raise in salary for presidents at six public universities. Those who have an interest in HBCUs and their state of affairs may find *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* to be a useful resource with updated notices of the schools.

A tool most helpful within *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* is its section listing books that deal with diversity. Several titles worth mentioning are *Higher Ground: Ethics and Leadership in the Modern University* by Nannerl O. Keohane; *Higher Education and the Color Line: College Access, Racial Equity and Social Change* by Gary Orfield, Patricia Marin, and Catherine L. Horn; and *Keepin’ It Real: School Success Beyond Black and White* by Prudence L. Carter. Along with the book summaries are brief biographies of the authors for those interested in searching for additional sources that might add to their list of relevant literature for scholarly articles or simply to increase their knowledge on a particular subject. This offers readers several texts they may find useful in their research, and it also highlights new authors and their contributions to addressing issues of diversity.

Supplemental Web Site

Individuals who are unable to subscribe to the journal may find they can glean the information they need from *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* by logging on to the journal’s Web site. This online version of the periodical provides all of the information that can be found in the hard copy of the journal. For example, individuals who are in the market for a new career will find it to their advantage to utilize the “Diverse Jobs” section where at least three employers are listed at a time to advertise their available positions. By clicking additional links, potential candidates can search for faculty jobs, academic administration, and executive positions.

A link sends users to the *Diverse Hispanic* homepage, which houses a plethora of information on issues related to the Hispanic population, keeping all readers fully informed.

Using both the journal and the online tool, minorities interested in higher education can find out the latest news in Washington, D.C., or locate statistics on colleges and universities who graduate the most minority students around the country. *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education* is one of the best sources to meet all of those needs.

Rachel B. Nall

See also *Black Collegian*, *The*; Culture-Based Education; Graduate Education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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Web Site

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DRAKE, ST. CLAIR (1911–1990)

St. Clair Drake, who trained formally in social anthropology, was an influential educator and committed scholar-activist. One of the first African American professors at mainstream, historically White universities, he was also involved in the birth of the field of African American studies and in helping to build the struggle for civil rights and for African liberation. Because of the breadth and depth of his involvement and his role as chronicler of the Black diaspora, Drake was an important pioneering scholar and contributor to African

American education in the United States and abroad. This entry looks at his life and legacy.

Early Years

Drake was born in Suffolk, Virginia, on January 2, 1911. His father, a Baptist minister, was born in Barbados, West Indies; his mother was a schoolteacher. In 1927, he entered the Hampton Institute, where he studied English literature with Professor Allison Davis and was graduated in 1931 with a BS in biology with honors. Black colleges played an important role in shaping Drake's early life and his later work as a scholar and intellectual. He taught school in Virginia for 3 years and attended Pendle Hill, an innovative academy founded in 1930 by Quakers outside Philadelphia.

In 1935, Drake was invited by Allison Davis to join a team that was conducting research in Natchez, Mississippi, for what would be published in 1948 as *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*; his role in editing the final volume and guiding it through publication is acknowledged in the book. Drake taught anthropology at Dillard University (Louisiana), where his officemate was the artist Elizabeth Catlett, and in 1937, he accepted a Rosenwald Foundation fellowship to begin graduate study at the University of Chicago. In 1938, he began a collaboration with Horace Cayton that would result in the 1945 publication of *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, with an introduction by Richard Wright. Drake received his PhD from Chicago in 1948. In 1942, Drake married Elizabeth Dewey Johns (1915–1996), a sociologist who received her AB in 1934 and her PhD in 1942, both from the University of Chicago. They had two children, Sandra and Karl, both academics.

At a time when there were few relatively few African American professors in U.S. higher education outside of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Drake taught at Roosevelt University from 1948 to 1969 as professor of sociology and anthropology. During this period, he made important contributions to African American education in the international arena. He completed his PhD dissertation in 1955, based on fieldwork in Cardiff, Wales: *Values, Social Structure, and Race Relations in the British Isles*. It was never published because he feared it would endanger his

informants engaged in the struggle against colonialism. In 1957, he contributed to founding the African Studies Association, and later, he helped to establish the American Society for African Culture. And in 1958, he attended the All-African Peoples Congress called by George Padmore and President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Drake headed the sociology department at the University of Ghana at Legon and advised President Nkrumah from 1958 to 1961. Responding to a request by Nkrumah, Drake helped to train the first group of Peace Corps volunteers sent to Ghana by President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

His Legacy

Although his scholarship always focused mainly on the African American experience, Drake's formal role in the developing African American studies movement started in 1969, when he became chair of the Program in African and African American Studies at Stanford University, retiring in 1976. One of his most important publications in this context was the two-volume *Black Folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology* (1987, 1991).

Among his many honors were the American Sociology Association's Du Bois-Johnson-Frazier Award in 1973, his election as an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland in 1986, and the Distinguished Achievement Award for Extraordinary Scholarship and Activism from the Association of Black Anthropologists in 1989.

Drake provided a useful tool for understanding his life and work and that of other African American scholars. He summed up the advice of his mentor Davis that an African American scholar should try to provide theoretical input to their discipline, to develop empirical expertise in some area of society, and to contribute to what he called Black liberation. Much of Drake's scholarship was based on the theoretical formulation of such concepts as caste, class, and race, developed by W. Lloyd Warner at the University of Chicago and reflected in *Deep South*, *Black Metropolis* and in other publications. *Black Folk Here and There* was concerned not just with people of African descent but also with their interaction with broader global dynamics, dealing with the situation of people of

African descent before White racism was developed as a way to justify the trade of enslaved Africans, enslavement, and colonial imperialism around the world.

In detailed empirical research on issues of social structure, Drake completed *Churches and Voluntary Associations Among Negroes in Chicago* (1940), the title of a research memorandum reference in Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* (1944), and he was always particularly devoted to in-depth study of the lower-social-class strata of the African American community. Insights developed from "hanging out in the hood"—whether this was the jook joints of rural Mississippi or the beer halls on the south side of Chicago or the pubs of Tiger Bay in Wales—were highly valued and reflected Drake's understanding that without the experiences and insights of working-class African American people fully recorded, the resulting picture of the world and theories of social change would be stunted.

The study of the African American experience in U.S. higher education best represents the third aspect of his mentor's advice: selecting a problem that contributed to racial advancement or Black liberation. Although it was not called African American studies in the early stages, this began with Drake's role in the founding the African Studies Association, his role in organizing African studies at Roosevelt, and his contribution as founding director of the Program in African and Afro American Studies at Stanford in 1969, described as the first such program in a private institution in the United States.

Drake brought a considerable degree of legitimacy to the field of African American studies: a prestigious older scholar with an established reputation bringing his personal and professional reputation to bear on why it was right for younger scholars to insist on the legitimacy of the African American perspective in the academy. This is best summed up by his statement in an unpublished essay cited by McWorter and Bailey:

The very use of the term Black Studies is by implication an indictment of American and Western European scholarship. It makes the bold assertion that what we have heretofore called "objective" intellectual activities were actually *white* studies in perspective and content; and that corrective

bias, a shift in emphasis, is needed, even if something called "truth" is set as a goal. . . . the present body of knowledge has an ideological element in it, and a counter-ideology is needed. Black Studies supply [*sic*] that counter-ideology.

Drake also understood and appreciated the imperative of interdisciplinary approaches and the need for dialogue between the humanities and the sciences, a point of emphasis by pioneering African American studies scholars echoing an earlier call by British writer C. P. Snow. Drake was a biologist as an undergraduate and was deeply influenced by Davis, who taught literature at Hampton, but retooled in 1932 to 1933 under the tutelage of Bronislaw Malinowski and Lancelot Hogben in anthropology and evolutionary biologist Julian Huxley of the London School of Economics, and did early research on nature and nurture and race as a sociocultural construction. This kind of approach could help clarify some of the issues and implications related to the African American experience of contemporary research on human origins, the human genome, brain-mind-memory, and related topics.

Drake did not shy away from social activism either in his own life or in his patience and support for his many students who sought to combine scholarship with social activism. He was thus an early exemplar of what the African American studies movement eventually adopted as a motto: academic excellence and social responsibility. Drake played an important role in shaping the intellectual underpinnings and the public policy debate that led to the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954); work on the Deep South research project led Davis to conduct in-depth studies published as *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South* (1941) and *Social-Class Influences Upon Learning, Intelligence and Cultural Differences* (1948).

From his standpoint as an intellectual and committed scholar, Drake was deeply involved in the international arena and in the escalating struggle in the United States. This included the 1930s, when the radical ideas of Marxism and socialism were placed on the nation's agenda, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the turn to Black nationalism and African American studies in

the 1970s, and the African American community upsurge and changes in race relations during these periods. His role as a teacher—acknowledged, for example, by James Forman, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and many other scholar-activists—is not well-known and should be the subject of future research.

Ronald W. Bailey

See also African American Studies; African-Centered Education; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*)

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DROPOUTS

The definition of *dropouts* in contemporary U.S. society is complex. Historically, definitions of the term have varied from state to state, across school systems within states, and, in some instances, within school administrative offices. Although the definition still demands clarity, many African

American students are leaving high schools across the United States without diplomas at alarming rates. This trend has cultivated comparatively low lifetime earnings for this population and contributed to income disparities that negatively impact African Americans.

The National Center for Educational Statistics offers several definitions of *dropout*. Event, status, and cohort dropout rates each provide a different perspective on the school dropout population. Event dropout rate is an annual measure that provides data about how effective educators are at retaining students in schools. Status dropout rates indicate the extent of the dropout problem in a population and can be used to estimate the need for further education designed to help dropouts become productive members of contemporary society. Finally, cohort dropout rates reflect what happens to a group of students over a period of time. These rates are based on repeated measures of a cohort of students with shared experiences and reveal how many students starting in a specific grade drop out over time. This entry looks at data about African American dropouts and explanations for this phenomenon.

Data on African Americans

These definitions hold implications for African American students. Within each, consideration must be given to the representation of African Americans relative to other ethnicities. Historically, reports based on different types of dropout data have indicated that African American students are more likely to drop out of high school than their White and Asian American counterparts and that demographics, family educational support, behavior, and student school behavior were key variables in their decisions to drop out.

The National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS) identified and surveyed dropouts who left school between the 8th and 10th grades and compared them with 1990 dropouts who returned to school, enrolled in general education diploma courses, or remained dropouts 2 to 4 years later. NELs addressed questions related to when students begin to behave as potential dropouts and was developed to provide explanations on the dropping out on a national level. The results of these national quantitative analyses provided

the foundation for a number of studies that focus on the dropout rates among African American students.

A 2004 report published by the National Center for Education Statistics included estimates about the trends in dropout and completion rates defined by event and status dropout rates, status completion rates, and the average freshmen graduation rate. The report indicated that African American students are still disproportionately represented as high school dropouts (5.7%) in the United States compared with White students (3.7%). In a follow-up report, *Diplomas Count 2006*, it was noted that African American students drop out of school at a rate of approximately 52%, suggesting a glaring disparity with the 36% rate of their White counterparts.

Theoretical Explanations

Several theories have emerged as explanations of dropout behavior among African American students. Historical perspectives have indicated that many economic and social factors, as well as structural features of schools, contributed to the dropout problem among African American students. Even when armed with high school diplomas, these adolescents are more likely to suffer economically and socially compared to their White middle-class counterparts.

This may have the foundation in the ideologies of African American males, who were more likely than their female counterparts to believe that school was a waste of time and concluded that they were unconvinced that they would be rewarded for their hard work and effort. As a result, it has been suggested that these students questioned the effects of the community, social, and economic opportunities that surrounded them, and the rejection of these factors may lead to dropout behavior.

A 2006 report, *The Silent Epidemic: Perspectives of High School Dropouts*, identifies four reasons given by students for dropping out of school:

- School is boring.
- Uninspired teaching, unmotivated students.
- Struggling in school and needed help.
- Slow process of disengagement.

According to this report, the number of African American public high school students who did not graduate with a diploma was approximately 50%. The report also suggests that 63% of the African American students surveyed said that they were not motivated or inspired and that this was a major reason that they decided to drop out of high school.

Adair White-johnson proposes that the schooling experience can reflect tenets of a hidden curriculum that encourage African American students to engage in a process of cultural surrender, which she refers to as a “barter syndrome.” She argues that although dropout status has been variously linked to low self-esteem, demographics, socioeconomic status, societal structural conditions, passive agency, and family characteristics, it is evident that there is a relationship between African American students and the barter syndrome. Students who participate in this exchange process are more likely to accept the rules of the institution as is, listen without question to the authority figures, and exhibit socially acceptable behaviors than the students who opt not to participate in this educational bartering system. White-johnson suggests that the rejection of the exchange process through refusal to give up personal cultural expression by engaging in conformist behavior to gain acceptance by authority figures could reduce the likelihood of academic success and the ability to earn a high school diploma.

A multitude of factors have contributed to the disproportionate dropout numbers of African American students in U.S. schools. The aforementioned explanations have contributed to the contemporary framework that characterizes reasons for the disproportionate dropout rate among African American students. Efforts continue to formulate clearer definitions of the term dropout and to learn more about the factors that contribute to dropout behavior in U.S. public schools.

Adair f. White-johnson

See also Academic Achievement; Economics of Education

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DU BOIS, W. E. B. (1868–1963)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois is one of the most prolific and influential intellectuals ever birthed in the United States. Although he was a trained historian, his accomplishments in the discipline of sociology are immense and continue to be lauded as seminal developments in the U.S. intellectual experience. The majority of his scholarly accomplishments were made during his tenure with the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory from 1897 to 1914. Under Du Bois's leadership, perhaps the most significant achievement of the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory was the establishment of the first U.S. school of sociology; the Du Bois-led Atlanta Sociological Laboratory was the first sociological research unit in the United States to engage in collective research on a particular research topic. This is a distinction that, until recently, had been bestowed on sociologists at the University of Chicago for activities that followed Du Bois's research program by nearly 20 years. Although this is a noteworthy feat, Du Bois was responsible for additional contributions to the discipline.

Prior to the dominance of U.S. sociology by the University of Chicago, Du Bois had penned the first U.S. studies, regardless of race, on the family and religion. In addition, he spearheaded the first

objective and scientific inquiry into the education of African Americans at the turn of the 20th century. More significant to the discipline of sociology are his accomplishments in research methodology that are now standard practice. First, he was the earliest sociologist to institutionalize the practice of utilizing insider researchers to gather data. This data collection strategy enables researchers to gain easier access into the groups studied. The result was the collection of data that were, quite possibly, more reliable than that collected by someone viewed by the subjects as an outsider. Second, Du Bois was the first to institutionalize the practice of using more than one research method to address a research question. This practice, now called method triangulation, improved the likelihood of gathering data that were both reliable and valid. Finally, he was the first to institutionalize the practice of acknowledging the limitations of his research. Prior to Du Bois's work at Atlanta University, very few, if any, social scientists voluntarily identified the weaknesses in their work. Du Bois, wanting to be free from charges of bias given the nature and focus of his research, openly acknowledged the flaws and imperfections of his research. Similar to method triangulation, acknowledging the limitations of one's research is now common practice in the discipline.

The significance of W. E. B. Du Bois to the discipline of sociology and to research on diasporic Blacks cannot be overstated. Accordingly, much of his scholarship continues to serve as templates by which research on these topics are grounded and replicated. Despite the tremendous obstacles that he faced during his 96 years, Du Bois was always hopeful that scientific inquiry would lead to improvements in the social, economic, and physical condition of diasporic Blacks. Without question, the studies he spearheaded at Atlanta University between 1897 and 1914 were influential in achieving that goal.

"Willie's" Early Life

Du Bois was born February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, to Alfred Du Bois and Mary Silvina. Although there is no credible account of the life of Du Bois's mulatto father, it is known that Alfred was never a part of his child's life. Mary raised Alfred's son as a single parent in

a town known to be ardently supportive of the abolitionist movement.

The Great Barrington of the mid-1800s was vastly different from many U.S. towns in that it was a place where overt acts and practices of racism and violence were the exception, not the rule. Moreover, the few Black youth of Great Barrington, like their White town peers but unlike their race peers in the majority of the nation, were encouraged to obtain an education and to enter into the world of knowledge with as much abandon as children of any race. Young Willie Du Bois, as he was called during his adolescence, often reflected fondly on his experiences as a child growing up in Great Barrington and on the ways in which he was treated not very differently than the White children of the town.

The only example one finds of Du Bois's experience with "the Negro problem" in his hometown is in his classic text *The Souls of Black Folk*. Here, Du Bois recalls an incident where he offered a White girl a card, presumably for Valentine's Day, but his bid was rebuked. In his mind, he believed the young White girl's refusal of his card was rooted in racism and thus, comprised, according to him, the major race incident he experienced prior to leaving the northeastern town for college life in the U.S. South and beyond.

In 1885, Du Bois's mother died. He had spent the 2 previous years caring for his ailing mother while looking forward to the time when he could enter the local institution of higher education, Harvard University. Although the death of Mary released him of his caretaking responsibilities, entry into Harvard had to wait. Du Bois excelled in academics during his years in primary and secondary school in Great Barrington, thus eliminating the problem of grades as his major obstacle to attending the prestigious institution. He was unable to attend Harvard because of a lack of money and because of the school's reluctance to admit African Americans, even those as talented and exceptional as the future cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Unable to attend the most prestigious White college in the nation, Du Bois set his sights on one of the most prestigious African American college of the era, Fisk University. Again, the matter of money served as an initial, yet brief barrier to Du Bois's entering the all-Black college located in Nashville, Tennessee. Because young Du Bois was

regarded by many in Great Barrington to be an exceptional scholar, someone who would go off to college and accomplish great things, and in light of his beloved mother's passing, several local churches raised monies to support his 4-year education at Fisk. Thus, with his monetary concerns allayed, Du Bois was freed to focus singularly on academics and intellectual endeavors.

His Education

Entering the Negro World

When Du Bois entered Fisk University in the fall of 1885, the institution, along with Atlanta University, was considered one of the top colleges in the United States regardless of race. Moving from the sheltered abolitionist town of his youth and into the belly of Jim Crow, however, proved to be quite an experience for young Du Bois. In Tennessee, he readily acknowledges first experiencing the daily insults of being a person of African descent living in the United States. Commenting on his initial impression of Tennessee and the South, Du Bois told his biographer, "I go down to Fisk University and suddenly I am in a Negro world where all of the people except the teachers belong to this colored world" (cited in Asch, 1961, p. 1).

Arguably, the seeds of his passion for the social justice rights of American Americans were planted and nurtured by faculty and administrators at Fisk. This institution, established in 1866 on the promise of educating emancipated African Americans, was a racially integrated campus where most early instructors were former abolitionists from Oberlin College who encouraged their students to engage in proactive activities in the struggle for their own liberation. Although the origin of Du Bois's theory of the Talented Tenth is usually traced back to Alexander Crummell and Henry L. Morehouse, it was at Fisk that Du Bois was indoctrinated with the idea that the eradication of the race problem through intelligent leadership should be the goal of educated persons. According to Du Bois's recorded interview, faculty at Fisk guided him in the following way:

[They] developed in me, and I am sure the majority of my fellow students, the idea of the Negro problem as being an evangel, a gospel where chosen men were trained and armed, and went

out to take the leadership of the mass. (cited in Asch, 1961, p. 2)

Harvard at Last

Upon graduating from Fisk in 1888, Du Bois was well prepared to face the rigors of Harvard and resolute in his belief that scientific inquiry into the “Negro problem” would be his life’s work. In the fall of 1888, Du Bois accepted a scholarship to Harvard, which paid his tuition and provided a stipend. Had he entered Harvard immediately after high school, Du Bois admits that he would have thought differently on matters such as race relations. By the time he entered Harvard, Du Bois’s Fisk training in the social gospel altered his notions on race to such a degree that he, as told to his biographer, “brought with me the feeling of a separate race. I never thought of myself a Harvard man as I’d felt myself a Fisk man” (cited in Asch, 1961, p. 1).

During his years at Harvard, Du Bois was determined to study intently and to develop research programs to scientifically study the condition of the African American and develop theories to address the many problems facing U.S. second-class citizens. So focused was he on his studies that he acknowledges not knowing, or desiring to know, many of his classmates. Instead, he delved into his courses and in 1890, received the BA from Harvard. Because the academic rigors of Fisk were thought to be inferior to Harvard, Du Bois was required to complete 2 years of undergraduate work prior to entering the graduate program. In 1892, he earned the MA from Harvard.

Desiring a greater challenge, as the University of Berlin was considered a grade above Harvard, Du Bois went to Europe to study in Germany. Were it not for a residency requirement, he would have received a doctorate from the University of Berlin. Later in life, Du Bois stated in a recorded interview, “It’s rather interesting to know that last year [1958], when I was in Berlin, that the University brought out my records and gave me the degree that I didn’t get some 70 years before” (cited in Asch, 1961, p. 2).

In 1895, upon completing his doctoral dissertation, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870*, Du Bois received his PhD from Harvard, the first African American to do so.

Teaching and Research

The young scholar accepted a faculty position at Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio. His tenure at Wilberforce was short, for he desired a greater opportunity to bring to fruition his research agenda on African Americans and race issues. In 1896, Du Bois accepted an invitation from the University of Pennsylvania to spearhead a study of African Americans in the Seventh Ward of the city. Despite not receiving official faculty designation (he was listed as assistant in sociology) nor having an office or teaching responsibilities, he conducted a thorough investigation that resulted in the first scientific urban sociological study conducted in the United States, *The Philadelphia Negro*.

Almost immediately following the completion of his Philadelphia study, Du Bois was offered a position at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia. The university had recently initiated a series of investigations into the social, economic, and physical condition of African Americans in the United States and after a nationwide search, concluded that Du Bois was the best person, African American or White, to lead such an endeavor. The decision to accept the Atlanta University offer was easy for Du Bois because, as he posits in an interview near the end of his life,

What we needed was an academic study of the American Negro. I wanted the Universities of Pennsylvania and Harvard and Yale and so forth to go into this partnership by which this kind of study could be forwarded. But they of course didn’t do anything at all. But Atlanta University, which was a Negro institution down in Atlanta, Georgia asked me to come down there and teach and take charge of some such study. (cited in Asch, 1961, p. 3)

Although much is known about the life and career of Du Bois, arguably, the least amount of information regarding this giant scholar has historically been on his immense contributions as leader of the department of sociology at Atlanta University.

The Atlanta University Years

In 1895, Atlanta University President Horace Bumstead and Trustee George G. Bradford

spearheaded the establishment of the Atlanta University Studies on the Negro Problem. The Atlanta studies were to replicate for urban African Americans what the Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute conferences were accomplishing for rural and industrial interests, respectively. Although Bradford performed admirably as the director of the first two Atlanta University studies, it was clear to President Bumstead that a trained academician was needed to raise the scientific quality of the annual investigations. In 1897, Du Bois was offered the position of director of the Atlanta University Studies on the Negro Problem, and he began his tenure at Atlanta University in January 1898.

Although the Atlanta University Studies on the Negro Problem was initiated 2 years prior to his arrival, the research unit now known as the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory, the moniker bestowed on scholars affiliated with the scientific research efforts conducted at Atlanta University between 1895 to 1917, did not begin its ascension to social science greatness until Du Bois's arrival. Immediately upon accepting the position, Du Bois began to reorganize the annual investigations in three major ways.

First, the two initial studies were deemed by him to have low scientific value due to their efforts to replicate the Tuskegee and Hampton models that were aimed primarily at social reform and uplift. For Du Bois, although social reform and uplift were possible results of research, they should be one's mediate not immediate goal. The immediate goal of the researcher should be to construct and conduct scientifically grounded and sound research. Accordingly, Du Bois utilized what is now known as method and theory triangulation. Although triangulation was probably utilized by some academics of his era, it was Du Bois who institutionalized the practice of using two or more methods of research to study a particular phenomenon and two or more theories to explain a particular phenomenon.

Second, the initial conferences focused singularly on the experiences of African Americans in cities. Du Bois wanted to, as much as possible, make the findings generalizable to the entire U.S. population. Thus, the focus shifted toward human conditions that were experienced by a variety of persons, not only African Americans. It must be noted that although Du Bois desired generalizability, his primary research focus was

on the experiences of African Americans in the United States.

Finally, the plan of the initial studies, according to Du Bois, was to address a hodgepodge of issues each year with little direction as to topical preference. His idea of the Atlanta University studies was to address 10 specific topics concerning African Americans over a 10-year period. At the completion of the 10-year cycle, the same topics were to be revisited to note changes. In theory, the desired result was to be a 100-year longitudinal study of the social, economic, and physical condition of the race that could be the basis from which grounded theories on topics such as economic development, immigration, and assimilation could be developed. In restructuring the Atlanta University studies, Du Bois laid the foundation for one of the most significant programs of sociological inquiry ever established in the United States: the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory.

Du Bois served on the faculty at Atlanta University from 1897 to 1910. His departure in 1910 was due to his aggressive research in the area of race relations, which displeased many philanthropists who were generous contributors to the university. Knowing that his presence on the faculty was affecting the financial health of the institution, Du Bois tendered his resignation. Although he left the faculty of the university in 1910, he continued to serve as the codirector of the Atlanta University studies for an additional 3 years. During this time, he edited or coedited 14 monographs and led the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory to academic prominence in a number of areas.

First, he established at Atlanta University the first U.S. school of sociology. Although the Chicago School of Sociology, the moniker bestowed on scholars engaged in sociological activity at the University of Chicago between 1915 to 1930, is generally regarded as the first American school of sociology, recent research indicates that Du Bois's Atlanta Sociological Laboratory predates Chicago by almost 20 years. Relatedly, the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory represented first program of systematic and scientific urban research in the United States. Prior to the program in Atlanta, there had never been a scientific and systematic study of the urban United States.

Second, Du Bois and the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory spearheaded the first scientific study of

the family in the United States, regardless of race. Third, Du Bois and the Atlanta Sociological Laboratory spearheaded the first scientific study of religion in the United States, regardless of race. Fourth, Du Bois was the first U.S. scholar to conduct an objective scientific study of African American education. Using admission data, correspondence with college presidents, and questionnaires administered to African American college graduates, Du Bois refuted Booker T. Washington's argument that there was little, if any, need of African Americans trained in liberal arts colleges. Instead, Du Bois concluded that African Americans with liberal arts college degrees were sufficiently employed, and further, there existed a need for a larger number of African Americans educated in this manner.

Summarily, Du Bois's years at Atlanta University proved to be his most productive and infuriating as an academic. His departure from the university was initiated by the loss of philanthropic gifts to the institution from Whites who were not pleased with his often highly critical analyses of U.S. life. In his 1910 letter of resignation, quoted in his autobiography, Du Bois (1968) stated, "I insist on my right to think and speak; but if that freedom is made an excuse for abuse of and denial of aid to Atlanta University, then with regret I shall withdraw from Atlanta University" (p. 229).

Agitator for Human Rights

In 1910, Du Bois accepted the position of director of publicity and research in the NAACP and editor of the organization's magazine, *Crisis*. During this period, he penned many scathing editorials on topics such as lynching, sharecropping, politics, and communism. So long as the *Crisis* magazine was a self-sustaining unit, which made it virtually independent of NAACP control, Du Bois had a free hand to write on the topics of his choice without much serious reprisal.

After some time, the circulation numbers of Du Bois's magazine began to decline. Suddenly, the brashness of the acclaimed scholar, combined with the magazine's new dependence on the NAACP for financial assistance, led to direct conflicts with the organization's leadership. For Du Bois, the multiracial leadership of the NAACP was unwilling to confront the real conditions of African Americans with frank and honest discussion. Instead, as

proposed by Du Bois, the NAACP attempted to placate the fears of its White former abolitionist philanthropists who viewed his radical editorials in the pages of the *Crisis* magazine as anathema by toning down, or at least attempting to, the pen of the brilliant scholar. Du Bois ended his tumultuous first tenure with the NAACP in 1934.

Between Du Bois's first tenure at Atlanta University and his initial departure from the NAACP, his approach to eradicating the African American problem in the United States changed. In his early years as an academic, Du Bois ardently believed the major cause of race tensions between African Americans and Whites was caused by a lack of knowledge concerning the other and, to a certain degree, a lack of education. If only Whites would become better educated about African Americans, then the problems of race could be minimized or eliminated, according to Du Bois. Conversely, if only African Americans would obtain an education and prove to the White members of this nation that they have human capacities equal to theirs, then the perceived differences between African Americans and Whites could be eliminated. He believed that once education and knowledge were obtained by all, the race problem would diminish.

Unfortunately, he found over time that even when knowledge and information were obtained by Whites, racial antagonisms continued. It was at this point that Du Bois began to focus on highlighting the evils of Jim Crow racism in *The Crisis* magazine. This posturing discomfited many of the organization's assimilationist-minded members and led to Du Bois's departure from the organization.

Back to Atlanta

After an unceremonious departure from the NAACP and in need of a job, Du Bois accepted President John Hope's invitation to rejoin the faculty of Atlanta University and to continue the research program he led to prominence some 20 years earlier. He wrote,

In 1934 [Atlanta University President] John Hope and I set out to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and studies of the Negro problems. Hope sought unsuccessfully to obtain funds for this enterprise. (Du Bois, 1960, p. 19)

Although funding for the new research program was hard to obtain due to the economic downturn of the Great Depression era, they were successful in procuring some monies from the Carnegie Foundation, and research publications were released in 1941, 1943, and 1944. The revived Atlanta University studies were an attempt by Black land grant colleges and a few private Black colleges to engage in social science research on the social, economic, and physical condition of African Americans, especially in the South. As in the initial studies, Du Bois desired the procurement of data that could be utilized to challenge Jim Crow.

After President Hope's death in 1937, however, Du Bois's opportunities to complete his ambitious agenda at the university became precarious as the new administration felt challenged by the eminent scholar whose shadow, it was believed, loomed too largely over the small all-Black college. In 1939, Atlanta University instituted new guidelines regarding tenure and rank. Included within these new rules was the compulsory retirement of faculty members upon reaching the age of 65.

By the time this rule was enacted, Du Bois was well beyond the required age, as he was 65 when he returned to Atlanta University in 1934, and constantly engaged in various battles with university administrators. In something of a well-executed coup, a committee was established without his knowledge in 1944 to construct a suitable financial package to be awarded to Du Bois in the event of his retirement. According to Du Bois's autobiography, "My sudden retirement savored of a deliberate plot" (Du Bois, 1960, pp. 37–38). Although in the process of reestablishing the Atlanta University studies at the age of 75, Du Bois was informed by President Rufus Clement that he would be "retired from the active faculty of Atlanta University when [his] present contract expires on June 30, 1944" (Lewis, 2000, p. 493).

Back to NAACP

After his distasteful exit from Atlanta University, Du Bois once again reunited with the NAACP despite receiving academic job offers from Fisk and Howard. During his 10-year hiatus from the NAACP, the organization had become an even stronger influence in U.S. race relations, principally through the legal efforts of Charles Hamilton

Houston and Thurgood Marshall. Despite his unceremonious departure from the NAACP some years earlier, Du Bois was invited back to the organization, principally to serve as a figurehead, or so thought Walter White and the leadership of the organization.

As the director of special research, Du Bois continued his Pan African efforts and began to further his interests in communism as a solution to the problems of race in the United States and global colonization. Any positive discussion of communism, especially by African Americans, during this era was anathema. Du Bois not only openly discussed communism, but he also championed an antiwar peace movement during the late 1940s. His efforts within this movement resulted in charges placed against him by the U.S. government. Because of his active participation in the peace movement and sympathy with communism, Du Bois was asked to register with the government as a representative of a foreign nation.

He rebuffed this request due to his insistence that he was not a representative of a foreign nation, but a U.S. citizen who had the right to express his free will in any manner he so chooses. Although the charges of serving as a foreign agent in the United States were ultimately dropped, what disappointed Du Bois most during his ordeal was the refusal his beloved Talented Tenth, en masse, to come to the aid of their founder.

Years of Disappointment and Frustration

When Du Bois penned his seminal theory on African American leadership in 1903, he charged the exceptional members of the race with the responsibility of lifting up the less fortunate members of the race as they ascended to a better position in life. Essentially, Du Bois believed the Talented Tenth, which includes noncollege-educated persons, were to be the leaders of their respective communities and the example for adolescents and young adults. As mentioned, Du Bois was supremely disappointed that his Talented Tenth did not come to his aid during his trial with the U.S. government. With the exception of a few persons, the majority of the Talented Tenth, fearful of being viewed as sympathetic to the communist cause, shied away from Du Bois as if he were stricken with leprosy.

Years after the trial, Du Bois noted in his autobiography that “the intelligentsia, the Talented Tenth, the successful business and professional men, were not, for the most part, outspoken in my defense. They were silent or actually antagonistic” (Du Bois, 1968, p. 370). The aging dean of U.S. academics theorized that many middle-class African Americans, the locus of his Talented Tenth, were extremely worried that their defense of him might possibly result in direct physical and economic attacks. In addition, he believed a great many African Americans did not understand true communism, but relied on the propaganda of the U.S. government and mainstream press. To these members of his beloved cadre, Du Bois stated the following in his autobiography:

Negroes of intelligence and prosperity had become American in their acceptance of exploitation as defensible, and in their imitation of American “conspicuous expenditure.” They proposed to make money and spend it as pleased them. They had beautiful homes, large and expensive cars and fur coats. They hated “communism” and “socialism” as much as any White American. Their reaction toward Paul Roberson was typical; they simply could not understand his surrendering a thousand dollars a night for a moral conviction. (Du Bois, 1968, pp. 370–371)

After spending the first 93 years of his life fighting for the civil and human rights of African Americans in the United States, the aging intellectual giant, frustrated with the slow pace of progress in the area of race relations in the United States, made the cogent decision to apply for membership in the Communist Party of the United States. Immediately thereafter, he departed for Ghana. There, Du Bois received the high praise and honor of a scholar and international humanitarian that he had been denied in the United States.

Having returned to the land of his mother’s ancestors with 95 years of active struggle in the pursuit of the human rights of underrepresented people throughout the world, Du Bois died in Accra, Ghana, in August of 1963, on the eve of the delivery of Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have A Dream Speech,” at the March on Washington, D.C.

Earl Wright II

See also Fisk University; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL (WASHINGTON, D.C.)

Dunbar High School of Washington, D.C., formally Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, was considered one of the most prestigious African American schools in this nation between 1870 and 1955. During that period, the school was known for its academic excellence and highly educated faculty. Unlike the majority of segregated U.S. public school systems, the school system in Washington, D.C., was almost totally controlled by an African American superintendent and African American school board members until 1901. These administrators wielded influence over teacher appointments and curriculum. They were strong advocates for high-performing schools for African Americans, and Dunbar High School graduated numerous African American women and men who went on to become major figures in the United States. This entry looks at the school’s history during its period of excellence.

Early Years

Dunbar High School was established as the Preparatory High School for Negro Youth (later

renamed the Washington Colored High School) in 1870, by the Board of Trustees of the Colored Public Schools of Washington, D.C., and Georgetown. William Syphax, the first president of the board of trustees, spearheaded the drive for the creation of this school, the first high school founded for African Americans in this country. It was established 9 years before the creation of a high school for White students in the nation's capital.

The funding for the establishment of the school came from the Miner Fund, a fund that was created in the memory of Myrtilla Miner, a White woman who established a school for African American females in Washington, D.C., in 1851. The school was originally housed in the basement of the Fifteen Street Presbyterian Church.

In its first 2 years, the school had two female principals. The first principal was Emma Hutchins, a White woman from New Hampshire who served a 1-year term. The second principal was Mary Jane Patterson, an African American woman who was the first to earn a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College in 1862. Patterson headed the school from 1871 to 1872 and again from 1873 to 1884. Under Patterson's leadership, the school added a normal school teacher training program, changed its name to the Washington Colored High School, and held the first commencement exercises in June of 1877. Eleven male and female students graduated on that date.

When Patterson stepped down from her position as principal, Francis L. Cardozo took over as head of the school in 1884 and served until 1896. Cardozo was a highly experienced and visionary leader. During his tenure, the Washington Colored High School went through several transformations. Cardozo implemented a policy that required students to be admitted to the high school based on their qualifications and academic performance.

The Cardozo Years

In 1891, Cardozo secured a new facility on M Street near New Jersey Avenue, and in turn, the school took on the nickname "M Street High School." M Street later became the predecessor to Dunbar High School. Because M Street was the only high school for African Americans in the District of Columbia and the surrounding jurisdictions, it experienced overcrowding. By 1895, M Street had outgrown its new facilities.

Cardozo extended M Street's academic course of study from 3 years to 4 years and implemented a classical arts curriculum and a vocational and business curriculum. The vocational and business programs became the first of their kind in the Washington, D.C., schools. These programs provided a pattern for two other African American high schools in the district: Samuel Armstrong Manual Training High School and Francis Cardozo Trade and Business High School, which were established in 1902 and 1928, respectively. Cardozo believed that at M Street the vocational and business courses should give the students an alternative choice to a classical education and should prepare them for a career in the trade and business industry.

Although the school offered a vocational curriculum, M Street also had a strong college preparatory program. Most of the school's students attended college, which was unprecedented in the nation during the 1890s. Between 1891 and 1916, M Street graduated a multitude of students who achieved prominence on the local, national, and international levels. Others gained recognition for being the first African American in their respective professions.

The school also had an extremely high number of college-educated African American teachers and principals, starting with its inception. The M Street African American faculty held college degrees as opposed to normal school teaching certificates, which was unusual for public or private school teachers during that era. In fact, the faculty possessed more college degrees, including doctorates, than their White counterparts at the White high school in the nation's capital. Entrenched racist segregation laws and policies barred college-educated African Americans from various professions in the overall general society. Thus, teaching in segregated African Americans schools was their only option to make a decent salary.

Still, in this de jure segregated school, M Street students encountered caring and stimulating educators who personally held themselves accountable to the education of their students and to the community and overall society from which their students hailed. The school's academic standards and success in educating its students were higher than those in the District of Columbia's two White high schools in the first half of the century. In 1899, M Street students scored higher in English and in gen-

eral subjects on a citywide standardized exam than students at two of the District of Columbia's White high schools—Western and Eastern High Schools.

A New Century

Five years after Cardozo stepped down from his position in 1896, Anna Julia Cooper became principal in 1901. Cooper, who later earned her PhD from the Université de Paris, Sorbonne, transformed the school's college preparatory program and expanded it. During the 4 years Cooper worked as the principal of M Street, it achieved significant success and recognition. As a result of her pioneering changes at M Street, students were admitted into Harvard University and other major universities in the North and Midwest due to their high scores on college entrance exams.

In 1917, M Street moved to a new facility and was renamed Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, after the famous African American poet. Dunbar High School continued to maintain a rigorous college preparatory program. Many of the teachers incorporated African American history into their lessons or curricula. They also encouraged their students to utilize their education for the uplift of the African American community.

With the advent of school desegregation in 1954, Dunbar High School became a neighborhood school. From that point on, Dunbar High School began to experience significant academic decline and other problems that plague urban schools. In 1977, the 61-year-old Dunbar High School facility was demolished, and a new school was built.

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See also Career and Technical Education; Cooper, Anna Julia Haywood; Desegregation; Industrial Education; Urban Education

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E

EBONICS

The origin of the term *Ebonics* is attributed to psychologist Robert L. Williams, who coined the term in 1973 during a conference on language and African American children. In the conference proceedings published in 1975, Williams defined the term, which combines the words *ebony* and *phonics* to signify the following:

The linguistic and paralinguistic features which on a concentric continuum represent the communicative competence of the West African, Caribbean and United States slave descent of African origin. It includes the various idioms, patois, argots, ideolects, and social dialects of black people forced to adapt to colonial circumstances. (p. vi)

Despite the introduction of Ebonics in 1973, the term was not used widely until December 1996, when it was used by the media and public in the aftermath of a challenge to educational policy that erupted into a racially and politically charged controversy in Oakland, California. Since the late 1990s, Ebonics has often been used interchangeably with Black English, Black English Vernacular, African American English, and African American Vernacular English; however, these alternative terms are generally preferred over Ebonics by many academicians in disciplines that include linguistics, education, sociology, and anthropology.

Ebonics is a language variety spoken by many African Americans and some non-African Americans in the United States. The linguistic repertoire of many African Americans who are speakers of Ebonics reflects their skills in bidialectalism and their ability to code-switch between Ebonics and Standard English. Ebonics has a systematic, rule-governed grammar and is a dialect of English and is therefore understood to be mutually intelligible with English. Ebonics has three forms: vernacular, or what is sometimes referred to as nonstandard; standard; and literary. Ebonics has distinct features in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon.

Further, Ebonics is distinguished by distinctive stylistic and performative features and is perceived as a marker of identity, authenticity, attitude, and ideology. Ebonics in schools has been highly publicized and political, and linguistic prejudice against Ebonics has major implications for educational practice and policy. This entry explores the beginnings of the use of the term Ebonics and its significance for African American education.

Origins and Features

Although Ebonics emerged at the forefront of volatile national and international public debates about Ebonics, race, class, and education in the 1970s and 1990s, the discursive practices of Africans forcibly transported from African nations during the transatlantic trade of Africans were first documented in the 1700s. As the nomenclature associated with the Black population has evolved, so has

the term used to refer to the distinctive speech of many African Americans. Nonstandard English and nonstandard Negro English were commonly used in the 1960s, Black English and Black English Vernacular in the 1970s and 1980s, and African American English and African American Vernacular English since the late 1980s. In contrast to William's global focus on African-descended populations, scholars have used these terms to refer almost solely to the discursive practices of African Americans in the United States.

Although Williams attributes the origins of Ebonics as an adaptation of colonization, Creolists such as John Dillard view Ebonics as the linguistic heir of Creole languages that developed among enslaved Africans as native languages were replaced by pidgin languages, which evolved into Creole. In contrast, proponents of the divergence model such as William Labov debate whether Ebonics is diverging or converging from White dialects in the United States. Other models call for merging Creolist and divergence theories. These explanations of the origins of Ebonics emphasize racial segregation and restricted social contact between African Americans and Whites.

Ebonics has been widely studied in disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. Literary scholars have examined narratives of enslaved Africans, testimonies, and letters for descriptions and perceptions of encounters with the disruption of native African languages and for the perceived acceptance of African Americans by Whites in speaking the King's English. Literary scholars have also examined use of Ebonics as a literary device perceived to lend authenticity to African American experiences as represented in literary genres including poetry, the novel, and the short story.

In contrast, linguistic studies of Ebonics have focused on quantitative analysis of specific features, sociolinguists and anthropologists have incorporated quantitative and qualitative analyses, and folklorists have drawn from more qualitative studies. Increasingly, scholars have attended to the complex diversity of the African American speech community and the role of context in influencing linguistic choices.

There are several comprehensive descriptions of the features of Ebonics authored by Geneva Smitherman, Lisa J. Green, and John Rickford. Key features that distinguish Ebonics from Standard

English include divergent patterns in consonant devoicing, reduction and deletion, copula absence, aspectual *be*, stressed *been*, and negation construction.

Implications for Education

Linguistic prejudice and profiling, while universal, have serious legal and policy implications. Since the 1970s, investigations of Ebonics English and language discrimination have increased and shifted from a focus upon education as a primary site of inquiry into social scientific and legal documentation of the impact of the confounding of Ebonics, or any accented form of English, race, ethnicity, and social class discrimination in credit, housing insurance, fair employment hiring and promotion, and judicial participation.

Linguistic discrimination against Ebonics has emerged as a contributing factor to racial and ethnic educational disparities by functioning as a barrier that limits access, progress, and success for African Americans in the educational system. In school districts across the United States, there are several thousand children who speak Ebonics as a primary language. Students who are primarily speakers of Ebonics tend to perform more poorly or at least not as well as Standard U.S. English speakers on written or oral examinations or standardized tests. Similarly, students who are primarily speakers of Ebonics appear to face greater challenges in acquiring skills in reading, writing, mathematics, and science.

Ebonics has implications for teacher education and professional development. Teachers have the greatest amount of contact with children in their daily school lives and contribute directly and indirectly to their placement within schools. Many teachers may not be familiar with or trained in the features of Ebonics, and others may be insensitive and perceive Ebonics speakers as unintelligible and incapable of listening, understanding, or learning. These linguistic and cultural biases may contribute to tracking and the dismal trends in academic low performance among African American students. Success in decreasing cultural and linguistic barriers has been demonstrated as a result of teacher education programs that familiarize teachers unfamiliar with Ebonics.

In classrooms where Ebonics is used as a teaching tool, students demonstrate marked improvement in

reading, writing, and speaking. Success has been demonstrated in the use of readers or bridge programs that transition native speakers of Ebonics from their home language to Standard English. Ebonics has been shown to be a rich and engaging resource that contributes to effective culturally based instructive pedagogies designed for speakers of the language ranging from K–12 education to public health awareness campaigns for chronic diseases that disproportionately affect the lives of African Americans.

Federal and state educational policy determines linguistic services provided to children who speak languages other than English as their native or home language. The 1996 Oakland School Board resolution that declared Ebonics the official language of the district's 28,000 African American students and called for resources to support the education of children who were Ebonics speakers advocated an understanding that these students were similar to other students for whom English was not a native language; hence, African American students were at a educational disadvantage. Similar legal cases related to Ebonics and education include the *Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District* (1979), the 1994 New Jersey ruling on special education and the case of a child known as E.J., *Donohue v. Copiague Union School District* (1977), and *Hoffman v. Board of Education* (1978).

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See also Academic Achievement; Literacy; Slave Narratives

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ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION

Education alone is meritorious; however, for most, it is a means to an end. This entry considers the economics of African American education by focusing on returns to education—the earnings that accrue when the knowledge and skills obtained through education are used to produce income and wealth. The economics literature indicates that the quality of education is highly correlated with returns to education. Consequently, the link between education quality and earnings is explored in a historical context. This entry begins with a theoretical overview and then reviews the history of the economics of education, considering four periods: the antebellum era and the time periods from 1865 to the 1930s, 1940 to 1970s, and 1980 to the present.

Theoretical Overview

Returns-to-education experts equate the process of gaining an education to the production of tangible and intangible capital (structures, equipment, and software). Just as tangible and intangible capital is produced and is used by economic agents to produce goods and services over its useful life, humans are characterized as building human capital through an education process and using it to produce income during a work career.

A critical question that has not been fully answered by scholars is why have returns to education been less for African Americans than for other U.S. citizens historically. For 2005, U.S. Census Bureau estimates reveal that the average African American household income is only about 60% of average White household income.

Current explanations for the returns gap include, but are not limited to, a vector of variables that may be broadly defined as the economic, social, and cultural capital differences between Whites and African Americans. An important variable in the vector is school quality. In other words, because Whites enjoy more favorable economic, social, cultural, and educational environments, they are better prepared to learn and they become more educated. Ultimately, this higher level of learning translates into more and better opportunities to earn income and produce wealth.

The explanatory factor to be considered throughout this entry is the quality of education for African Americans. The assumption is that the quality of education is determined in large measure by the level of expenditures that are made to produce educational services. Therefore, it is important to explore historical circumstances to determine whether African Americans receive poorer-quality education than Whites. This trek through African American education economics may help reconfirm the reason for a portion of the gap in earnings between African Americans and Whites.

Antebellum Period

Attitudes toward educating enslaved African Americans and the related efforts to obtain education by enslaved Africans during the antebellum period may be separated into two key periods. The first spans the introduction of enslaved Africans into the Americas during the 17th century up to about the third decade of the 19th century, which was preceded by a few revolts of enslaved Africans. The remainder of the antebellum period accounts for the second period.

During the early portion of the first period in Northern and in Southern states, there were incentives to educate enslaved Africans for religious and economic reasons. A fully or partly educated worker could be freely converted to Christianity, could be influenced to live a Christian life, and

proved to be more economically productive. Because of these factors, and contrary to popular belief, many Southern enslavers facilitated literacy attainment by their chattel. Most religious organizations, philanthropists, and enslaved Africans themselves contributed to the development of private institutions that provided educational services.

There is evidence that certain enslaved Africans attained high-quality education as is reflected in the property and other wealth that they were able to accumulate in the South and in the North. However, the unsystematic and nonuniversal coverage of education for enslaved Africans during the period make it impossible to construct comprehensive data sets on the overall costs and benefits of education. Indeed, because most enslaved Africans remained enslaved after obtaining education, it would be misleading to compare returns to education for African Americans and for Whites.

The second period followed key rebellions of enslaved Africans by Gabriel Prosser in 1800, Denmark Vesey in 1822, and Nat Turner in 1831. The sophisticated and violent methods used during these revolts convinced Whites that education was a contributing cause of revolts. Therefore, in the South and in the North, attitudes toward educating enslaved Africans turned negative. This is not to say that education ceased for enslaved Africans. It did not. However, new penalties for educating enslaved Africans in the South and changing sentiments toward African Americans in the North slowed African Americans' acquisition of education significantly.

This slowing of education is evidenced by the number of free African Americans attending school in 1860, which was only about 6,000 above the number enrolled in 1850. Over that 10-year period, the population of free African Americans had increased by almost 54,000. Along with the deceleration in African American education, harsh racial discriminatory practices bubbled up in the North and created restrictions on employment. It became increasingly difficult for African Americans to obtain professional employment, even with training that was comparable to that obtainable by Whites.

Between the 1830s and 1865, African Americans in the North incurred heavy costs to obtain education. Even when laws permitted African Americans to attend schools, they were not generally able to obtain an education easily due to racial discrimination.

Moreover, although certain state laws provided for funding for separate African American educational institutions, states and counties exhibited a strong proclivity to not release those funds. In many cases where the funds were released, they were insufficient to support a school. Hence, it was necessary for African Americans and White philanthropists to provide considerable support for African American schools.

It is noteworthy that by the time of the Civil War, three African American educational institutions of higher learning were established: The Institute for Colored Youth, Lincoln University, and Wilberforce University. These institutions were funded by African Americans and their religious organizations and by White philanthropists. However, it was not generally possible for African American graduates of these institutions to secure employment and earnings that were comparable to similarly qualified Whites.

Data on African American earnings from this era are sparse, and it is inappropriate to compare those earnings with White earnings at the national level. However, given the racial discriminatory practices that African Americans faced in obtaining an education and in employment, it stands to reason that the average returns to education fell far shorter than of those for Whites. Returns to education for African Americans would likely be negative if the out-of-pocket costs of education were augmented by values that represented the physical and psychological costs that they incurred to acquire education. It goes without saying that the quality of African American education during the period was poorer than that of White education.

1865 to 1930s

This period is considered in two parts: (1) the period 1865 through Reconstruction and up to the turn of the century and (2) the period from 1900 to the 1930s. For these periods, it is important to review developments for common or elementary schools, normal or high schools, and colleges and universities separately. The quality differences in schooling by period and by level of education are reflected both in the enrollment and in the spending gaps that are part of the historical record. It is also important to distinguish between developments in the Southern versus Northern states.

Southern States

Southern states entered a recovery period immediately after the Civil War during which free African Americans temporarily assumed new roles in politics and education. They used their new influence to support the creation of common schools that were financed by public funds. Significant progress was made on this front until the end of Reconstruction in the late 1880s. By the 1890s, Whites had regained control of the Southern states and reimposed a life of mainly agricultural labor upon African Americans. It was primarily because of the need for Whites to have complete control of newly freed African Americans as agricultural laborers that African Americans in the South experienced very low levels of educational enrollment.

By 1900, Black–White enrollment in common schools was 22% and 37%, respectively, for children ages 5 to 9, and 52% and 76%, respectively, for children ages 10 to 14. In 1890, African American enrollment for high school students ages 15 to 19 was about 0.4% versus 4% for the White population. In addition, less than 0.1% of African Americans attended colleges or universities in 1900. The ratio of elementary and secondary school teachers to the population was 1 to 334 for African Americans, as opposed to 1 to 145 for Whites. For college professors, the ratio was 1 to over 40,000 for African Americans, but it was 1 to less than 6,000 for Whites.

After entering the 20th century, African Americans in the South continued their uphill battle toward educational equality with Whites. They helped fight World War I, contributed to the fast-paced economic growth of the Roaring Twenties, and persisted through the Great Depression of the 1930s. By the end of that decade, the gap in Black–White elementary school attendance was closed for children ages 5 to 9; 66% of African Americans attended school versus 65% of Whites. For children ages 10 to 14, a small gap persisted; 90% of African Americans versus 91% of Whites attended school. For secondary school and youth ages 15 to 19, 22.9% of African Americans were attending school by 1940; over 50% of White youth were enrolled. As for college, African American attendance had nearly tripled since 1900 to about 0.3% of the population.

Northern States

For most of the 1865 to 1930s period, 90% of the African American population resided in Southern states. Hence, with the exception of certain cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Chicago African American students were distributed quite sparsely across most of the Northern states. Theoretically, the quality of education provided to them should have superseded that of African American students in the South. Northern states generally made significantly higher per capita expenditures on education than Southern states; the highest-spending Northern state more than doubled per capita expenditures on education in comparison to the highest spending Southern state.

However, as highlighted during the discussion of the nation's early history, racial discrimination in education was not absent from Northern states, and the theoretical advantages just mentioned were not fully available to African Americans. In fact, discriminatory pressures increased when African Americans migrated rapidly to Northern cities after World War I. The lack of African American political and economic power in the North played a key role in preventing African Americans from obtaining education that was comparable in quantity and quality to that received by Whites.

After the Civil War, the U.S. government and the states through taxation, key philanthropists such as John F. Slater, Anna T. Jeans, and Julius Rosenwald, White and African American religious organizations, and African Americans themselves all contributed to the development of African American educational institutions. Millions upon millions of dollars were spent. However, with common or elementary school being the exception, African Americans were still very far behind Whites in school attendance and in school quality as signaled by spending at the end of the period. Consequently, there still existed a sizable gap in Black–White educational attainment, earning power, and wealth when the nation reached the 1940s.

1940 to 1970s

This four-decade period was marked by four major developments that produced important changes to African American education and earnings: three wars (World War II, the Korean War, and the

Vietnam War), the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Affirmative Action. The wars initiated a desegregation process, they provided incentives for African Americans to migrate North to assume new factory jobs and to complete additional years of education, and they made funds available for soldiers to extend their education and to better prepare themselves for new jobs that were appearing as part of a modern economy.

The *Brown* case struck down the so-called separate-but-equal doctrine for Black and White schools that was based on the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) Supreme Court case. It would take nearly two decades before the nation would sort out how to comply with the *Brown* ruling. During the 1970s, most of the nation's elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning were becoming desegregated. However, many African American teachers lost employment due to the imposition of new teaching standards, and high-quality urban African American communities across the nation showed signs of Black flight to increasingly desegregated suburbs. These were not intended outcomes of desegregation; nevertheless, they represented a deterioration of African American cultural and social capital that had been a positive factor in educational attainment.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the related presidential executive orders that mandated Affirmative Action programs provided an additional impetus for desegregating educational institutions. These new laws were opposed by Whites—especially on the education front. By the end of the 1970s, the number of newly founded White religious schools that helped circumvent desegregation had mushroomed, and Whites were seeking legal redress for reverse discrimination, which they contended characterized Affirmative Action programs.

These four major developments, however, produced undeniable improvements in the educational and earning status of African Americans. For example, economists estimate that over 50% of the 1940 earnings gap between Black and White males was closed by 1980—although certain methods that are used to prepare such estimates are controversial. This improvement in African American earnings is closely linked to improvements in the quality of African American education that were made possible by the

aforementioned four developments. In addition, from 1960 to 1980, African American enrollment in non-African American colleges and universities increased dramatically from 1.8% to 8.2%.

The *Brown* case caused federal government agencies to discontinue tracking educational data by race; therefore, there is a severe shortage of data for this period with which to analyze trends in African American and White education. Nevertheless, the evidence that remains makes it clear that the quality and quantity of education increased over this period and facilitated improvements in earnings and wealth for African Americans.

1980 to the Present

Over the past three decades, relative educational attainment for African Americans versus Whites has continued to improve, but relative earnings have plateaued. This result emerged despite the strong surge in economic growth and earnings that marked the second half of the 1990s and the rise of the new information technology economy. At the midpoint of the first decade of the 21st century, the percentage of African Americans relative to Whites who were 25 years of age or older and held at least a high school diploma stood at about 95%. Similarly, the percentage of African Americans relative to Whites age 25 or older with bachelor's degrees stood at about 63%. (Notably, historically Black colleges and universities [HBCUs] continued to produce the vast majority of these African American graduates.)

These statistics reflect significant increases over their 1980 values of about 74% and 49%, respectively. On the other hand, the African American–White household earnings gap stands at about 60%; it was about 57% in 1980. This persistent earnings gap points to a broken link in the chain between education and earnings.

Today, selected African Americans receive great acclaim and wealth for achievements in a variety of fields—athletic, cultural, and entertainment fields predominate. Unlike earlier periods in the nation's history, these popular personalities serve increasingly as spokespersons for African Americans on critical issues. Their opinions are sought, not because of their intellect, but because of their wealth and popularity. This may be viewed as a favorable outcome, but it does invite the question whether

new African American leaders provide the sound judgment, advice, and direction that was forthcoming from the likes of W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Mary McLeod Bethune. However, a reemergence of African American leadership that has vision and insight that is derived, at least in part, from their extensive and high-quality education may be seen in the future. The 2008 election of Barack Obama as president of the United States serves as an example of such new leadership.

Brooks B. Robinson

See also Affirmative Action; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; Socioeconomic Status (SES)

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EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

Within the context of education and schooling in general, the term *effective* is often used to

determine how successful a school or district has become in its quest to fulfill the requirements of the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. Despite the fact that NCLB requirements are aligned with effective schools, it should be noted that there is quite a bit of debate about whether its mandates are actually improving educational outcomes for all students. With this being considered, this entry takes a different path, seeking to explain and appropriate the term *effective schools* by providing useful and practical explanations for how schools can be classified, identified, and operate to achieve such noteworthy distinction.

Several schools in predominantly African American communities have been identified as effective schools over the years. An effective school is one where the entire school's community has collectively agreed to invest all efforts in embracing both the systematic mission of the school district and the overall vision of the respective school. Administrators, teachers, support staff, parents, and community stakeholders all are a part of this cultural paradigm, and each group serves and assists the school in various capacities with the goal of ensuring that student achievement is the top priority.

Effective schools often adhere to a systematic, institutionalized, and seamless instructional program that closely monitors what students know and what they should be able to do. More important, schools that are deemed highly effective and successful typically use a plethora of interrelated programs for students and staff, guided by a common framework for curriculum, instruction, assessment, and learning climate, that are pursued over a sustained period. They further contend that once these sustainable efforts become institutionalized, student achievement efforts are easily documented, and the school's climate will ultimately change.

Effective schools successfully use data to drive their instructional program. All of the decisions that are made on behalf students—how they are placed into academic courses, what type of counseling and social needs they require, and also the various interventions and support that they may need—are determined by thoroughly explicating and disaggregating each child's data and assessments. There are several components in developing an effective school. These include, but are not necessarily limited to, professional development for

teachers, time for teachers to work collaboratively with each other in addressing the various needs of students, ongoing assessment and accountability efforts, and buy-in from all teachers.

The vast majority of teachers in effective schools feel as though they are reflective scholars who are a part of a larger educational community working tirelessly to close any educational gaps that their students may have. These are highly qualified professionals who have an excellent command of their subject matter and are able to use various pedagogical and instructional tools to maximize their delivery of the standards or objectives being taught. Being highly qualified means that teachers have met or exceeded their state's requirement for becoming a certified credentialed teacher and have demonstrated a level of competency in a particular subject area(s)—both single- and multiple-subject disciplines.

What is even more important is that teachers in effective schools acquire through quality professional development the best, most successful, and most research-based strategies that have been proven to be successful in ensuring that students achieve at high academic levels. Undoubtedly, teachers in effective schools ensure that their students have access to quality teaching by working collaboratively with their fellow teachers and parents to ensure that they are cognizant of how their child is progressing.

Parents also play a role in helping a school to become effective precisely because they are responsible for helping and assisting their offspring with their educational endeavors. One of the greatest strengths that effective schools have in terms of parental involvement is their ability to work closely with parents by helping them understand the systems and protocols of the school. Parents understand what, essentially, is expected of their children, and many effective schools require parents to commit to several hours of community service. This enables the students to see that their parents are also involved in their education and the overall academic success of the entire school community.

Community stakeholders are also viable players in helping schools become effective in that they often provide financial support to schools, and many enable students to work (both volunteer and unpaid) and apply some of what they have learned. It truly takes a village to raise a child, and businesses,

churches, and civic organizations help students before and after schools are closed for the day.

Stanley L. Johnson Jr.

See also Academic Achievement; Community Control of Schools; Economics of Education; Standardized Testing

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ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was adopted during the 89th U.S. Congress, one of several pieces of legislation that composed President Lyndon B. Johnson's overall Great Society programs. In many ways, ESEA represented an unprecedented commitment on the part of the federal government toward K–12 education with \$1 billion earmarked for this program. ESEA was set apart from previous federal interventions on K–12 education. This entry begins

with a look at the federal government's previous role in public education, then examines the act and its implementation, and closes with a discussion of some related policy issues.

Historical Background

To understand the history of ESEA, one must first recognize that K–12 public education is not a constitutional right and thus has always been a reserved power granted to state governments. This reality has not diminished the role federal intervention has played in U.S. public education, particularly around concerns with equality and equity of educational opportunity for African American students and others. This history, however, has and continues to be fraught with contention and controversy.

Prior to the passage of the ESEA in 1965, the U.S. federal government played a limited, yet fairly targeted role in K–12 education. In the 18th century, these efforts centered on the creation of schools and universities and by the 20th century were focused on the development of a national school lunch program and the creation of a K–12 math and science school curriculum.

By the mid-1900s, many educational advocates pushed for the federal government to take a stronger role in the funding of K–12 schools. Several communities posed a challenge to these efforts, including those that opposed any federal intervention into K–12 schooling that did not include support for private and parochial institutions. In addition, there were others who were afraid that federal intervention would lessen the control states had over public education. In spite of these challenges and with considerable persistence, Johnson was able to get the ESEA passed in 1965. At that time, ESEA represented an unprecedented federal investment and intervention on K–12 education and remains one of the longest-standing federal policies related to education.

Race and Poverty

From its inception, ESEA was one of several policies that came out of the larger Great Society programs implemented during the Johnson presidential administration. Although ESEA served the purpose of improving the educational opportunities

afforded to students who were considered economically disadvantaged, collectively the Great Society programs sought to redress larger social ills such as poverty. Race and poverty were often conflated in these discussions, as large concentrations of the individuals living in poverty in the United States were African American. For example, designed to remedy entrenched, generational poverty found across the urban and rural United States, the Great Society programs were rooted in the growing belief that federal policy could successfully intervene in and help remediate conditions of poverty. This perspective was fueled in part by growing social discontent and unrest around large-scale social inequalities and by the work of scholars who argued that a culture of poverty existed in impoverished communities often inhabited by African Americans.

The culture of poverty thesis suggested that because of structural barriers, individuals living in poverty adapted distinct—and generally negative—experiences, values, and ways of being. Although it was posited that these adaptations emerged in the context of larger social forces, it was simultaneously argued that these adaptations traveled across generations and ultimately defined the nature and character of those (and their descendants) living in poverty. This approach implied that the condition of poverty was related to the character and value of individuals who lived in poverty rather than a symptomatic feature of the larger social context and institutional practices that supported and maintained societal poverty. Important to note is that these perspectives on poverty did not emerge during this time, but rather emerged and became popularized in the early 20th century social science discourse.

Though the focus of the ESEA bill was on remedying poverty, this was not the only intended goal that framed the creation and implementation of the ESEA. The *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision overturned the existing separate-but-equal doctrine that had legalized racial segregation in the United States. Although in theory this decision outlawed racial segregation in public spaces (i.e., de jure segregation), racial discrimination and segregation continued to flourish, particularly in the Southern states (i.e., de facto) because prior to congressional enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, there

was little the federal government could do (or actually did) to oversee and enforce desegregation across the Southern region.

During his administration, Johnson recognized the virulent resistance Southern states had toward the racial integration of schools. At this time, it was often assumed that schools serving African American students provided an educational experience that was inferior to that offered in White school settings. It was believed that if African American students were to receive a better education—and in some cases, escape the pernicious effects of poverty—it was imperative that they attend racially desegregated schools. Johnson, then, positioned ESEA as both a remedy for poverty and as part of a carrot-and-stick program for ending school desegregation both in the North and in the South. School systems that did not comply with the federal order to racially integrate could not receive ESEA funding.

Key Provisions

In its original instantiation, ESEA had several provisions that targeted multiple areas in K–12 and higher education. These provisions included allocating funds for preschool programs, supplementing existing local and state funding for K–12 schools, creating regional research centers to improve school curricula and teacher training, strengthening state educational agencies, and providing scholarship funding for promising, but economically needy students. However, the hallmark of the ESEA was Title I.

The Title I portion of the ESEA legislation focused on the improvement of K–12 schooling for economically disadvantaged students—a group often referred to in the 1960s and 1970s as culturally deprived. Although the Title I program received the bulk of funds allocated for ESEA, there was very little guidance or direction offered to state school programs on how to use these monies. In the early years, school administrators looked to the U.S. Office of Education (then the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) for assistance; later, oversight was given to the U.S. Department of Education.

During these times, two primary approaches characterized the funding allocation process. The first approach was more traditionalist in nature

and relied on using the poverty formula to identify the need level of school districts. This formula referred to a mathematical equation used to pinpoint how many students living in poverty were enrolled in any given school system. Under this approach, Title I monies would be given to school systems on the basis of how many students living in poverty attended these schools. School districts could choose to use their portion of Title I funds in whatever manner they deemed necessary. As a result, both students targeted for these funds (i.e., educationally and culturally deprived) and those who did not fall into this category could have equally received the benefit of Title I monies. In other instances, Title I funding was sometimes used to fund noninstructional programs, as was found during early evaluations of the program.

It was not uncommon for school districts to use Title I funding to fund general educational needs that did not specifically focus on the direct academic development of poor students. Monies might be used for general school purposes such as buying books and supplies for all school children (not just those identified as poor under the poverty formula requirements), to increase teachers' salaries, or to furnish the offices of district level officials. At the federal level, concerns arose about the widely disparate and often untargeted ways Title I funding occurred across the country.

The reformist view of funding allocation suggested that Title I funds should follow and be used specifically to improve the education of students living in poverty and not the school system in general. This approach sought to tighten up how Title I funds were used, including setting the requirement that school districts could not choose to use only Title I funds—rather than state and local monies—to support the educational services offered to students deemed educationally and/or culturally disadvantaged. School districts were required to use Title I funds to supplement, rather than replace, the services already provided to this specific student population.

Accountability Concerns

Aside from funding issues, one of the primary challenges related to Title I has been evaluating its effectiveness in improving the educational experiences of its targeted student populations. At the

federal level, policymakers pushed to make the Title I program more accountable for showing evidence of student academic improvement. Beginning in the mid-1980s, federal officials required that states identify those schools that both received Title I funding and failed to show improvement in achievement among their targeted student population. This emphasis on accountability of results, coupled with the request from states to have more flexibility in terms of how Title I monies could be used across school systems, defined debates about Title I during the latter part of the 20th century.

Beginning with the reauthorization of ESEA under the Clinton administration's *Goals 2000*, school systems were expected to create state learning and performance standards that linked with statewide student assessments measuring students' learning. This system foreshadowed the federal government's changing emphasis from just providing school systems with additional funding to improve individual students' learning to focusing on holding states and school systems accountable for actually improving the achievement of those student populations historically identified as disadvantaged.

It is not surprising that in its most current instantiation—as part of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB)—Title I funding is integrally tied to accountability systems that hold school systems and schools responsible for showing evidence that students have improved academically.

Across the life of ESEA, another interesting dynamic has occurred that relates to, but is somewhat distinct from, concerns with the implementation and evaluation of Title I. This dynamic concerns how policy discourse has positioned and discussed student populations targeted by the program. Students who have received (and continue to receive) support through Title I programs were (and are) often characterized as deprived and deficient—culturally, economically, and educationally. Monies attached to ESEA (notwithstanding the early problems with funding use in the 1960s and early 1970s) were thought to provide educational experiences that would compensate for or improve upon the deficits that these students presumably brought with them to schools. In this equation, school systems worked to clearly identify and demarcate students presumed to need Title I services, and it was not uncommon to hear school officials refer to these students as Title I students.

These youth were sometimes part of pullout programs (one contentious strategy implemented by school systems to specifically target Title I's intended student population) or other compensatory supplemental programs designed specifically for them. It is perhaps not ironic that during the same time period that compensatory education programs were funded by Title I and implemented in schools across the nation, there was increasing empirical evidence that teachers and other school staff held lower learning expectations for African American students and students that lived in poverty. Such practices were the norm for African American students that attended both racially desegregated and racially segregated schools in urban, suburban, and rural areas.

To address these concerns, African American scholars working under the umbrella of multicultural education, and later African-centered education, challenged school officials, policymakers, and teacher education programs and textbook companies to examine the misguided and deficit-oriented way they approached the education of African American students and those who lived in poverty. Concerns with the longstanding tradition of holding deficit oriented perspectives about African American students and those who lived in poverty continued throughout the latter part of the 20th century. These concerns touched conversations about ESEA and in particular Title I.

For example, by the early 1990s, under the Clinton administration, there was a shifting focus placed on improving the education of all students, not just individual Title I students (or Chapter I students, as the program was renamed under the Clinton administration) previously highlighted in federal education policy discourse as uniquely deserving of special attention (e.g., culturally-educationally disadvantaged, at risk). This subtle shift in language put school officials on notice to attend to the improved achievement of all the students they served and thus, made it possible for schools to receive Title I–Chapter I funds based on the percentage of students in the targeted population who attended any given school.

The discourse of Title I–Chapter I students shifted from a focus on individual students to one that targeted schools as Title I or Chapter I. Yet while this discourse changed from placing a stigmatizing category on an individual student to one that placed

a stigmatizing category on schools (and by default school systems that had large numbers of schools that received Title I–Chapter I funding), the underlying assumptions and epistemologies about who constituted the low achieving student did not change.

For example, although the terms used to identify this group of students has shifted since the 1960s from culturally-educationally, disadvantaged-deprived to at risk, the general defining characteristics of this population have remained the same. These students are presumed to come from low-income family backgrounds, are primarily African American and/or Latino and are generally assumed to come to school lacking certain prerequisite knowledge and/or skills needed to academically succeed. It is further posited that these students come from families, communities, and/or cultural groups that do not value or support the pursuit of education. The danger of this policy discourse is that it not only helps to maintain a long-standing, deeply entrenched societal perception that poor African American students (and their families) do not care about education, but also frames how schools and teachers view and ultimately propose to work with these students.

Consequently, one of the by-products of this kind of discourse, regardless of the shift in policy focus since the late 1990s, is the explicit and/or implicit lowering of expectations for student learning. This occurs when curriculum is watered down to make it more appropriate and accessible to students who are positioned as in need of special attention or when teachers are asked to provide these students curricula that focus on rote transmission of knowledge rather than critical thinking. Since the passage of the NCLB (the most recent ESEA reauthorization) in 2001, criticism has been leveled at the way schools serving high populations of students living in poverty have narrowed and mechanized how and what these students learn. Indeed, these issues make any discussion about the effectiveness of federal policies such as ESEA both a contentious and complex undertaking.

Keffrelyn D. Brown

See also Academic Achievement; African-Centered Education; Economics of Education; Multicultural Education; Poverty and Education; Socioeconomic Status (SES)

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EPPS, EDGAR (1929–)

Edgar Epps is one of the few notable, nationally recognizable African American scholars in the United States. His career was founded on and propelled by a profound understanding for the importance of education in the Black liberation struggle and his early interest in issues related to social stratification and social mobility. A sociologist at the University of Chicago who also writes about education, Epps mentored many African American scholars in both subject areas. This entry looks at his life and achievements.

Biographical Summary

Edgar Epps was the second of seven children (five grew up to be educators) born to Clifford and Odelle Epps in 1929. Epps spent his early years in Arkansas; he was born in Little Rock and reared and educated in Woodson before returning to Little Rock to complete high school after his parents insisted he attend a more academically challenging institution. On graduation from Dunbar High School in Little Rock, Epps attended

Talladega College in Alabama, where he majored in sociology. Epps completed a master's degree in social science at Atlanta University, the program famous as the home for W. E. B. Du Bois's classical sociological studies of Blacks in the South.

Epps departed for Washington State University in the mid-1950s, where he completed his PhD in sociology in 1959. This program was second only to the University of Chicago in graduating Black PhDs in sociology. Among the program's distinguished graduates were Epps, James Blackwell, and William J. Wilson.

Having finished his dissertation, Epps took teaching appointments at Tennessee State University, Florida A&M University, and the University of Michigan before becoming a professor of sociology at Tuskegee Institute. By 1970, he was named the Marshall Field IV Professor of Sociology and Education at the University of Chicago. At that time, Dr. Epps was among only a half-dozen African American scholars to occupy endowed chairs at the nation's major research universities. In this position, Epps played a pivotal role in expanding the production of African American PhDs in education and the social-behavioral sciences.

Following his long and successful tenure at the University of Chicago from which he retired in 1998, Epps became a senior professor at the University of Wisconsin in the department of educational policy and community studies. In addition to these academic appointments, Epps worked to inform education policy by serving two terms on the board of education of the Chicago Public Schools and spending 2 years as senior advisor to the assistant secretary for research of the U.S. Department of Education.

Research and Accomplishments

Given that education is a significant vehicle for social mobility, Epps was led to focus his research on the opportunities, access, and experiences of African American students within the education system. He was also interested in urban education, specifically addressing the desegregation of urban school districts, the effect of vouchers on urban education, and the institution of magnet and charter schools. The focus of Epps's work has been primarily on African Americans; however, he frequently connects the

implications of his work to the outcomes of other racial and ethnic groups and the broad experiences of students in the U.S. educational system.

Throughout his career, the work of Epps has been widely published in the professional and scholarly journals in education and sociology. In addition to his many journal articles and academic presentations, Epps is the author or editor of six books, including *Black Students in White Schools* (1972) and *Restructuring the Schools: Problems and Prospects* (Lane & Epps, 1992). He is especially known for the seminal work he published with Patricia Gurin, *Black Consciousness, Identity and Achievement: A Study of Black Students in Historically Black Colleges* (1975). This book reflects 6 years of research on African American college students, expanding the scholarly knowledge about these students and examining the interplay between their racial identities and academic achievement goals.

His body of inspired work has resulted in Epps's being the recipient of multiple honors and awards in his illustrious career, which include the Du Bois, Johnson, Frazier Award from the American Sociological Association; the W. E. B. Du Bois Distinguished Lecture Award from the American Educational Research Association; and the Giant in Science Award from the Quality Education for Minorities Mathematics, Science and Engineering Network.

In addition to his significant scholarly contributions and accolades, Epps has also distinguished himself as a mentor to a significant number of distinguished and emerging scholars. He has been described as demanding and patient, inspiring his students through his personal example of excellence in teaching, service, and scholarship. In 2002, Epps's students collaborated on a volume in honor of his significant contributions to education, social science, and the study of African Americans. Edited by Walter Allen, Margaret Beale Spencer, and Carla O'Connor, *African American Education: Race, Community, Inequality and Achievement: A Tribute to Edgar G. Epps* celebrates Epps's career and accomplishments by highlighting how his work and the Chicago School both contributed to contemporary scholarship about race and educational achievement.

Walter R. Allen and Kimberly Griffin

See also Charter Schools; Desegregation; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Urban Education

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ETHNICITY

Ethnic group (*ethnicity*) or *race*—which is the appropriate term when referring to the descendants of enslaved Africans who now call themselves African Americans? This entry examines that question by highlighting the similarities and differences between the two terms and what they mean in African American life and schooling.

Historical Background

Enslaved Africans who were forcibly brought to the United States and other parts of the Americas were not initially called Blacks, Negroes, Coloreds, or African Americans. Instead, they were from various regions and ethnic groups on the continent of Africa. Thus, out of many ethnic groups, they became one as a result of a shared history of enslavement, oppression, discrimination, and prejudice. The institution of enslavement and the various plantations and towns of the U.S. South is where the majority of enslaved African peoples' culture and language patterns—originating from Africa—became forged into what is now known as African American culture.

It is important to understand that this new culture and sense of community among African American people evolved in response to White

racism and their oppression as enslaved people. Thus, the ethnic identity of African Americans—just as anthropologist Frederick Barth noted in relation to the formation of ethnic group membership in Europe—also arose under oppressive conditions and the need for enslaved Africans and their descendants to form a collective identity for survival and success.

The term *ethnicity* may encapsulate one's language, political allegiances, and cultural basis. For example, the term *African American* implies that an individual shares common social, political, historical, and cultural experiences with other descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States, whereas the term *Black* is a more inclusive term that may include people from varied experiences (Caribbean countries or the African continent). Members of these groups may or may not ethnically identify as African Americans. Instead, *Black* is more of a racial category that may refer to people whose ancestors originate from Africa, whether recently as immigrants or earlier via enslavement in the Americas and Europe.

Describing Differences

Although sometimes used synonymously to refer to individuals who may have a shared genealogy, the terms *ethnicity* and *race* carry different meanings. Neither term is a static concept and therefore is not easily defined. In the United States and Europe, ethnicity is commonly associated with membership in a nondominant group (not of predominant European ancestry) and is perceived as constituting a different culture—in terms of language, style of dress, political consciousness and worldview, foods, music, and so on—than that of the dominant European American descended groups.

Membership status within ethnic groups can sometimes be negotiated, situational, or optional. For example, European Americans, depending on the context, sometimes exercise what Mary Waters refers to as ethnic options when it comes to group membership (e.g., Irish American, Polish American, etc.). For the most part, many just accept the broad racial category of White.

It is difficult to analyze ethnicity apart from a simultaneous analysis of race. The concept of race, contrary to its usage to physically describe humans, is not a biological category, but a social construction

predicated on supposed phenotypic characteristics; as a concept, it was used by Europeans to legitimate prejudice and discrimination on the basis of these supposed differences. As noted by Michael Omi and Howard Winant in their influential 1994 book, *Racial Formation in the United States*, the formation of race is social and historical in nature. Throughout the history of the United States, phenotypic characteristics were used to mark racial differences to legitimate racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Such classifications created a hierarchical arrangement of so-called races with White people at the top and enslaved Africans at the bottom; this oppressive system continued past emancipation onto future African Americans.

Historically, this hierarchical arrangement adversely affected African-descended people and was codified in the form of the Three-Fifths Compromise in the U.S. Constitution, the emergence of Jim Crow Laws after the end of Reconstruction, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) Supreme Court decision, and the subsequent erecting of Whites-only and Colored-only public facilities throughout the South during the 19th and 20th centuries. Consequently, this hierarchical arrangement of White over African American led to the legal formation of racially segregated schools, which adversely affected the quality of schooling for African American children throughout the 20th century.

Not only is race social and historical, but it is also deeply connected to geography or place, which influences how people are identified either racially or ethnically. In other words, place is implicated in racial and ethnic identity, the way groups or individuals are perceived, and thereby, their social, political, economic, and educational opportunities. Numerous examples illustrate the dynamic meaning of ethnicity and race across place (Latino or Hispanic) and time (e.g., the shifting in names such as Negro to Black, and Irish to White) in the United States.

Scholarly Understanding

At the beginning of the 21st century, however, most within the scholarly community no longer use biosocial terms such as race, but embrace ethnicity instead because of the fluidity in its definition. Embracing ethnicity in place of race has

shifted the discourse surrounding human differences in the United States from one that is biological in nature to one that is greatly shaped by nurture, culture, and historical experiences. The change in terminology, however, does not automatically change the privileges and social disadvantages of being identified and categorized as a member of a particular group.

Thus, while race, scientifically speaking, is a social construction and therefore not real, for African American people in the United States, however, its consequences have been real because race has fundamentally affected the housing, economics, and educational opportunities for African American people in the United States.

The changing demographics in the United States, particularly the expansion in the numbers of first- and second-generation foreign-born African American populations, have raised a new set of issues around race and ethnicity, which have implications for schooling. For example, even at the university level, where the percentage of African American students from immigrant communities in the United States has grown tremendously, students from diverse African American communities sometimes find that their cultural differences and different conceptions of race and ethnic identity can be a source of the confounding relations between African, Afro Caribbean, and African American students. Whereas some African American students may possess an Americanized notion of race and a broad view of African American identity—molded by skin color and their and their parents' experiences in the United States—this may not necessarily be the case with students who were not born in the United States.

For some, ethnic group membership (e.g., Ashanti, Diola, Fante, Hausa, Igbo, Kikuyu, Tswana, Yoruba) or the country where they or their parents grew up in (e.g., Jamaica, Guyana, Haiti, Kenya) serves as their most salient identity.

This area of research on race and ethnic identity is in need of greater exploration. For example, how do teachers' perceptions of African American students vary by ethnicity? And what are the consequences for these students' academic achievement outcomes? Furthermore, how and to what extent do these various African American subcommunities' ethnic identities become forged into a larger African American racial identity over time?

Jerome E. Morris

See also Identity Development; Racism Inside the Race: Light Skin Versus Dark Skin

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F

FIRST-GENERATION COLLEGE STUDENTS

Participation rates of African Americans in higher education have steadily increased during the latter half of the 20th century, and their patterns of attendance have shifted over time. Prior to 1945, almost all African Americans seeking access to an undergraduate education attended historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), according to William Harvey, Aida Harvey, and Mark King. Over the years, HBCUs have continued to remain an institution of choice whereby African American students learn from mentors and peers of their race who structurally sustain and support their success. Since *The Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, a significant majority of African American students attend predominantly White colleges and universities. Community colleges also enroll a significant number of African American students, for their admissions academic requirements are less stringent and they are financially less expensive than many 4-year colleges.

Yet at the beginning of the 21st century, first-generation African American college students are still proportionately underrepresented in predominantly White institutions, and the gap between the rates of postsecondary attainment for African Americans (42%) as compared to Whites (62%) still remains, according to data reported in the *Journal of Black Studies in Higher Education*. Moreover, college graduation rates for African

American females stands at 46% and African American males at 35%, the journal notes. Many first-generation African American college students come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, a 1997 study by Kassie Freeman found, and they also attended large urban comprehensive high schools, which did not provide an academically rigorous college preparation curriculum. As first-generation college students, they have parents who have not earned a bachelor's degree or have limited postsecondary experience. Although family members have wanted their children to achieve beyond their level of schooling, first-generation students will have less familiarity with the college process. In order to increase African American participation in college, social and environmental factors, as well as cultural and structural barriers and solutions unique to many first-generation African American students, must be taken into consideration to provide appropriate support for their access to and retention in college.

Supporting the high aspirations of college access, attendance, and retention for most first-generation African American college students requires negotiating several structural and cultural barriers that limit their access to higher education. Freeman investigated some of these barriers, which include academic, economic, psychological, cultural, and familial barriers. Academic barriers are rooted in the lack of adequate academic preparation of students coming from predominantly minority urban schools. Many students also identify economic barriers or insufficient financial support to pay for a college education. Students acknowledge that

there is a job ceiling and a lack of job opportunities that would be commensurate with their higher-education level.

Psychological barriers are manifested in several ways. A good number of students do not receive encouragement to go to college, and going to college is never presented as an option by school personnel. In addition, first-generation African American college students experience a loss of hope for a bright future and cultural shock in the intimidating hostile atmosphere while visiting some predominant White colleges. Cultural barriers were noted in the school curriculum that does not emphasize cultural contributions of African Americans and a lack of awareness of their specific social and economic conditions. With an awareness of these structural and cultural barriers, first-generation African American college students can be better assisted to address these challenges, access higher education, and persist in college completion.

The development and achievement of first-generation African American youth's aspirations to attend college have occurred through traditional powerful positive influences throughout the years and more nontraditional influences impacting youth in the 21st century. The more traditional positive college-going influences include the presence of a significant teacher, counselor, or family member who plays a transformative role in the lives of such students. Many African American students state that a teacher or counselor encouraged and helped them to develop their academic potential. Counselors facilitate the college-going process by providing current institutional information, access to college campus personnel, college visitations, and financial aid information. Cultural awareness of African Americans and a culturally responsive curriculum rooted in African American traditions have been cited as solutions to some of the structural barriers first-generation African American students encounter in schools. In addition, although African American family members may not have attended college, they have consistently promoted educational attainment and want their children to surpass their level of schooling. Moreover, in the Freeman study, students also mentioned that they are their own motivators in striving for the lives that they know they want to lead. Nontraditional factors such as spirituality,

popular culture, and youth's participation in research during their high school years also play a vital role in positively influencing some African American to attend college. Some African American first-generation students rely on spirituality as a positive and supportive cultural strength that fosters more positive academic achievement outcomes in their schooling experiences in general and college-going processes more specifically. In the face of much criticism surrounding popular culture, African American youth value the ways in which the media support their academic and college-going aspirations and identities. These traditional and nontraditional influences can buffer some of the negative structural and cultural barriers first-generation African American students encounter, support their educational futures, and ultimately increase their participation in higher education.

Michelle G. Knight-Diop

See also Black Females in College; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Fisk University; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU); Higher Education Act of 1965; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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FISK UNIVERSITY

On January 9, 1866, Fisk Free Colored School, named in honor of General Clinton B. Fisk, was opened in Nashville, Tennessee. The school, which first offered instruction in the primary subjects of alphabet, lettering, and counting to formerly enslaved Africans of all ages, quickly evolved into Fisk University. Today, Fisk University is a large campus offering a wide range of academic and professional degrees. The African American's life story in the South—from plantation enslavement, emancipation, and contraband camp to acquiring education, civil rights, and full citizenship—is reflected in Fisk University's ongoing mission to encourage and train African Americans for service to humanity. This entry explores Fisk University in depth: its origins, the Jubilee Singers, its overall significance, its key leaders, and its role in the civil rights era.

Early Years

With the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (or the Freedmen's Bureau) was established by Congress to provide federal assistance in education and health care for emancipated African Americans. After the Tennessee Freedmen's Bureau was established, its superintendent John Ogden came to the Bureau's Nashville headquarters in late 1865. Joining forces with him were the Reverend Edward P. Smith, district secretary of the Middle West Department of the American Missionary Association, and the Reverend Erastus M. Cravath, field secretary of the American Missionary Society. Ogden, Smith, and Cravath agreed that Nashville, with its large population of

freedmen and women, was a suitable site for a normal school for African Americans and purchased land on the border of downtown Nashville for the school's campus. General Fisk, who had been in charge of Nashville's occupation and after the war became assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Tennessee and Kentucky, secured the surplus Union Army Hospital barracks to house the school. Fisk was an ardent proponent of rights and education for the formerly enslaved and donated over \$30,000 for the school.

Ogden, Cravath, and Smith each pledged \$4,000 of their personal funds to establish the school. Ogden resigned from the Freedmen's Bureau to become the school's first principal and then recruited a faculty of 10 instructors. Within 4 months of the school's opening, an education audit revealed that over 200 Fisk students could read.

The school's focus was redefined late in 1867 after the Tennessee General Assembly passed enabling legislation for the state's free public schools. Since the law would create a greater demand for qualified teachers, Fisk University elevated its educational mission from primary to higher education to meet the demand for African American teachers. On August 22, 1867, Fisk Free Colored School was incorporated as Fisk University, with Clinton B. Fisk as its leader, George White as treasurer, and a governing board of trustees. After shepherding the school through its evolution into Fisk University, Ogden left the school. Following Ogden to assume academic leadership of the school was Adam K. Spence, a former professor at the University of Michigan.

Spence expanded the school's faculty to 15 as student enrollment also expanded, but Fisk's buildings still consisted of the original, wooden hospital barracks. These facilities had deteriorated greatly within a few years and were overcrowded, necessitating funding for new school accommodations. At the suggestion of White, fundraising concert tours by Fisk's nine-member student choir, the Jubilee Singers, were conducted in 1871 to 1872. During those first U.S. tours, the youthful singers—for whom White served as business manager—introduced Negro spirituals to the world beyond the South, and money was raised to purchase 40 acres of land (the former site of Fort Gillam) in northwest Nashville for the school's new site.

During the Jubilee Singers' 1873-to-1874 concert tour of Europe, the group raised almost \$50,000 for construction of the school's first permanent building. This imposing six-story structure, named "Jubilee Hall" in honor of the Jubilee Singers, was designed by Architect Steven D. Hatch of New York. Construction began in 1873 on the high point between old city thoroughfares later named Seventeenth and Eighteenth Avenues, North. The Victorian Gothic structure, dedicated in January of 1876, first housed the entire college and is one of the oldest structures continuously in use for educational purposes by the African American community. Fisk University's earliest Jubilee Singers, who established the Negro spiritual as an authentic musical expression worthy of respect while creating a new image of the African American, remain as an inspirational chapter in the school's history. Contemporary members of the Jubilee Singers continue to uphold and enhance the group's heritage of celebrated choral performances.

Growth and Recognition

In the midst of Fisk University's growing recognition and fame, administrative growth also took place. Early in 1875, the Reverend Erastus M. Cravath was appointed as first president of the university. Cravath's visionary leadership would guide the school and produce monetary support for the following quarter of a century.

Vigorous construction of campus buildings in the 1880s enhanced the university's stature, as did the school's well-educated graduates. The school's curriculum was expanded in the 1890s to include a secondary school, a department of theology, and advanced training for teachers. By 1892, several new structures had been added to the school's campus. As the wave of social reform crested and swept the country toward the new century of 1900, Fisk University's students also called for social reform, including demands for adding African Americans to the school's White administrative staff and faculty. This goal would not be achieved for many decades.

As the new century dawned, Fisk's first academic dean, Spence, died April 24, 1900, and the first president, Cravath, followed on September 4. The following year, the Reverend Dr. James G.

Merrill, who had joined the faculty in 1898, was inaugurated as the second president of Fisk. After 7 years at the school's helm, Merrill resigned in 1908 due to his wife's ill health.

After an intensive national search, the Reverend Dr. George A. Gates was chosen in 1909 as the university's third president. Under Gates's leadership, the university curriculum was expanded to include three different courses of study leading to the bachelor of arts degree. Sociology was added to the curriculum, as part of an introduction to the social sciences. Selected to establish the school's Department of Social Sciences was Dr. George E. Haynes, and under his leadership, an academic program was developed at Fisk to train professional social workers. The university would become a recognized leader in this field.

As the university prospered, however, tragedy befell Gates. While traveling to New York in early 1912, he was involved in a train wreck; his prognosis of being merely shaken up proved erroneous. Ill health overtook Gates, bringing his death in late summer. A committee of administration and faculty members operated the university while the board of trustees conducted a search for Fisk's new president.

Fourth President Dr. Fayette McKenzie assumed leadership of Fisk in the summer of 1915. Less than 2 years later, the United States entered World War I in Europe, and patriotic fervor was high among Fisk students. What would be the role of the African American in World War I? The Colored Woman's Chapter of the National Council of Defense was organized, and in Nashville, chapters of the American Red Cross at Fisk University and seven other African American schools and social agencies were established. Hundreds of African American women volunteered to roll bandages, knit and crochet bed-shirts and other garments, sell Liberty Loan war bonds, and engage in innumerable activities to contribute to war work.

But there was no provision in the modern armed forces for African American soldiers, especially for those who were college-trained African American men. Despite that bureaucratic stumbling block, many of Fisk University's sons joined the United States military ranks, and 32 of these Fisk students would be commissioned as officers in the great fight for democracy. Those African American soldiers returning to the United States after the war's

armistice on November 11, 1918, believed that their successful contributions to the war effort would ensure greater democracy in equal rights. That optimistic belief was short-lived and soon would be dead, as the aftermath of World War I was manifested in a country even more hostile to African Americans.

The New Negro

As the postwar era in the United States saw the rise of the new Negro movement, reflecting the new spirit of freedom and fearlessness embodied by combat-tested African American veterans, the era also marked the revival of the White supremacist Ku Klux Klan with its doctrine of racism and hatred. Lynching of African Americans appreciably increased after the war. By the summer of 1919, there was so much violence, lynching, and race riots that writer James Weldon Johnson identified this bloody summer as the red summer.

McKenzie, who had been remarkably successful as a diplomat and fundraiser within the White community, was judged as being out of touch with the African American determination to obtain greater democracy, as being out of step with the spirit of the times, and as being unable to change or adapt. He was forced to deal with student revolt and an on-campus strike of students refusing to attend classes. This lengthy upheaval forced McKenzie's resignation as university president in April of 1925.

Less than a year later, Thomas Elsa Jones, a young Quaker and PhD candidate at Columbia University, was chosen as the new president of Fisk. The crises that destroyed former McKenzie's administration were not forgotten. Jones began to search for African American scholars to join the faculty. Three African Americans joined the existing three African Americans on the board of trustees. A healing, spiritual light began to radiate from the Fisk campus under Jones's guidance, and many academic and social programs were established in the late 1920s and early 1930s, despite the Great Depression strangling the United States. By 1933, the popular perception in both the White and Black communities was that Fisk was the leading African American university in the nation. Fisk's educational importance was acknowledged in 1934 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt visited the school's campus.

As this productive era progressed, Fisk students began to protest against a perceived administrative attitude of paternalism, Uncle Tomism, and Jim Crowism. As student unrest gained wider press coverage, the seeds were planted for a full-blown debate over race relations in the United States. Compounding the student body's unrest was Europe's entrance into war in 1939, bringing U.S. military participation in 1941. World War II would have greater impact upon Fisk than World War I and the Great Depression.

Jones was a devout Quaker (Society of Friends) and a conscientious objector to war. His pacifist views and support of evading military service flew in the face of the patriotic fever burning brightly among Fisk students, who supported and contributed to U.S. war efforts. Many young men joined the military, while both students and administrators volunteered for work with the American Red Cross and civilian defense and sold war bonds and stamps. In April of 1945, the U.S. Navy launched a Liberty Ship christened the *S. S. Fisk Victory* from Richmond, California.

Reflecting the direction-seeking era following the September 2, 1945, end of World War II, Jones tendered his resignation, effective July 1, 1946. A new president was needed to assert Fisk's African American identity with its vision of the university. Selected in October of 1946 was the university's first African American president, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, a scholar and researcher who had joined the school's faculty in 1927 to organize Fisk's Department of Social Research. He had served in the U.S. Army during World War I, and after his return to the United States, he had witnessed three separate racial upheavals during the red summer of 1919.

The Civil Rights Era

Under Johnson's leadership, Fisk University became a recognized center for research and field investigation in race relations. He expanded the scope of the Institute of Race Relations, established at Fisk in 1944, and recruited a distinguished faculty of social science researchers, writers, and scholars. Every area of Fisk blossomed under Johnson's nurturing, and the campus had been expanded several times by 1955. The following year, Johnson suddenly died, abruptly ending his trailblazing administration.

In 1958, Dr. Stephen J. Wright came to Fisk as its seventh president. Under his leadership, several new structures were added to the campus, and there was every reason for optimism for the decade of the 1960s. This decade, however, would prove to be another turbulent one as the modern civil rights movement engaged Fisk students. They had joined other Nashville students in the first nonviolent sit-ins in the South in November 1959, when they sat in at the segregated lunch counters of two department stores in Nashville. By mid-April of 1960, 78 cities and towns in the South were involved in the sit-in movement, with 50,000 African American students and White sympathizers as participants. Through his support of the Fisk students involved in the sit-in movement, Wright became the only college president in Nashville to openly support the student movement for equal rights.

Wright departed from Fisk on June 1, 1966, as the school celebrated its centenary. None of the succeeding seven presidents or four acting presidents would face the upheavals endured by the first seven presidents as the school marked the end of the 20th century and welcomed the 21st century. Fisk's first female president, Carolynne Reed Wallace, was appointed in 2000, and a second female president was selected in 2004: Hazel R. O'Leary, former U.S. Secretary of Energy.

Today, Fisk University's mission is manifested in its expanding campus, amplified faculty credentials and professional development, and historic structure restoration and modernization. Fisk's campus has the distinction of being the only college campus in Middle Tennessee—and one of only four such campuses throughout Tennessee—listed as a Historic District in the National Register of Historic Places, maintained by the U.S. Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C. Jubilee Hall has received recognition from the State of Tennessee in the form of a historical marker denoting the structure's significance, and in 1976, Jubilee Hall was designated as a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

Reavis L. Mitchell Jr.

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU); Higher Education Act of 1965; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL UNIVERSITY (FAMU)

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) is a coeducational, liberal arts institution located in Tallahassee, Florida. FAMU, founded in 1887, is the nation's largest historically Black university and graduates more African Americans than any other institution. The institution is a member of the State University System of Florida and holds the distinction of being the only historically Black state-supported institution in that state.

FAMU is the third-oldest historically Black institution of higher education in Florida. For more than a century, the university's mission has primarily been to meet the educational needs of African Americans and other minorities. Approximately 90% of the school's population is African American. The institution, however, seeks students from all racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds without concern for age, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. FAMU currently enrolls approximately 12,000 students and has over 600 faculty members. The majority of students, roughly 88%, are at the undergraduate level while 12% are graduate and professional students. The faculty-to-student ratio on the campus is approximately 10 to 1.

FAMU is a land grant institution and as such, places a high degree of importance on instruction, research, and service to promote excellence and to develop the value of life for those that it serves. The school's motto, excellence with caring, suggests the value it places on the spirit of giving back to one's community among its students, faculty,

and staff. This entry chronicles the history and contemporary circumstances of FAMU.

Historical Background

FAMU was founded on October 3, 1887, as the State Normal College for Colored Students to train teachers. FAMU's first president was Thomas DeSaille Turner (1887–1901), an attorney from Pensacola, Florida. At the time, the school had only 15 students and two instructors. In 1891, it was designated as Florida's land grant college for African Americans, and the name was changed to the State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students after receiving a \$7,500 grant through the Second Morrill Act. The Second Morrill Act provided federal funds to colleges and universities that promoted education in agriculture and the mechanical arts.

Following the name change, the college was moved from Copeland Street (now the site of Florida State University) to its present location on what the school now touts as “the highest of seven hills” in Florida's capital city of Tallahassee, a location that led to FAMU's nickname of “The Hill.”

With enrollment having grown to 317 students, the school's name was changed in 1909 to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, and 1 year later, it granted its first bachelor's degrees. The fledgling institution was nearly forced to close its doors after a devastating fire that completely destroyed the main building on the campus, Duval Hall, which housed the university's administrative offices, cafeteria, and library. Philanthropist Andrew Carnegie donated \$10,000 to the school to build a new library, which gave the school the unique distinction of having the only Carnegie library on the campus of an African American land grant college.

Although strapped with limited resources, the college began to flourish under the leadership of President Nathan B. Young (1901–1923), with a significant expansion of undergraduate programs, including bachelor of science degrees in education, science, home economics, agriculture, and mechanical arts. The school would undergo an additional name change when, in 1953, it achieved university status and became Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University.

FAMU is made up of 13 schools and colleges, including Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Education,

Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences, Engineering (jointly with Florida State University), Allied Health Sciences, Architecture, Business and Industry, Journalism and Graphic Communications, Nursing, General Studies, Graduate Studies and Research, Law, and an Environmental Sciences Institute. FAMU is noted for having eight fully-funded endowed eminent scholars' chairs in the Schools of Journalism and Graphic Communications, Business and Industry, and Pharmacy; College of Education; and the College of Arts and Sciences. The university offers approximately 62 bachelor's degrees in 103 majors, 36 master's degrees with 56 majors, two professional degrees, and 11 doctoral programs. In September 2006, FAMU was named the number one college in the country for African Americans by *Black Enterprise Magazine*.

The university is consistently cited among the nation's leading institutions for awarding baccalaureate degrees to African Americans. It routinely receives approximately 6,000 applications per year from high school graduates and accepts an average of 70% of those applicants for admission. Of that number, the school graduates about 45%. In addition, FAMU is considered a national leader in the enrollment of National Merit Achievement Scholars, top high school students who are hand-picked by the National Merit Foundation and highly recruited by colleges and universities nationally. FAMU was tied with Harvard in the recruitment of these scholars in the fall of 2000 and was number one in the nation in enrolling these students in 1992, 1995, and 1997. The institution, with its 6-year doctoral program, graduates 90% of all African American pharmacists in Florida. Its renowned School of Business and Industry is well-known among Fortune 500 companies, many of which regularly target the school's graduates when recruiting future executives.

FAMU's sports program is also well-known and highly regarded. The FAMU Rattlers have made their mark in college sports, winning numerous titles in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The football team was a powerhouse in the middle of the 20th century. From 1938 to 1961, it won the Black College National Championship eight times, including six under the famous head coach Alonzo Smith “Jake” Gaither in 1950, 1952, 1954, 1957, 1959, and 1961. When Gaither retired in 1969,

after 25 years of coaching, his FAMU teams had achieved a phenomenal record of 203 wins and just 36 losses with 22 Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference championships. Thirty-six players from Gaither's teams were All-Americans, and 42 went on to play in the National Football League. He was inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame in 1975.

The storied sports program includes basketball, baseball, track and field, and others, which produced standout players and coaches for many years and at least two Olympic athletes and one gold medal winner, track and field stand-out Robert "Bob" Hayes. FAMU's tennis program produced its own star, Althea Gibson, who turned professional in the late 1950s, and who won several big tournaments, such as the French Open, Wimbledon, and the United States Open. Gibson went on to break other barriers for African American women in sports, winning fame in women's pro golf in the 1960s and early 1970s.

As much an attraction on the field as the institution's football team, FAMU's Marching 100 band also has a long and proud tradition. The school's first band was formed in 1892 under band director P. A. Van Weller, who served until 1898. His era was followed by other notable directors such as Nathaniel C. Adderley, Leander A. Kirksey, Dr. William P. Foster, and current band director, Dr. Julian E. White. Although the band has retained its original name, the "Marching 100," it has grown to more than 360 members today. The group's skill and precision have been polished over the past century to legendary perfection. FAMU's Marching 100 is largely responsible for having set the standard for high school and collegiate marching bands around the country. In 1985, the band was the recipient of the prestigious John Philip Sousa Foundation's Sudler Trophy, which is given to one university marching band each year for having demonstrated high performance standards for an extended period of time. FAMU is the only historically Black college and university (HBCU) to have received the trophy since it was first awarded in 1982.

Although FAMU is known for its academic and sports programs, it has also become known in recent years for being home to the Black Archives Research Center and Museum, which is housed in the school's historic Carnegie library. Opened in 1977, the attraction features a collection of historical artifacts

focusing on the experiences of people of African descent around the world. The Black Archives Research Center and Museum has become a popular tourist destination. On May 9, 1996, FAMU was officially listed in the United States Register of Historic Places.

Adriel Adon Hilton

See also College Athletics; Higher Education Act of 1965; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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FRANKLIN, JOHN HOPE (1915–2009)

John Hope Franklin, often referred to as the dean of American historians, was the James B. Duke Emeritus Professor of History at Duke University. In his nearly 70 years of work as an educator, he wrote and edited 18 books, received numerous awards including the Presidential Medal of Freedom (the nation's highest civilian honor) in 1995, and had been awarded over 130 honorary

degrees from colleges and universities across the globe. An unsurpassed scholar, author, and statesman, from his first book *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* to his best-selling work, *From Slavery to Freedom*, Franklin proved to be one of the most respected and influential thinkers of the 20th and the 21st centuries. This entry reviews the life and contributions of John Hope Franklin.

Early Years

Franklin was born in Rentiesville, Oklahoma, a tiny all-Black town in the northeastern portion of Oklahoma, on January 2, 1915. In December of 1925, his parents Mollie and Buck Franklin moved their family (Buck Jr., Anne, and John) to Tulsa, Oklahoma, in search of greater economic opportunities. Franklin's parents met while they were students at Rogers Williams University in Nashville, Tennessee. This period was so important for the Franklins that they went on to name their second son after one of their most respected professors while at Roger Williams University, noted educator and architect of Black higher education, John Hope.

Although Franklin was born in a racial climate that he described as uncomfortable and emotionally troubling, the influence of a highly educated family was evident in his personal and professional achievements. In 1931, Franklin with his sister Anne moved to Nashville, Tennessee, to attend Fisk University where their older brother Buck Jr. had graduated a year earlier.

Although he had intended to major in English and eventually go on to law school, Franklin changed his plans after taking Professor Theodore S. Currier's U.S. history course and switched his major to history. Currier became Franklin's mentor and best friend and influenced his decision to attend Harvard University for graduate school and to pursue a career as a historian. Harvard was Currier's alma mater, and despite the fact that he never finished his doctoral work at Harvard, Currier taught many of his courses at Fisk in a manner that Franklin believed perfectly prepared him for graduate study at Harvard.

This change in career paths was a major decision for Franklin, considering his lifelong aspirations to follow in his father's footsteps and become a lawyer. However, with the blessings of his father

who encouraged him to "just be great" and the intellectual and eventual financial support he would receive from Currier, Franklin was well on his way to becoming one of the most important voices in U.S. history. Furthermore, despite his decision to become a historian, Franklin made significant contributions to the practice and study of law through his service on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense team in the 1950s and through his appointment from 1985 to 1992 as a professor of legal history at the Duke University Law School.

In addition to being an excellent student while at Fisk, Franklin was also active in numerous extracurricular pursuits. These activities included participation with the university newspaper the *Fisk Herald*, the university choir, debate team, student government association, and Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. Hence, Franklin made the most of his time at Fisk as a scholar in and outside of the classroom.

At Fisk, he also met his wife of more than 50 years, Aurelia Washington. After a 10-year courtship, Aurelia and Franklin were married in Greensboro, North Carolina, on June 11, 1940. In 1952, they had their only child, John Whittington Franklin. John Whittington Franklin, or Whit, is an anthropologist who would eventually follow his parents into a life as an educator and who is currently serving as a program manager for the Center for Folk Life and Cultural Heritage at the Smithsonian. In 1997, with his father, Whit coedited his first and his father's 15th book, titled *My Life and an Era: The Autobiography of Buck Colbert Franklin* about his grandfather. After 59 years of marriage, Aurelia passed away, succumbing to an extended illness in 1999.

A Scholarly Foundation

In 1935, Franklin left the comfortable confines of historically Black Fisk University to pursue graduate studies at the United States' oldest and most prestigious higher-education institution, Harvard University. This experience of leaving a familiar setting and chartering new prospects in less familiar territory had already become a theme in Franklin's life, and it would continue in the future. Franklin is noted as being the first student from a historically Black university to be admitted into Harvard unconditionally. He would go on to earn

his master's and doctoral degrees in 1936 and 1941, respectively, both in history.

The combination of the increased rigor of graduate studies and the more isolated nature of being an African American student at Harvard in the 1930s caused Franklin to focus even more on his studies. However, he did find time to secure several part-time jobs and to participate in a few of the graduate student organizations. His activities in the Henry Adams Club for history students at Harvard were often discussed because they present an early incident of Franklin recognizing bigotry within the academy. Franklin was serving as a nominating member on the organization's board, and the person that he nominated for the presidency of the organization was of Jewish descent. Prior to the anti-Semitic responses that his selection had received, the fact that he had been placed on the nominating committee effectively removing him from consideration for the presidency was not lost on Franklin. The combination of the bigotry exercised against him and the Jewish student that he nominated taught Franklin one of many lifelong lessons about the pervasiveness of bigotry and the need for continued and measured action to counter similar prejudices. Upon his graduation from Harvard, he would set out to work toward these means through his voice within the academy.

Despite Franklin's impeccable credentials as a student at Harvard, he never had an opportunity to serve as a teaching assistant during his graduate career. In fact, Franklin soon realized that the fellowship he had received as a graduate student, while definitely providing needed financial support, ensured that he would not serve as a teaching assistant at Harvard through a clause that precluded working. Regardless of his credentials, the fact that there was no historically White institution that was willing to hire an African American professor led Franklin to move back to the South—where the majority of historically Black institutions were located—to seek employment.

Academic Assignments

Consequently, upon graduation from Harvard, Franklin's first teaching position was in the history department at his undergraduate alma mater, Fisk University. Although he welcomed the return to Nashville, Franklin recalled the sometimes awkward

circumstances associated with teaching and advising many of his peers with whom he had previously studied. Once he had settled in on the faculty at Fisk, Franklin went on to teach at several other historically Black institutions including St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina; North Carolina Central in Durham, North Carolina; and Howard University in Washington, D.C.

In an era where Jim Crow policies still dominated U.S. higher education, Franklin's appointment to Howard University (1947–1956) at age 32 signaled the supposed pinnacle of an accomplished career for African American scholars at the time. The faculty of Howard University was composed of some of the most influential African Americans of the 20th century. The highly regarded faculty at Howard included educators such as the head of the NAACP's Legal Defense team and eventual Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, as well as noted sociologist E. Franklin Frazier and philosopher Alain Locke.

Franklin's decision to leave Howard to assume the chairmanship of the history department at Brooklyn College in New York signaled an erosion of discriminatory practices on U.S. college campuses and another racial barrier that Franklin would soon shatter. The fact that Franklin's offer by Brooklyn College made the front page of the *New York Times* reflects the historic nature of Franklin's departure from Howard University and his arrival at Brooklyn College.

By accepting the appointment at Brooklyn College in 1956, Franklin became the first African American historian to assume full professorship and to chair a department at a predominantly White institution. Franklin would eventually leave Brooklyn College in 1964 to serve in the history department at the University of Chicago. While at Chicago, Franklin would serve as chair of the history department from 1967 to 1970 and as the John Matthews Manly Distinguished Service Professor from 1969 through 1982. From 1982 until his death in 2009, Franklin served as the James B. Duke Emeritus Professor of History at Duke University. In light of the partial acceptance and little if any consideration for similar appointments that Franklin received while presenting summer lectures at institutions such as Harvard, Wisconsin, and Cornell, Franklin's tenure at Brooklyn College was truly historic and demonstrated a rapid and prestigious

ascension through the arguably still racially coded ranks of U.S. academia.

Beyond his work at specific institutions, Franklin was hailed as a monument to U.S. education as a whole. In this vein, he was noted for his reappraisal of the importance of African Americans in shaping modern U.S. identity and consequently helping to establish the foundation for the development of African American studies programs across the nation. In discussing his broad accomplishments, the John Hope Franklin Center for Interdisciplinary Studies at Duke University described Franklin as early in his career deciding to examine history from a variety of perspectives, to scrutinize new areas or subjects regularly, and to seek collaborative opportunities throughout the international community.

This approach to scholarship afforded him the honor of being one of the most productive and influential authors in U.S. history. He first gained international acclaim with his multimillion selling *From Slavery to Freedom*, which is now in its eighth edition and still regarded as the most popular African American history text ever written. Some of Franklin's other frequently referenced works include *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860*, *The Militant South, 1800–1861*, *George Washington Williams: A Biography*, *Racial Equality in America*, and *Reconstruction After the Civil War*.

Public Service and Honors

Through the extraordinary success that Franklin experienced as a scholar, his work has constantly been used as an avenue for fostering political and social change. This is evident in several of his civic activities from his advisory roll in the historic *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), to his participation in the 1965 Montgomery Civil Rights marches, and his eventual appointment to chair President Bill Clinton's One America in the 21st Century: Initiative on Race in 1997. Franklin's international significance was demonstrated by his appointment to the Fulbright Board of Foreign Scholarships from 1962 to 1969 and as chair from 1966 to 1969, his appointment in 1980 to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) General Conference in Belgrade, his selection to deliver State Department and United States Information Services lectures across

three continents, and his appointment to the President's Advisory Committee on Ambassadorial Appointments.

In addition to the aforementioned forms of public and professional service, Franklin also served as the president of several key professional organizations such as the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa (1973–1976) and the American Studies Association (1967). Of specific importance for the field of history, Franklin was the first African American to serve as president of the American Historical Association (1979), the Southern Historical Association (1970), and the Organization of American Historians (1975). Franklin also extended his leadership skills through service on several boards at institutions such as Fisk University, the Chicago Public Library, and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra Association.

Franklin's honors and awards in each of his teacher, author, and public servant capacities were numerous. A selective list of these accomplishments includes his early recognition as Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity's Foundation Publishers award recipient and later selection by the fraternity as the Alpha Phi Alpha Award of Merit recipient. In 1978 Franklin was selected by *Who's Who in America* as one of eight U.S. citizens who made significant contributions to society. He also received the 1984 Jefferson Medal from the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, the 1993 Charles Frankel Prize for contributions to the humanities, the 1994 Cosmos Club Award, the Trumpet Award from Turner Broadcasting Corporation, the 1995 Organization of American Historians' Award for Outstanding Achievement, and the inaugural W. E. B. Du Bois award from the Fisk University Alumni Association.

Franklin's accomplishments have been greatly chronicled, and until his death, the professor who has been referred to as one of the fathers of African American history had continued to maintain an active academic life that included numerous appearances on the lecture circuit, television documentaries, and writing and research projects.

Reavis L. Mitchell Jr. and Roland W. Mitchell

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Fisk University; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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FRASIER V. BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

In *Frasier v. Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina* (1955), three young African Americans challenged a decision by the university to deny them admission as undergraduates. They were subsequently admitted, and the case had a significant impact in the fight against Southern segregation. This entry looks at the legal background of the case, the court review and ruling, and the impact on the young men, on African Americans in general and on the nation.

Historical Background

A transplant from Europe, higher education in the United States has been an anchor of U.S. life since the colonial era. However, entry into higher education for African Americans was unavailable at all until the 1820s. Even then, admissions for African Americans were available on a highly elective, token basis at a handful of private religious institutions such as Oberlin College, Berea College, Bowdoin College, Amherst College, and Middlebury College. From 1826 to 1910, there

were only 693 African American graduates from U.S. institutions. By the time of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), African Americans constituted only 1% of freshman enrollments at predominantly White institutions.

None of these undergraduate enrollments was in the traditionally White campuses of the University of North Carolina (UNC) or any other university in the Southeast. Although other non-Whites were allowed to matriculate in North Carolina's traditionally White institutions, African Americans were summarily excluded. The exclusion of African Americans was not the result of failures to try. In 1933, Thomas Raymond Hocutt attempted to pursue a degree in pharmacology. His application was rejected by the board of trustees, and he lost his case in court on a technicality. In 1939, Pauli Murray's application for graduate study in sociology was rejected, and a lawsuit was not fully pursued.

In response to the suits, and to comply with *Plessy v. Ferguson's* (1896) separate-but-equal framework, the board of trustees continued to add graduate programming to the state's historically Black institutions, namely North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University) and North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College.

During the 1940s, there was a lull in North Carolina higher-education desegregation litigation. Meanwhile, federal precedents continued to chip away at the equality portion of the separate-but-equal doctrine. These cases established fertile ground for new challenges to North Carolina's admissions policy. In 1949, Harold Epps and Robert Davis Glass sued to compel admission to the UNC School of Law. Their case was not heard until 1950, just after the Supreme Court's decisions in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education* (1950).

Nevertheless, the district court ruled in favor of the state, reasoning that the law school at North Carolina College was superior in quality to the African American law school in Texas (*Epps v. Carmichael*, 1950). However, North Carolina College's law school was not accredited yet. Epps graduated from North Carolina College, Floyd McKissick became the named plaintiff in the suit, and several additional African American men joined the litigation as plaintiffs. In 1951, the

Fourth Circuit remanded the case to the district court, ordering a fair consideration of the plaintiff's application (*McKissick v. Carmichael*, 1951). Upon a final appeal to the Supreme Court, the circuit court's decision stood (*Carmichael v. McKissick*, 1951). Five African American men entered UNC Law in the summer of 1951, joined in the fall by another in the law school, and by another, Edward Oscar Diggs, the first African American admitted to the UNC's School of Medicine.

To address the new admissions policy as directed by the courts, the board of trustees issued the order of April 1, 1951, stating that applications of non-Whites to professional or graduate school would be processed without regard to color or race. Although the doors to UNC's graduate schools were now open, the number of African Americans gaining admission was a mere trickle. In addition, doors to undergraduate programs remained closed.

Facts of the Case

On April 19, 1955, two brothers, LeRoy Benjamin Jr. and Ralph Kennedy Frasier, were joined by a friend, John Lewis Brandon, in submitting applications to the UNC at Chapel Hill. The young men were graduates of Hillside High School in Durham, North Carolina, and the applications submitted were complete with records of their academic achievements and letters of reference. One week and a day later, on April 27, each of the men received an identical rejection letter from Roy W. Armstrong, director of admissions, stating that their applications were rejected because African Americans were not eligible to attend the undergraduate school of the UNC, as per policy as established by the board of trustees of the university.

The students appealed their admissions decision directly to the board of trustees, who responded on May 23, 1955, by reaffirming resolution stating that North Carolina had funded appropriate institutions of higher education for all races and would not accept African American applicants to the undergraduate schools of the UNC.

The young men then filed suit with the Middle District Court of North Carolina, requesting that the court declare the May 23, 1955, order in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. In addition, they asked that the court restrain the UNC from denying admission to

African American students solely on the basis of race. This latter request was not only for themselves, but also for similarly situated students who would qualify for admission to North Carolina's traditionally White colleges and universities under all conditions except for their race.

Legal Issues and Rulings

Three legal issues lay before the court. The first was a matter of procedure, whether the court, a three-judged panel, had jurisdiction to hear the case. The court ruled that it did have jurisdiction and the authority to hear the case in panel because rules allowing the establishment of a panel hearing extended beyond cases in which the constitutionality of a statute issued by the legislature is at stake to cases where the constitutionality of actions by administrative agencies, such as the board of trustees, is questioned (*Frasier v. Board of Trustees*, 1955).

The second issue was a matter of substance, whether the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in *Brown* that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place," (347 U.S. at 599) applied to schools of higher education. The Middle District Court of North Carolina held that while the facts of the *Brown* case were specific to K-12 education, the rationale behind the Supreme Court's ruling was readily applicable to higher education.

The district court drew further support from the pre-*Brown* Supreme Court precedent of *Sweatt*. The district court quoted directly from Chief Justice Vinson's opinion in *Sweatt*, wherein Vinson notes how the University of Texas School of Law excluded 85% of the State of Texas's citizens from entry to the law school, depriving that 85% of meaningful educational interactions with the lawyers, officials, and laypersons with which they would have to work postgraduation. Vinson specifically states that "with such a substantial and significant segment of society excluded, we cannot conclude that the education offered petitioner is substantially equal to that which he would receive if admitted" (cited in *Frasier v. Board of Trustees*, 134 F. Supp. at 593).

The third and final issue was whether the district court's opinion would extend more broadly, beyond the application of the three men before the court. The court answered in the affirmative, reasoning

that because of the university's unfavorable attitude toward African American citizens' right to have a fair assessment of one's qualifications at the traditionally White public institutions, the ruling of the case would extend to the entire class of African Americans qualified to enter UNC schools: "Negroes as a class may not be excluded because of their race or color. . . . This applies to the plaintiffs in the pending case as well as to all Negroes who subsequently apply for admission" (*Frasier v. Board of Trustees*, 134 F. Supp. at 593). The court made it clear, however, that the board of trustees would retain the power to admit or reject individual students on the basis of their qualifications. The board of trustees appealed directly to the U.S. Supreme Court, where the district court opinion was affirmed (*Board of Trustees v. Frasier*, 134 F. Supp. at 979).

Impact of the Case

On September 17, 1955, L. Frasier, R. Frasier, and Brandon all became both the first African American freshman to matriculate at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill and the first African Americans enrolled as undergraduates at a traditionally White public institution in the southeastern United States. Although the Frasier brothers later transferred to complete their undergraduate studies at North Carolina Central University, Brandon graduated from UNC at Chapel Hill in 1959, earned a master's in chemistry from the University of Houston–Clear Lake, and went on to become a senior research chemist with Dow Chemical Corporation. In his retirement, he is a science instructor at Houston Community College.

L. Frasier became a teacher in Long Island, New York. His brother continued his studies at North Carolina Central's law school and became a banker with Huntington Bancshares, Inc., in Ohio. In his retirement, R. Frasier serves as a senior advisor to law firms in Columbus, Ohio, and Durham, North Carolina. His community service includes membership on the Ohio Board of Regents and North Carolina Central's Board of Trustees.

Beyond the impact on the lives of the three young men who in postgraduation and even into retirement continue to serve the community, the case of *Frasier v. Board of Trustees* is significant in several ways.

First, the *Frasier* precedent is cited in a number of cases in the fight to dismantle Southern

segregation across a range of contexts including K–12 education (e.g., K–12 schools: *Buckner v. County School Board*, 1964; reform school: *State Board of Public Welfare v. Myers*, 1961; higher education: *Gant v. Clemson Agricultural College*, 1963; employment: *Dickerson v. U.S. Steel Corp.*, 1974; voter registration: *U.S. v. McElveen*, 1960; and access to public parks: *Gilmore v. Montgomery*, 1959).

Second, *Frasier* underscores the need for institutions to think beyond access and toward meaningful academic and social support for students from underrepresented groups. The Frasier brothers and Brandon experienced significant difficulty maintaining good academic standing because of underdeveloped study habits. In addition, the Frasier brothers were able to engage in on-campus paracurricular activities only on a limited basis because of their commute. Brandon, however, moved to the African American dormitory on campus in his second semester. In spite of over 50 years of nominal desegregation, the academic and social integration of students from underrepresented groups remain a significant issue in their persistence to degree and institutional retention.

Third, the *Frasier* case and its success are in part attributable to the actions of students. The Frasier brothers, Brandon, and others were recruited at their high school by UNC at Chapel Hill student activists. The case, thus, is an example of how students can make a difference when they step beyond the university's gate and civically engage.

Crystal R. Gafford Muhammad

See also *Brown v. Board of Education*, Topeka, Kansas (and *Brown II*); *Frasier v. Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina*; *Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (HBCUs); *Law Schools*; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*

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served. Although most of the freedom schools no longer exist, the model is still in use. This entry looks at their history and contributions.

A New Kind of School

The concept of freedom schools had been used by educators and activists across the country in, for instance, Boston, New York, and Prince Edward County, Virginia, where public schools were closed in reaction to the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision or, in the case of Boston, as acts of protest against detrimental school conditions. The Mississippi Freedom Schools have emerged as the quintessential model, however. Educators who use a freedom school model today, such as the Children Defense Fund's Freedom School program, generally cite the influence of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools.

The Mississippi Freedom Schools were developed as part of the 1964 Freedom Summer civil rights project, a massive effort that focused on voter registration drives, educating Mississippi students for social change, and building a network of community centers. The Council of Federated Organizations, an umbrella civil rights organization comprising activists and funding drawn from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), among other organizations, coordinated the Freedom Summer project. The project was essentially a statewide voter registration campaign, and SNCC activists called for 1,000 volunteers to assist in the undertaking. Activists made plans to conduct a parallel election in order to elect a separate delegation that would challenge the White-only delegation sent to the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. Activists contended that an illegal electoral process systematically excluded African American participation, and therefore, the all-white delegation was illegal.

In December 1963, during a meeting held to plan the upcoming Freedom Summer project, SNCC activist Charles Cobb proposed a network of freedom schools whose aim was to foster political participation among Mississippi elementary and high school students in addition to offering supplemental academic courses. Activists organizing the Freedom Summer project accepted Cobb's proposal and soon organized a curriculum planning conference

FRATERNITIES

See Greek Letter Organizations

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

The first freedom schools were developed as part of the larger civil rights movement to provide an education for young African Americans that would foster leadership development and political participation. The hours, location, and curriculum for these schools varied according to the area being

for the freedom schools in New York in March of 1964. The curriculum adopted was divided into seven core areas that analyzed the social, political, and economic context that caused the precarious race relations. Issues such as leadership development, remedial academics, contemporary issues, and nonacademic courses were also incorporated, which included foreign language, African American history, typing, and drama in addition to basic academic courses. Each teacher was given this curriculum to follow, but teachers were also encouraged to only use the curriculum as a guide, for some teachers were not professionally trained. The education at freedom schools was student centered and socially relevant. Curriculum and instruction was based on the needs of the students, discussion among students and teachers (rather than lecturing) was encouraged, and curriculum planners encouraged teachers to base instruction on the experiences of their students.

Freedom schools opened during the first week of July, 1964, after approximately 250 freedom school volunteers attended 1-week training sessions at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. The original plans had anticipated 25 freedom schools and 1,000 students; yet by the end of the summer, 41 schools had been opened to over 2,000 students. Freedom schools were established with the help and commitment of local communities that provided various buildings for schools and houses for activist housing needs. The schools were held in nontraditional locations: parks, kitchens, and private homes, but most classes were usually held in churches. Attendance varied throughout the summer; some schools experienced regular attendance, but usually attendance fluctuated based on the interests of the students. In Clarksdale, Mississippi, for instance, the average student attendance during the 1st week was 15; the 2nd week was 8; but at any point during the summer, the school may have had as many as 35 students in attendance. In some schools, it was not uncommon for teachers to report that community adults would also attend class regularly.

Curriculum and Contributions

Instruction was conditional and varied from school to school. In rural communities where students were expected to work during the school day,

classes were held only at night. In schools that maintained traditional school hours, most often in urban areas, traditional academic courses were offered in the morning, and special classes such as music, drama, and typing were offered in the afternoon. In many instances throughout the summer, entire school days would be devoted to demonstrations or voter registration efforts. It was imperative for SNCC activists that students would be invested in civil rights activity, as this cadre of students was expected to remain in the state to enact social change.

At the conclusion of the freedom school term in August 1964, activists and students organized a student-led conference in Meridian, Mississippi. Each freedom school sent three representatives to the conference to form a youth platform for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the separate delegation that sought to replace the all-White delegation in Atlantic City. The student delegates discussed issues related to jobs, schools, foreign affairs, and public accommodations and proffered recommendations for the state party. By the end of the conference, students prepared a statement that demanded access to public accommodations, building codes for each home, desegregated schools, a public works program, and the appointment of qualified African Americans to state positions.

Freedom school teachers and students remained committed to the freedom school concept. In early August of 1964, plans were being made to continue the freedom schools during the upcoming school year, as some volunteer teachers had already agreed to stay. Students implemented the leadership and activism experienced during the summer in their own schools. Some students returned to school and demanded better facilities and more courses. Other students began to organize meetings among themselves to brainstorm ways to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Freedom school teachers maintained commitment to the social justice ideals expressed during the summer as some became involved in desegregation efforts and demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Despite such individual commitments, an extensive network of freedom schools as observed in Mississippi during 1964 would not materialize again.

Jon N. Hale

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Children's Defense Fund; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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FREEMAN V. PITTS

Freeman v. Pitts (1992) signaled the beginning of a trend by federal courts that showed federal monitoring of desegregating public school systems was a temporary judicial measure. In this case, the district court on remand found the DeKalb school system was unitary, or racially neutral, based on the four conditions already achieved: student-assigned mentors, transportation, physical facilities, and extracurricular activities. It ruled that the contested factors—faculty assignments, and per pupil expenditures—had also been achieved. This entry looks at the historical backdrop, the case itself, subsequent appellate rulings, and the overall significance of *Freeman v. Pitts*.

Historical Background

The state of Georgia was founded in 1733 by General James Edward Oglethorpe and his friends as a utopia of high moral standards eschewing enslavement, Catholicism, and hard liquor.

However, by 1749, Georgia began to import enslaved Africans to work the growing number of cotton plantations, adopting the agricultural model of South Carolina; it played a central part in the Civil War to maintain its plantations and enslavement society. By the time of the Civil War, enslaved Africans in Georgia accounted for 44% or almost half of the state's population. Georgia was determined to maintain enslavement and the agricultural system. Its bitter Civil War defeat and 1861 secession were marked by Sherman's march to the sea. In 1868, Georgia ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and was then readmitted into the Union. However, the state's history provided the basis of Georgia's forthcoming approach to civil rights and school desegregation.

DeKalb County, Georgia, was created in 1822. Until the 1960s, it was primarily farmland. Before and during the 1960s, the majority of White Georgians opposed desegregation, the legally enforced dismantling of segregation laws and policies. Expressing that widespread sentiment, Governor Ernest Vandiver vowed in 1958 that school desegregation would not happen while he remained in office. In January of that year, a group of African American parents and their children filed suit in U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia alleging that Atlanta's public schools remained racially segregated.

In 1959, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia gave the African American parents a partial victory. The court agreed that the schools were racially segregated, but then gave the board of education another year to implement a desegregation plan. A year later, the board of education introduced its Freedom of Choice school desegregation program. Previously, each school was assigned a neighborhood attendance district. Although the Freedom of Choice program claimed all children would be able to attend any public school of their choice, transfer students had to satisfy aptitude and scholastic tests and even personality interviews.

Before the Freedom of Choice program could be implemented, the state had to resolve the problem of implementing a school desegregation plan while there were still several state anti-integration laws in force to preclude such action. Some of the laws provided for closing all of the public schools and creating private schools in their place to defy

court-ordered desegregation. In 1961, when the district court ordered the University of Georgia to admit two African American students, the state had to grapple with the idea of closing the University of Georgia. Recognizing the repercussions of closing its flagship public institution of higher learning, the Georgia assembly repealed the state's anti-integration laws. Subsequently, the Freedom of Choice programs could then be implemented.

Like the Atlanta Public School System, the DeKalb County School System also had a Freedom of Choice desegregation plan. Although adopted in 1966, the Freedom of Choice plan was so restrictive that by the late 1960s, very few African American students had transferred to white majority schools. In 1968, a group of African American parents and their children filed suit in U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia alleging that the DeKalb County School System was still segregated. The following year, the district court ordered the DeKalb County School System to institute a unitary system (a racially neutral school system or one where an unconstitutional dual school system had been dismantled) and assign students to schools in their respective neighborhoods (attendance districts).

Facts of the Case

In a 1983 civil action, *Freeman v. Pitts*, a group of African American parents and their children filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia to stop the DeKalb County School System from building another school facility at Redan High School. At the time of the lawsuit, Redan, a majority White high school, suffered from overcrowding. Since the 1978 to 1979 school term, Redan had been operating with more students than its suggested capacity. In 1983, Redan had been in excess of its capacity for 5 years. In fact, in the 1984 to 1985 school term, the student body had grown to be 808 students over capacity.

As a temporary solution, the DeKalb County School System had added a number of portable classrooms to the campus. Seeing a need for a more permanent solution, the school system developed the Redan II plan in which a new facility would be constructed. Redan's attendance district would remain the same, but the students would be split between the two facilities. Students in the

10th through 12th grades would remain at the older facility while students in the eighth and ninth grades would be reassigned to the new facility. Students in the eighth and ninth grades were grouped together since DeKalb County did not have middle schools.

In their lawsuit against the school system, African American parents filed a motion to stop the school system from adding any more portable classrooms and building a new facility. In particular, the parents argued that the county planned to build another majority White school rather than reassign the White students to other high schools, which had not reached full capacity, but were predominantly African American. The solution to build another facility was considered by the African American parents to be just another way to avoid desegregation. The parents stated that the new building violated a 1969 injunction granted in *Pitts v. Cherry* (1969) that required school construction to be developed with the goals of ending segregation and improving desegregation.

Over the objections of the African American parents, the district court held that the school system's decision to build another facility for Redan was not motivated by discriminatory intent. In addition, the court decided that the school system had also reached unitary status. The parents appealed the decision of the lower court arguing that the DeKalb County School System was not unitary and that the district court erred in making discriminatory intent a factor in deciding the case.

Appellate Rulings

In 1985, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit reversed and remanded the district court's decision. The court of appeals stated that before a federal court could relinquish jurisdiction over a previously segregated school system, it had to hold a hearing to determine if unitary status had been achieved. At this hearing, the other party to the lawsuit should be given an opportunity to demonstrate whether the federal court should still maintain supervision of the school system. Thus, the court of appeals held that the district court did not follow these established procedures.

In addition, the court of appeals stated that the district court could make discriminatory intent a factor only after finding that unitary status had

been achieved. Finally, the court remanded the case to the district court stating that the district court must hold a hearing to determine whether the DeKalb County School System had obtained unitary status.

In 1986, the DeKalb County School System filed a motion in the district court requesting a declaration that it had obtained unitary status and was therefore no longer subject to federal court supervision. In response, the district court partially ruled in favor of the DeKalb County School System when it decided that the school system had satisfied four of the six unitary status factors as identified in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968). In *Green*, the U.S. Supreme Court established certain criteria to be used to determine whether unitary status has been achieved. The factors are student assignments, transportation, physical facilities, extracurricular activities, faculty assignments, and per pupil expenditures. In reviewing the request by the DeKalb County School System, the district court held that the school system was unitary for student assignments, transportation, physical facilities, and extracurricular activities.

The court stated that in regard to the student assignment factor, any racial imbalance in the school's student body was due not to discriminatory policies, but to demographic changes in the area neighborhoods. Between 1975 and 1980, approximately 64,000 African Americans had moved into southern DeKalb County, while approximately 37,000 Whites had moved out. In 1969, the African American students were only 5.6% of the student body in DeKalb County. Yet by 1986, that number had grown to 47%.

In response, the school system in the 1980s created magnet school programs located in the middle of the county. The goal of the arts, science, and foreign language programs was to attract African American students from the southern part of the county and Whites from the northern part. Upon hearing the various steps taken by the county, the district court was satisfied that the school system was doing its best to work within the new racial parameters of the county. However, the court held that it would continue to maintain court-ordered supervision in regard to faculty assignments and resource allocation.

Unhappy with this outcome, the African American parents appealed to the Eleventh Circuit.

The court of appeals reversed the district court again, stating that the district court could not relinquish its court-ordered supervision over the DeKalb County School System until all categories of unitary status had been satisfied. The school system subsequently appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

After hearing the case, the Supreme Court reversed the court of appeals decision and held that it was within the district court's authority to partially withdraw its court-ordered supervision of the DeKalb County School System. The Supreme Court agreed that the changes in the racial composition of the student body were due to residential patterns and not to policies of the school system. The district court could relinquish its control in incremental stages and did not have to wait for all six unitary status factors to be satisfied at the same time, the justices said. Thus, the school system could concentrate its time and effort on the remaining factors where the effects of discrimination had not yet been eliminated.

Outcome and Impact of the Case

As directed by the U.S. Supreme Court, the Eleventh Circuit remanded the *Freeman* case to the U.S. District Court to evaluate the remaining unitary status factors (teacher allocation and per pupil expenditures) still under federal judicial supervision. On January 4 and March 7 of 1996, hearings were held in the district court where the DeKalb County School System presented evidence that it was in full compliance with the remaining *Green* unitary status factors. After an extensive analysis of various data, the district court held that the DeKalb County School System was in full compliance and no longer subject to federal supervision.

The *Freeman* decision is considered one of a number of cases that began the trend of releasing school boards from judicial supervision. By focusing on the local school board's right to control its school system, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Freeman* stated that federal judicial supervision was meant as a temporary measure. Thus, it was acceptable for a federal court to relinquish supervision in incremental stages.

Today, DeKalb County public schools are 76.9% African American and 10.7% White. Courts

have credited this imbalance to demographics and to the fact that local school boards cannot control where families choose to live. Still, in 1959, when the first group of parents sued the DeKalb County School System, it probably would have been difficult for them to imagine that 48 years later, the majority of African American students in DeKalb County public schools would continue to attend schools that are mostly African American.

Rhea Ballard-Thrower

See also Desegregation; White Flight

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G

GEIER V. SUNDQUIST

Geier v. Sundquist (2001) set into motion a series of lawsuits beginning in 1968 and ending in 2004 that culminated in the desegregation of the public education system in Tennessee. As a result of the *Geier* lawsuits, in 1979 the court ordered the once White-only University of Tennessee (UT) to merge with the nearby all-Black Tennessee State University (TSU). Today, the UT survives as an integrated institution of higher education. This entry provides a history of the cases leading to the desegregation of the UT.

Historical Context

From 1807 until 1960, public higher education in Tennessee was segregated by law. The Tennessee Constitution of 1870, article 11, section 12, mandated that all higher-learning institutions be racially segregated. Following the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which upheld segregation as constitutional and mandated separate-but-equal facilities for African Americans, Tennessee's public education system was racially separate, but highly unequal.

In 1901, Tennessee enacted criminal statutes requiring racial segregation in all public and private colleges. In fact, Tennessee became the first state to enact such a statute. To gain an insight into how segregated Tennessee's educational system was, the UT, from 1807 through 1960, was open to White students only. TSU, from 1912 until

1960, was open to African American students only. TSU was the only university in Tennessee accepting African American students prior to 1960. Hence, the public education opportunities for African Americans were admittedly bleak during this time, with African American students comprising less than 6,000 out of the 57,000 students attending Tennessee's public universities. African American students at TSU received inferior educational opportunities compared to their White counterparts. The faculty, facilities, and educational resources at TSU were inferior to those at UT.

By 1954, desegregation began at the elementary and secondary school level, accomplished by Supreme Court mandate. Unfortunately, however, desegregation for higher education was slow to follow. In 1968, the case of *Sanders v. Ellington* (1968) opened the door to desegregating Tennessee's public universities. It set into motion a series of lawsuits that continued for 30 years, eventually culminating in the desegregation of Tennessee's public higher-education system.

In *Sanders*, the plaintiffs sought to prevent the UT from expanding an all-White, nondegree-granting educational program. The plaintiffs feared that allowing the university to expand its all-White program would perpetuate segregation and interfere with the university's efforts to desegregate its student body and faculty.

The United States intervened as a plaintiff in the lawsuit, requesting that the court order the defendants to create a plan to desegregate all public universities in Tennessee. In response, the court

declared a Fourteenth Amendment duty on the defendants and the State of Tennessee to create a plan to abolish its dual system of higher education. In particular, the court asked for a plan on how to integrate White students into the 99.9% African American student body of TSU. It requested that the school implement an open-door policy and enact new recruiting strategies to attract White students. This was a victory for the plaintiffs, and in the year that followed, the defendants appointed White faculty members, improved TSU's facilities, and increased student financial aid funds. Although the progress was positive, the court was not fully satisfied that segregation had been dismantled effectively.

Facts of the Case

In 1968, a lawsuit was brought by Rita Sanders Geier and several other African American citizens and residents of the State of Tennessee against the governor of Tennessee, the UT, the chairman of the Tennessee State Board of Education, and Tennessee A&I State University. The plaintiffs sought to prevent the all-White UT from constructing an additional educational facility that would perpetuate the school's racial segregation.

As a result of the case, in 1977, the U.S. District Court in *Geier v. Blanton* (1977) ordered the merger of TSU and UT into a single university, governed by Tennessee's Board of Regents. The court stated the merger was necessary because little progress had been made in dismantling the dual system of higher education. In addition, the open-door admissions policy was ineffective, especially since the all-White UT was in close proximity, only 5 minutes away from the all-Black TSU. The court also stated that Tennessee's segregated institutions were in violation of the U.S. Constitution and that the only way to remedy the problem was to combine both universities.

The February 1977 decision by Judge Frank Gray was a victory for both the Geier plaintiffs and for the African American students across Tennessee, who now could have access to a better education. Gray stated the merger would restore the victims of discrimination to where they would be had there been no discrimination. Gray found that the failure to dismantle the dual system of education over the past 10 years warranted a

drastic solution, and merger was the solution. Thus, on July 1, 1979, UT merged into TSU, with TSU becoming the surviving institution.

From 1979 through 2004, litigation continued between the *Geier* plaintiffs and the defendants. The lawsuits asked the defendants to implement more programs to integrate White students into TSU and to create a diverse faculty and staff. In *Geier v. Alexander* (1984), a settlement was reached between the *Geier* plaintiffs and the defendants. The settlement agreement stated that to continue desegregation in Tennessee's schools, the defendants agree to continue to work on (a) integrating White students into TSU, (b) integrating African American faculty and staff into predominantly White institutions, and (c) checking the admissions policies to ensure there is no continuing racism.

In 2001, the plaintiffs filed *Geier v. Sundquist*, one of their final lawsuits, which resulted in a consent decree stating the parties' agreement to continue desegregating all of Tennessee's schools by integrating diverse faculty, staff, and students. In addition, part of the consent decree was a request by the plaintiffs to recoup attorney's fees for their 36-year ongoing suit with Tennessee's higher-education system. On September 27, 2002, the court awarded the *Geier* plaintiffs \$376,587.50 in attorney's fees.

Impact of the Case

Ultimately, *Geier v. Sundquist* set into motion a series of lawsuits, from 1968 to 2004, aimed at desegregating and equalizing the public education system in Tennessee. Exactly 30 years after the first lawsuit, *Sanders v. Ellington* (1968), was filed, Tennessee citizens enjoy an integrated system of public education. In 2001, as a result of the *Geier* case, Tennessee's courts mandated the creation of summer enrichment programs for African American high school students. These programs, aimed at improving test scores and overall college preparation, proved successful. Ironically, many of these programs were offered at historically White-only schools in Tennessee.

Today, about 96 years after it was founded as a Blacks-only university, TSU is thriving as a successful and fully integrated university. TSU currently offers bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. The campus comprises 500 acres, with 65 fully

equipped buildings, which are the combination of the old UT and TSU buildings. There are approximately 10,000 students: 75% African American and 22% White. This change from its 99.9% African American student body in 1960 to its now 75% African American student body exemplifies the school's desegregation progress. Today, TSU proudly stands as a symbol of the dismantlement of the dual system of education in Tennessee.

For a disenfranchised group of Americans, the decisions by the Tennessee courts to desegregate the public education system meant an equal opportunity to get an education they deserved for over 100 years. As a cornerstone of success in society, education and access to institutions of higher learning have allowed Tennessee's African American students to be on par with their White counterparts. Because of Geier and a group of unafraid, pioneering civil rights activists who challenged unequal and dated laws, African Americans residing in Tennessee today have the opportunity to receive an integrated and equal education.

Catherine J. Shaw

See also Affirmative Action; Desegregation; Higher Education Act of 1965; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Open Admissions; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*

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GENDER

In everyday language, *gender* is typically thought of as signifying biological differences between the male and female sexes. However, in the social sciences, gender is considered a social construct, a socially derived label that is indicative of certain behaviors and practices. In essence, females learn to become girls by exhibiting behaviors that are typically associated with the female sex. Likewise, boys learn to exhibit behaviors typically associated with the male sex. As such, society has distinct ideas about what constitutes girl or woman behavior and boy or man behavior.

For instance, girls-women are purely emotional, and boys-men are superior at reasoning. These ideas are often portrayed and thus reinforced through many institutions, including the media, the church, the workplace, and schools. The pervasiveness of such gender distinctions give rise to stereotypes that support gender inequality. As a consequence, gender bias results in such dynamics as unequal pay, inequitable resources, and discriminatory hiring practices and is traditionally considered to favor males and to disparage females.

Gender bias has always been an inherent part of U.S. education since school culture has traditionally been shown to favor males. However, with respect to African American education, gender bias has proved to be a far more complex issue, for research shows that although African American females experience gender bias, African American males are more disadvantaged by traditional school culture than are African American females. This entry offers a historical and contemporary discussion of the concept of gender.

Historical Context

Historically, gender differences have been a major influence on the way U.S. education has been thought about and practiced. It was once not considered important to educate females, and even when they began to seek education in greater numbers, they were limited to education that prepared them for traditionally female professions, such as teaching and nursing. Today, many scholars argue that although gender bias in education is not as

explicit as it once was, it continues to exist on a subtle, but no less harmful level.

In 1992, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) released a report titled *How Schools Shortchange Girls*, which focused less on allocation of resources or blatant acts of discrimination. Instead, the report called attention to the role schools play in socializing girls to believe they are unequal to boys. The report pointed out such dynamics as what kind of behavior girls are rewarded for versus boys and the many other ways teachers interact with girls differently than they do with boys. Throughout the 1990s, other notable work in this area emerged to support the contentions of the AAUW report, and the discrepancies between boys' and girls' school performances became known as the gender gap. Although such findings were assumed to apply to all girls, this line of research often did not take into consideration the impact racial differences might have on how different groups experience gender bias in schools.

The role gender bias has played in the education of African Americans is difficult to understand without taking into account the ways in which it intersects with racial dynamics. Just as education was not considered important for White females, it was also not considered important for African Americans, male or female; it was a privilege reserved mainly for elite White males. Like White females, when African Americans began seeking education in more significant numbers, it was believed that they needed a different kind of education, one that suited them for roles that maintained their subservience to the dominant culture.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as key African American leaders engaged in debates about what kind of education would be appropriate for the millions of newly freed African Americans, they struggled with the significance of gender bias and its impact on the African American situation. Some argued primarily for the education of African American men, others thought that the men should be educated first, and still others contended that educating African American women on par with African American men was vital to the project of racial uplift.

African American girls ended up pursuing education in greater numbers because African American boys were often expected to work in the fields or elsewhere to help maintain the household. This

factor, as many historians argue, has contributed to nontraditional patterns of gender difference in African American education.

Current Situation

Unlike the mainstream trend toward male bias, research on gender differences in African American education shows a number of distinct trends. One of the most significant trends is that African American boys are dropping out and/or struggling with school at much higher rates than African American girls. Subsequently, African American girls are perceived more favorably than African American boys in traditional school culture and perform better. However, research also shows that African American girls are praised more for their social skills while boys are recognized for their cognitive abilities. African American females also pursue higher education in greater numbers, but perform better than African American males only in predominantly White institutions as opposed to historically Black colleges and universities, where African American men are noted to do better academically.

Thus, a more nuanced understanding of the gender gap and how it affects the education of African Americans can be achieved only by taking into consideration the ways race and gender dynamics intersect and interact to bring about distinct advantages and disadvantages for both females and males.

Denise Taliaferro Baszile

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Industrial Education

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GENDER AND HEALTH EDUCATION

On average, women live longer than men and therefore are more susceptible to functional impairment as they get older. It is imperative that gender and health education is included in the core curriculum of institutions that educate African Americans. These courses can emphasize how race, class, and gender impact health outcomes for African Americans and place them in a position for poorer health outcomes. This entry explores the importance of considering gender in health education and in the African American community.

Most programs focus on racial disparities in health, a focus which is important, but gender disparities are equally deserving of consideration and investigation. Gender impacts health, health care access, and discrimination. Inequalities in access to health care for women negatively impact their health outcomes. For example, regardless of class,

African American women continue to have higher infant mortality rates than their White counterparts. African American men's occupational status and stress can impact their cardiovascular outcomes. Discrimination cumulatively impacts health outcomes for both men and women. It is important to recognize the health disparity gaps for African American women and men.

The African American population is only 13.4% of the noninstitutionalized U.S. population, yet it accounts for high percentages of morbidity and mortality rates in the United States. In 2003, the death rate for African Americans was higher for heart diseases, stroke, cancer, asthma, influenza and pneumonia, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, and homicide than for their White counterparts. African American women are twice as likely to begin late prenatal care and therefore have higher sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) and infant mortality rates as a result. African American men are 60% more likely to die from stroke than their White male counterparts.

The health disparity statistics are alarming and continue to perplex public health researchers and scholars alike. Gender and health education become important in that continued prevention education can be relayed in the classroom setting and transferred into practice. Courses in sociology, anthropology, public health, women studies, and gender studies are needed to address the growing health disparity problems. Gender places us in unique positions socially, economically, and politically. The challenges faced by African American men and women are different and place them in a social context that dictates their health outcomes. The social ecological model provides the framework for how gender along with other determinants impact health. Factors such as attitudes, knowledge, and cultural beliefs, which are dictated by race and gender, intersect with institutions, organizations, and experiences to determine health behavior and choice, which lead to illness and disease. It is imperative in education to illuminate these intersecting relationships and how they impact health outcomes for men and women. Many of the disparate conditions are reinforced by structural and institutional discrimination.

Educational institutions can either reinforce discriminatory health practices or enlighten those whom they educate. It is imperative that students receive the

knowledge and understanding of gender inequalities in health, health care access, and disparate health outcomes. Practical applications will include community outreach and volunteering with local community-based organizations that serve underserved, underinsured, and disparate populations. Classroom discussions and seminars hosted by students relay the information in ways that are appealing, get them involved, and provide better understanding of the complex nature of gender and health. Practical experiences must provoke students to work on behalf of their counterparts to better their health outcomes and health care experiences. An example of this is the importance of educating African American men on the large disparity of HIV in African American women, thereby creating a sense of responsibility and a commitment to work personally and professionally to help reduce new cases of HIV among African American women. Similarly, African American women can actively participate in helping to reduce the number of African American men with prostate cancer and cardiovascular disease.

Education is key in solving health disparities; however, knowledge alone is not enough to change behavior, institutions, and access. People and institutions must be reached at their core interest, self, and then others. Through education, students become activists in their own interest and the interests of their communities and their people; the legacy of change is passed through active voice and participation. As well stated by bell hooks when she wrote that education is the practice of freedom, and this holds true in gender and health education. Education is equivalent to freedom to act on behalf of those who cannot advocate for themselves—freedom to decrease and ultimately close the health disparity gap and freedom to diminish stereotypical beliefs about gender differences and superiority. Gender and health education courses and concentrations are needed and should be in demand if there is to be a difference and a change.

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See also Gender; Gender in Precollegiate Education

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Web Site

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GENDER IN PRECOLLEGIATE EDUCATION

Gender is defined as the cultural and social characteristics and behaviors assumed based on sex. Empirical descriptions of gender issues for African American students are limited. A number of researchers have pointed out that while results are often disaggregated by race or by gender, they are rarely broken down by race and gender. In studies of race, underrepresented males are the focus, while in studies of gender, White women represent the universal. The intersection of race and gender is underexamined, resulting in very little information comparing male and female African American students. The majority of research that includes African American students in the sample consists of studies comparing them to White students with White students identified as the normative group. This approach ignores group differences, some of which might focus on gender. Similarly, gender research has compared males and females, ignoring race and ethnicity within groups. Whiteness and maleness are the norms in most research on students.

A second limitation of the existing research on African American students is that considerable research on African American students falls within the deficit model that overemphasizes problems and failures of African American students, overlooking coping and success patterns. Relatedly, a large proportion of the research that includes African American students in the sample focuses

on the individual, not the context, thereby identifying the individual as the cause of the failure.

A third weakness in the body of research of the educational experiences and outcomes of African American students is that findings seldom include effect sizes, relying instead on significance testing as the proxy for importance. As a result, race and gender are seldom disentangled, and between-group differences are reported when none exist. This entry summarizes the body of research that examines both gender and race in precollegiate education.

School Achievement

Although findings on academic and career achievement suffer from the lack of intersectionality of race and gender, they are more likely to be reported by race and gender than other areas of study. Within the research on achievement and school effects, African American males are studied more often than are African American females.

Overall, female achievement in K–12 schooling is higher than male achievement. For instance, according to the latest report from the U.S. Department of Education, African American females score higher than males do on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reading tests in Grades 4, 8, and 12. Although scores for both genders have increased in Grades 4 and 8, 12th grade results have gone down, a finding true for all ethnic groups. African American females score higher at all grades in writing, a trend similar across ethnic groups. For math, there is not much difference in NAEP achievement between African American males and females.

College and graduate school entry tests show a different pattern, with males outscoring females in all but the SAT verbal test. African American females score higher than do males in the SAT verbal, and males score higher on the SAT quantitative test. For the Graduate Record Exam, African American males score higher than African American females on all three tests.

Educational Attainment

Although more females than males in every ethnic group graduate from high school, the gap is larger for African American students. According to 2005

U.S. Department of Education data for African American students, the overall high school graduation rate is 55%: 59% of females versus 48% of males.

At the college level, 2005 U.S. Department of Education data report that the graduation rate is 62%: 46% of African American females versus 35% of African American males finish. A higher percentage of both genders are now graduating from college than in 1990, and the gender gap for African American students has increased from 6% in 1990 to 11% in 2005. Among 18- to 24-year-old African American males, the typical college years, a higher proportion is attending institutions of postsecondary education than are in prison, data that contradict street-level folklore. The most recent comparable data for African American males, age 18 to 24, indicate that although 5% of this group is in prison, 31% of African American males are in college.

Higher graduation rates at both the high school and college level do not translate into higher pay. U.S. Census data employment statistics for 1999 report that African American women earn \$85 for every \$100 earned by African American men.

School Environment

A number of researchers point out that differences in achievement between the races can be explained by the treatment African American students receive in schools. Little research has been done to examine the root cause of the gender differences of African American students.

African American children experience school differently than children from other ethnic and racial groups, and these differences affect aspirations and achievement. For instance, within the African American student population, there are gender differences in placements, teacher–student interactions, teacher attitudes, and support systems. The majority of African American students attend schools in which people from underrepresented groups are in the majority. African American students are also likely to be in attendance in areas of schools with the least resources.

A small movement to introduce single-sex education, particularly for African American boys, has been nurtured over the past decade. Although educators argue that all-male and all-Black male

schools provide a setting more conducive to African American male learning, the research is unclear on this issue. However, when single-sex learning does provide benefits for African American students, they accrue only to males. Single-sex schools do not increase female learning and achievement.

Both males and females are disproportionately represented in alternative, vocational, and special education programs. A fifth of all African American students are assigned to alternative programs primarily designed to house students with behavioral problems. A third of African American students are in vocational education or special education programs. African American males are more likely than are African American females to be in these programs.

African American boys are sometimes held back from entering kindergarten, to give them a better advantage in team sports. Smaller boys are likely to be kept from moving into the next grade to provide more time for growth. This practice is not common for girls.

African American male and female students are disproportionately represented in special education. For instance, the Civil Rights Project at Harvard reports that although they are only 17% of the population, 33% of African American children are labeled mentally retarded or emotionally disturbed, 1.5 times the rate of White children. The more wealthy the district, the more likely African American students are to be taken out of the mainstream and assigned to special education classes.

Within-group differences are even higher. African American males are 3 times more likely than African American females to be classified as emotionally disturbed. This does not mean that African American females are being well served. For a girl to receive special or support services, her learning needs must be more severe than those of her male classmates. Girls receive help only in extreme cases, and they are more likely to be placed in restrictive settings. Males are 10 times more likely than females to be placed in self-contained classes because of behavior issues, not learning criteria.

Race and gender comparisons illustrate the differences in special education placement. African American females are 1.1 times more likely as

Table 1 Odds Ratio for Special Education (2002) as Compared to White Females

	Female	Male
Black	1.104	2.729
White	1.000	2.372

Source: Coutinho, M. J., Oswald, D. P., & Best, A. M. (2002). The influence of socioeconomic and gender on the disproportionate identification of minority students as having learning disabilities. *Remedial and Special Education*, 23(1), 49–59.

White females to be in special education, while African American males are 2.73 times more likely than White females to be in special education. The difference between African American females and males (1.624) is much greater than the difference between White females and males (1.372; see Table 1).

At the other end of the special services classes, African American males and females are less likely than their White counterparts to be selected for gifted and enrichment programs. Majority African American schools are less likely to have these programs, and in schools that do offer enrichment, African American children are more likely than other children to be overlooked. Predominantly African American high schools offer fewer advance placement (AP) classes than do White high schools, and AP enrollments differ by both race-ethnic group and gender. White students are approximately 8 times more likely than African American students to take an AP class. Among African American Students, 3.1% of female versus 2.5% of male students are enrolled in AP classes.

Teacher Attitudes and Interactions

Considerable research has documented the differences in the ways in which teachers treat African American children compared to other children. When gender and race are examined, the data indicate that both male and female students are viewed by teachers in less positive ways than are other children, and these characterizations differ by gender. Teachers are likely to describe boys as criminals in the making and treat African American males according to these expectations. Brenda Townsend reports that African American students, primarily

males, receive punishment and suspension at 3 times the rate of males in general and 16 times the rate of White girls. African American males receive 33% of all the suspensions in schools, more than 4 times their representation in the population.

According to a 2004 U.S. Department of Education study, African American students are more likely than any other racial group to be sexually abused by teachers in the school—girls more so than boys. This is true for students in both regular and special education.

A strong body of research documents the lower expectations that teachers have for African American students, although little has been done to understand differences in teacher expectations by gender of student. Teachers are more likely to rate communication styles of African American girls more negatively than the styles of boys, but both genders are viewed more negatively than students in other racial groups. Teachers have lower expectations for African Americans and negative reactions to their communication styles.

African American girls are often perceived by teachers as hypersexual and are believed to be actively seeking pregnancy. Kimberly Scott's research points out that these same girls are described by teachers as hostile, unfeminine, and animal-like. Scott further documents that when teachers do give African American girls attention, it is likely to be about their behavior and social skills and interactions, not about their achievement. Comments on report cards are much more likely to reference social skills than academic strengths and weaknesses. Even among high-achieving African American girls, teachers comment on how nice or polite they are rather than on their mathematical abilities or science achievement. Teachers and other students interact more with African American girls than any other group to resolve social problems. As a result, these girls come to believe that their social skills are how they are valued.

Aspirations

African American girls report more future goals than do African American boys. Although there are no differences in positive self-perceptions, females are more confident than males that they will graduate from high school. Males hold more negative views of the future than do

females and do more short-term as opposed to long-term planning.

Females report more strong feelings of self-efficacy than boys. When queried about the motivation to attend college, African American females are more likely to link college to career success, and African American males report they go to college for sports.

Once in college, males focus their energies on activities related to making money and link success to future earning power. Males are more likely than females to hold a job during college. Females are more likely than males to be involved in campus life, to volunteer, to interact with instructors, and to become part of a community. In her research, Lea Hubbard found more encouragement and connection among females than males. Females provide a different support structure for each other than do males. They help other females academically and provide support for other African American young women to stay away from activities that would interfere with completing college. The bulk of African American male interaction consists of playing sports together and studying for exams.

Parents play a role in aspiration formation, and some studies indicate that mothers have higher aspirations for their daughters than for their sons and are more likely to encourage girls to go to 4-year institutions.

Role as Educator

African American children experience a teaching force that is disproportionately White. For instance, although close to a fifth of the school population, African Americans make up only 8% of K–12 teachers. The gender disparities are great: 10% of the K–12 principalships are in the hands of African American educators. Although women make up a larger proportion of principals (6%) than men (4%), African American men have a greater chance of becoming a principal than do African American women. Although 1% of the teachers, men are 4% of the principals. Women are 7% of the teachers and 6% of the principals. According to the 2000 census, more women are found in elementary and middle schools than at the secondary level (see Table 2).

The National Center for Educational Statistics reports that in 2005 to 2006, 1.6% of bachelor's degrees in education were conferred on males and

Table 2 Representation of African American Educators in PreK–12 Schools

	Percent African American Male	Percent African American Female	Percent African American
PreK–K	.5	13.2	13.6
Elementary and middle	1.8	7.2	9.1
Secondary	2.5	3.8	6.2
Special education	1.2	5.7	6.9
Other	3.0	6.0	9.1
All teachers	1.0	7.0	8.0
All administrators	3.8	8.1	11.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Census 2000 Special Tabulation, EEO Residence Data Results for Total United States*. Washington, DC: Author. Available at <http://www.census.gov>

4.8% on females. Among African American graduates in education, 75% were female and 25% male.

As a group, African American educators are more likely than any other racial group to see their job from a social justice perspective. They often describe their motivation for entering teaching in the language of change and justice. Moreover, among African American educators, females are more likely than males to see themselves as trying to make a difference.

African American students experience many of the same gender inequities and disparities as do students in other racial and groups. However, less is known about gender issues for African American youth than for White youth. African American males are more likely to be studied than African American females, and when mixed-race, mixed-gender studies are conducted, results are rarely reported by race and gender.

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See also Gender; Gender and Health Education

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GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

The General Education Board (GEB) was founded in 1902 with a \$1 million gift from John D. Rockefeller. The educational role of the GEB has been viewed by several historians as a shining light in terms of furthering educational aims for African Americans or as a plan to keep the former enslaved as second-class citizens. The GEB was incorporated by the U.S. Congress on January 12, 1903. It was the brainchild of Rockefeller, who

along with a who's who of educators, created an organization—a foundation for all intents and purposes—that was to affect education in all areas without distinction to race, gender, or creed over nearly the next 50 years.

The GEB list of directors included such educational leviathans as Charles W. Eliot (president of Harvard University), Abraham Flexner, George Peabody, and Andrew Carnegie. The GEB may be viewed as an umbrella organization that was able to support other organizations engaged in educational work. It cooperated with the Peabody and Slater Funds and the Southern Education Board. It also was able, according to its charter, to create or provide funds for elementary or high schools in any discipline such as industrial or agricultural or for teacher training institutes or even universities. In short, the GEB was able to work in any educational field it chose. It was sanctioned to collect data and report to the federal government on its activities. The GEB was essentially a private foundation that had wide latitude in all matters educational and that cooperated with governmental agencies.

One of the first activities of the GEB was to survey the educational status in the South. GEB agents collected statistics on education matters such as organization and funding of public elementary school systems, training and pay of teachers, private and public secondary schools, and the education of women and African Americans. The initial gift of a million dollars was viewed as seed money to begin the development of its ideas. Rockefeller jump-started the process by donating \$52 million as a permanent endowment to the GEB. The first activity of the GEB was to improve the income of the Southern farmer as the basis to begin self-improvement in the economic status of the Southern population. To this effect, the GEB developed demonstration farms that illustrated to the local farmers how to increase productivity and to turn a profit.

The idea of self-help that was created caused an environment that encouraged increasing educational opportunities for African Americans, especially in the south. The collection of a vast amount of data supported the actions of the board. There was no attempt to eliminate the separate but (un)equal segregation in the South by the board. Instead, the policy was simply to extend Booker T. Washington's concept of manual labor and a slow, steady rise to a separate equality.

This was accomplished by the board funding White supervisors to oversee the segregated educational system.

The board poured millions of dollars into Southern states' educational bureaucracy, funding additional schooling for teachers and administrators at the local and state levels. Fellowships were granted to hundreds of teachers and administrators to obtain additional education to professionalize the teaching and administration of Southern educators. During the Great Depression (1929–1933), the board directly funded White administrators' salaries for monitoring African American vocational education programs. The board continued to function until 1960 when it was disbanded. However, its work on Southern education ended in 1952.

Peter A. Sola

See also Economics of Education; Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; Slater Fund; Washington, Booker T.

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GIFTED AND TALENTED EDUCATION

The idea of a separate kind of education for students identified as gifted and talented began not

long after the Civil War, and its heyday began in the 1950s as segregated education was declared unconstitutional. Yet at no time in the history of gifted education have African American students been proportionately represented; gifted education has always been segregated by race. The most likely explanation is that too few African American students have been identified as gifted and talented. For change to occur, a philosophy of inclusion is essential. Instruments, definitions, theories, criteria, policies, and procedures must be selected with care and modified so that they are culturally sensitive, fair, and equitable. Ultimately, they should appropriately identify all children who are gifted, regardless of race, gender, or income. School personnel, families, and students must be educated about gifted and talented education and about cultural diversity. And educators must be diligent, assertive, and proactive about evaluating—and changing—gifted and talented education in terms of finding ways to recruit and retain African American students in these programs. This entry provides a historical overview of gifted and talented education, describes the identification process and typical programs; then, it looks at the special issues related to African Americans and suggests some potential remedies for ongoing segregation.

Historical Context

Ask any historian about the most significant event of the 1860s and the undisputed answer would include the Civil War culminating in the abolition of enslavement. Ironically, African American people at this time were given their rights to freedom, their right to join in the great U.S. battle for equality. This began the era of Reconstruction, during which millions of African Americans were figuring out where to live, how to eat, and essentially how to survive.

At the same time that Blacks were finding their way in this still foreign land, an educator in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1868, was experimenting with classwork suitable for those students who were above the average student. By the turn of the century (1901), a school in Massachusetts opened for gifted children. And in the next 15 years, testing and measurement would become the foundation for the next 100-plus years.

African American children, however, were not considered in any of these great developments, except for allegations that they were genetically inferior. Nearly 100 years after the first 1868 classes for gifted had begun, the highest court in the land finally struck down the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) ruling with what has become known as the landmark decision *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). This year would mark the end of the era of legal segregation and the birth of the National Association of Gifted Children.

With the racial climate of the 1950s to 1970s, African American children were more than left behind—they were ignored. Therefore, gifted education in the United States, especially where African American students are concerned, has a relatively short history. According to some scholars, interest in and increased commitment to gifted students was in response to the launching of *Sputnik*. The launching of *Sputnik* by Russians was a blow, in some ways, to the ego of many U.S. citizens, namely those who viewed the United States as the intellectual elite among developed countries. The United States was not number one in this area. This event caused many U.S. leaders to question the quality of the U.S. educational system and to rethink the extent to which the United States was challenging students in general, but gifted and talented students in particular. From this reactionary perspective, the number of gifted education programs increased in the desire for the United States to regain its status or competitive advantage. Over the years, interest in and commitment to gifted education has waned; most ironically, there is no federal mandate to either identify or serve gifted and talented students. Instead, this decision or discretion is left to state departments of education.

Attention to African American and other minority students in gifted education is not only a recent phenomenon, but also a controversy and a form of benign neglect. Prior to the 1970s, little or no attention was devoted to gifted African American students, their underidentification as gifted, and their underrepresentation in gifted and talented programs. This population was virtually ignored in the literature, theory, research, and practice with one review reporting that fewer than 2% of publications on gifted students focused on African American students. With the consistent works of

trailblazers such as Alexinia Baldwin and Mary Frasier beginning around this time, attention to African American students' underrepresentation in gifted and talented education began to receive much needed and deserved attention.

Identification and Definition

Who are gifted and talented students? It is estimated that some 3% to 5% of the population is gifted and talented, defined most often by intelligence tests. Students with an IQ of 130, representing two standard deviations above the mean IQ of 100, are often viewed as gifted and talented. The first federal definition of gifted was uttered in 1970. Since then, the government has proposed several definitions. According to the U.S. Department of Education (1993),

Children and youth with outstanding talent perform or show the potential for performing at remarkably high levels of accomplishment when compared with others of their age, experience, or environment. These children and youth exhibit high performance capacity in intellectual, creative, and/or artistic areas, and unusual leadership capacity, or excel in specific academic fields. They require services or activities not ordinarily provided by the schools. Outstanding talents are present in children and youth from all cultural groups, across all economic strata, and in all areas of human endeavor. (p. 19)

Schools offer gifted education programs and services to meet the needs of gifted students in one or more of the five areas: intellectual (e.g., based on IQ score), academic (e.g., based on achievement scores or grades), creative (e.g., based on a checklist of creativity), visual and performing arts (e.g., based on performance, audition), and leadership (e.g., based on service and membership in organization). Most schools identify and serve gifted students in the intellectual, academic, and creative areas.

The above federal definition is different from previous ones in at least four ways: It replaces the notion of *gifted* with that of *talent*. The definition focuses on talent development and potential, it recognizes the role of experience and environment in contributing to gifts and talents, and it asserts that no group has a monopoly on gifts and talents.

Other definitions (and theories) have been proposed by such scholars as Joseph Renzulli, Howard Gardner, and Robert Sternberg.

Gifted and Talented Programs and Services

Once gifted students are identified, they can be served in a number of ways. Much has been written about how to differentiate instruction for gifted and talented students, particularly the scholarship of Carol Tomlinson. Consideration is given to changing the pace, depth, and breadth of instruction for gifted students and to using curriculum that is challenging and engaging. A few such programs experiencing successes with African American students appear in the 2004 book by Tomlinson and colleagues. More than in the general education classroom or special education classroom, teachers in gifted classrooms seek to develop and/or nurture critical-thinking skills and problem-solving skills in gifted students. Options include, but are not limited to the following:

1. Gifted education classrooms led by teachers formally trained in gifted education (ability grouping, independent study, and curriculum compacting may be used to challenge students); students in pullout programs, self-contained classrooms, or gifted education centers
2. Programs that offer enrichment and otherwise extend learning opportunities (summer programs, chess teams, debate teams, book clubs, academic competitions, etc.)
3. Subject acceleration (placement in classes with older students for a subject area)
4. Radical acceleration (early entrance into kindergarten and grade skipping)

A Critical Issue: Underrepresentation

Gifted education has received much criticism from both advocates and opponents. There is a great deal of concern regarding charges of elitism. With this charge is the persistent and pervasive issue of African American students' being underrepresented in gifted and talented programs. For instance, as of 2002, African American students represented approximately 17.2% of students in public school districts nationally, but 8.4% of those in gifted programs—a discrepancy of over 50%. Compared

to African American females, African American males are even more underrepresented in gifted education.

Several explanations have been advanced to explain this discrepancy. The first step to being screened for gifted education services is teacher referral. Teachers are underreferring African American students for gifted education services—the opposite of what happens in special education, with overreferral being the norm. The underreferral may be due to a lack of training in cultural diversity, low expectations, or subliminal or overt racism. Teachers are the initial gatekeepers to African American students accessing gifted education. Second, students must often meet arbitrary, cutoff scores on tests to be formally identified. After students are given an IQ and/or achievement test, practices vary across school districts and states regarding the next step. In some cases, parent and student checklists are used; in other cases, students take another round of tests. Finally, a committee makes a decision for placement.

During this process, it is important that school personnel consider policies and procedures to see if they negatively affect the representation of African American students in gifted programs. For example, given that teachers often underrefer these students for gifted education services, it is essential that the efficacy of this policy be (re)considered. Likewise, are the tests, cutoff scores, and criteria defensible? Do they pose unfair barriers to African American students in any way?

Once students are placed, the question becomes how supportive the learning environment is for African American students in gifted and talented programs. Research indicates that gifted African American students often face negative pressures from White and African American peers. They may be teased by, alienated from, and rejected by peers. In addition, African American parents or guardians may also express concerns about their children's social-emotional needs not being met in gifted programs, many of which are predominantly White. Will their children have a social group who supports them and values achievement? Will teachers be fair to their children? Are teachers accepting of African American students' being in their gifted and talented classes? If teachers hold stereotypes about African American students or are prejudiced in any way, they are not likely to have high expectations

for these students or to create a classroom environment that is rigorous and culturally responsive.

Proposed Solutions: Desegregating Gifted and Talented Education

In this time of proposed de facto segregation in education, the road ahead seems as treacherous as those of the 1950s, but to address African American students' underrepresentation in gifted education (i.e., to desegregate gifted education), the concept of recruitment and retention is important. How can the number or percentage of African American students identified as gifted be increased, and how can their remaining in gifted programs after being recruited (identified) be ensured? In addition to educating school personnel, families, and students, several changes are needed to recruit and retain African American students in gifted education. The following strategies are recommended to reverse African American students' limited presence in gifted education.

- Instruments, policies and procedures that have a disparate impact on African American students must be changed or eliminated. Instruments (tests, checklists, nomination forms) must be selected carefully, criteria (cutoff scores, etc.) must be examined carefully, and policies and procedures (e.g., teacher referral) must be evaluated to see if they are educationally useful or harmful.
- A philosophy of inclusion rather than exclusion is necessary; it signals the need to eliminate tools and practices that are designed to exclude African American students from gifted and talented education classrooms and programs (such as rigorous summer programs). When this philosophy exists, a wide net is cast, attempting to serve as many gifted and talented students as possible.
- Definitions and theories need to be developed with cultural groups in mind. Are they responsive to and inclusive of the characteristics of African American students?
- Evaluation must be ongoing, systematic, and systemic. School personnel, particularly administrators, must examine patterns and trends, constantly seeking ways to eliminate gatekeepers, and thus increase

the presence of African American students in gifted and talented education.

- African American students must be introduced to mentors and role models who can share their experiences and provide students with effective coping skills, strategies, and resources.

At the heart of change is education and information. Education, including professional development, is necessary for educators and families and for other decision makers and stakeholders. All parties must be given formal preparation in understanding definitions and theories of giftedness, in recognizing characteristics of gifted and talented students, and in understanding tests, including their purpose and limitations. Equally important, educators must receive formal preparation in understanding culture, including how culture affects learning and test performance. They will need to know more about culturally diverse students in terms of characteristics, learning styles, communication styles, values, traditions, customs, and norms. Characteristics, such as those identified by A. Wade Boykin, for example, should be explained so that educators have a better understanding of verve, movement, communalism, affective orientation, expressive individualism, oral tradition, social time perspective, spirituality, and harmony. With such knowledge, educators may be less likely to view cultural differences as deficits. This can contribute to their seeing strengths in African American students and making referrals for gifted and talented education screening and placement. Essentially, teachers and other school personnel require assistance in creating culturally responsive classrooms, developing multicultural curricula, and modifying their instructional styles and strategies to accommodate diverse learning and cultural styles. Multicultural curriculum, as described by James Banks, holds much promise for engaging African American students.

Educators and caregivers also must understand that the notion of gifted and talented is socially constructed: What is viewed as and valued as gifted in one culture may not be considered gifted in another. One cultural group may value verbal skills; another may prize social skills.

The civil rights movement of the 1860s and 1960s (along with *Sputnik*) all sounded a clarion

call for the best and brightest in the U.S. to come together for a common goal. Undoubtedly, African American and other culturally diverse children possess extraordinary gifts and talents. Like educators and families, African American students must be better informed regarding such issues and topics as the benefits of gifted and advanced placement classes, coping with negative peer pressures, persisting in gifted and talented classes, and improving test performance.

Donna Y. Ford and Gilman W. Whiting

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*)

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GONG LUM V. RICE

In *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927), a Chinese immigrant in Mississippi challenged the school district's classification of his daughter as colored and its

refusal to let her attend the White public school. As with other decisions following the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) endorsement of a separate-but-equal policy, the U.S. Supreme Court legally confirmed the exclusive White privilege of public education. The opinion found no need to consider the educational equity of students who were not White. White students remained in a legally separate and privileged education category for decades. Even when legal segregation was abolished, public schools for students from underrepresented groups would continue to be marked by inferior funding, poor facilities, and/or fewer teachers. This entry looks at the historical context of the case, the legal proceeding, and the impact of the case.

Historical Context

The Chinese migrated worldwide in significant numbers between the 17th and 19th centuries, due to political, economic, and geographical transformations occurring in China. Chinese immigration into the United States, mostly males, occurred in large numbers around the mid-19th century. Louisiana plantations recruited Chinese from Cuba, while those in Arkansas and Mississippi recruited Chinese from China. The U.S. gold rush and the 1862 Transcontinental Railroad Authorization Acts also brought Chinese to this country, especially California. These Chinese recruits moved around the west, south and further east to escape anti-Chinese riots in California and the impact of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which was basically renewed until 1943.

Bringing Chinese people into the Mississippi Delta had an impact on the social and class divisions of the ruling White society, which controlled each city and small town. The Civil War and formerly enslaved Africans imperiled the agricultural economy and society that had been based on owned African American labor. In fact, in the 1850s, there were even calls in the lower southern states to acquire new U.S. territories permitting enslavement to reopen the African enslavement trade and to reenslave free African Americans. Thus, Chinese recruitment from China or California was just another labor strategy using post-Reconstruction laws, or Black Codes, to fuel competition between Chinese and African Americans. The goal was consistently the same: to compel African

Americans to, in this case, voluntarily resume their previous labor relationship to the plantations and White society there.

The U.S. Census of the Mississippi Delta reported the Chinese population grew from 51 to 743 between 1880 to 1940. Many came from areas of vibrant commercial enterprise and trade activity in China or had become service workers after losing their businesses, mining claims, and property rights in the West under anti-Chinese laws. In Mississippi, the Chinese quickly moved out of the fields into service businesses (food, laundry, hauling, importing) and into some prosperity. In their new roles, the Chinese served as the accepted middle man between Whites and African Americans because both frequented Chinese businesses. In addition, Whites rarely viewed Chinese businesses as a serious economic threat, as they were a small population, mainly males, and not presumed to remain permanently.

Generally, prior to 1940, approximately 20% to 30% of Chinese in the Delta cohabitated or married African Americans, and their offspring were classified as colored. Still, Chinese immigrants remained socially apart from African Americans by carving out a third status that would allow them to move closer to the social status of Whites as their businesses flourished. By the mid-1920s, some Chinese businessmen had brought their families from China. And in some cases, one or two of their children attended the local White public schools and the White Sunday schools. Despite the fact that there was no concentration of Chinese, no Chinatown, the increasing number of Chinese children became a concern for school officials and leading White citizens.

By the 1920s and 1930s, there were a number of Chinese children in Bolivar County, Mississippi, where a few Chinese immigrants such as Gong Lum became prosperous. His two daughters attended a White Sunday school, and one sought to join her peers in the Rosedale White public school.

Facts of the Case

In 1924, Lum, a Chinese businessman and immigrant, enrolled his Mississippi-born daughter, Martha Lum, in the White public school in compliance with state compulsory attendance laws requiring her to attend school. Under order of the board

of trustees, the superintendent notified M. Lum at the noon recess that she would not be allowed to return to that school because she was not White.

G. Lum, challenged the expulsion of his child from the district-funded Rosedale Consolidated High School. He argued that his family was pure Chinese and not colored, which usually referred to African Americans, especially in the South. Thus, since his daughter had been wrongly classified as colored by the school authorities, she should be admitted to Rosedale and not have to go to the other public colored school for African Americans, he argued. The lower court agreed and granted G. Lum a writ of mandamus, which would compel the school to reenroll M. Lum in the school.

The Bolivar Board of Trustees appealed to the Supreme Court of Mississippi in *Rice v. Gong Lum* (1927), which reversed the lower court ruling. Thus, M. Lum was barred from attending the district's public White school. The court ruled that Section 207 of the State Constitution of Mississippi permitted separate schools for White and African American children.

G. Lum appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Chief Justice William Howard Taft, a former president, wrote the opinion affirming the state Supreme Court ruling and the expulsion. He held that prior court decisions on educational rights supported her classification as non-White. And under the separate-but-equal doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, there was no violation of her educational rights because M. Lum could attend either an African American public or a private school.

Impact of the Ruling

Chinese settlement in the South was affected by the ruling as Chinese immigrants weighed their choice either to be a sojourner until returning to China or to be an immigrant seeking to gain wealth, status, and education. The Mississippi Delta Chinese viewed the rejection as a denial of public education, which lasted until the 1940s and, in Rosedale, until the 1950s. The Lum family moved to Elaine, Arkansas, to attend public education facilities; other Chinese moved to Memphis or farther north.

This opinion, and others like it, used the separate-but-equal doctrine to ignore any discrimination caused by the racial inequity of education in segregated public schools. But it contributed to a

new strategy that successfully argued—27 years later in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954)—that even where a system provides racially separate and equal public education, the fact that the systems are racially separate make them inherently unequal. The *Brown* decisions overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* separate-but-equal doctrine and thus also overturned this case.

Aama Nahuja

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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GORDON, EDMUND W. (1921–)

The career of educational researcher Edmund W. Gordon is an example of the dedication and diligence that are associated with African American pioneers such as Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Booker T. Washington. Gordon has dedicated his life to research in the field of education with the aim of

creating better educational opportunities for minorities. The concept of educational capital is used by Gordon to demonstrate reasons and solutions for the African American achievement gap, illustrating his desire for transparency in education. This entry explores the life and work of Gordon.

Gordon holds a bachelor of science degree from Howard University, bachelor of divinity degree in social ethics from Howard University Graduate School of Divinity, masters of arts degree in social psychology from American University, and a doctor of education degree in child development and guidance from Teachers College, Columbia University. He also holds honorary degrees from Yale University, Yeshiva University, Brown University, and Mount Holyoke College. Currently, Gordon is the John Musser Professor of Psychology, Emeritus at Yale University, Richard March Hoe Professor, Emeritus of Psychology and Education and Director of the Institute of Urban and Minority Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. His work can be found in over 175 articles and 15 books.

Linda Darling-Hammond compares Gordon to educator and philosopher John Dewey and luminary W. E. B. Du Bois because of his ability to take concepts from disciplines such as psychology and use them to describe, define, and compare a given student's capacity to learn based on his or her social environment. One example of Gordon's resilience is found in his refutation of the popular 1994 book *The Bell Curve*, in which Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray suggest that race plays a major role in cognitive ability. They also convey the notion of public education as a measure to advance students already perceived as gifted, while time should not be wasted on average or below-average students. The problem is that average and below average students are often African American or are other minorities. If the theory set forth in *The Bell Curve* is correct, these students are genetically incapable of learning at an advanced level, and accordingly, why should educational institutions waste energy and economic resources trying to teach them?

Gordon dedicated an entire chapter of his book *Education and Justice* to debunking the misconceptions conveyed in *The Bell Curve*. Gordon explained that the *Bell Curve's* analysis is incorrect because of the methodologies utilized, inaccurate framing of

social concepts, and the duplicity found in the authors' application of the information examined. Gordon's successful unraveling of the *Bell Curve* is an example of his legacy of institutionally proving that African American children are capable of competing with the most able children in the United States. This legacy is arguably his greatest contribution to the African American community.

An example of Gordon's institutional interpretation of ills plaguing the African American community can be found in the book *The Covenant With Black America*. Gordon illuminates eight forms of educational capital necessary for successful education: health, financial, human, social, polity, personal, institutional, and pedagogical. According to Gordon, the equitable dissemination of these forms of educational capital guarantees academic achievement. Emphasis must be placed on maintaining a proper diet (health) for one's child. However, the problem with sustaining a balanced diet is often financial and family oriented (human). Often African Americans cook and eat what tastes good or what grandparents cooked without consideration to its nutritional value. Gordon's group also includes the importance of establishing social connections (social), which entail the inclusion into certain social organizations (polity). Understanding one's self-worth is also important (personal) as well as being involved in progressive institutions, for instance, attending a competitive university as opposed to a one that is less competitive. Finally, the family must play a role in educating children (pedagogical). Students must receive the support they need from their family and administrators in their school systems to excel.

This account of educational capital was developed by Gordon and associates throughout the years in response to affirmative action. Recently, Gordon's research has focused on helping African American males reach socioeconomic, personal, and political levels in society that their previous life circumstances would not have permitted them to attain.

Gordon's career and his work are extraordinary examples of African American leadership in the African American community. Gordon's dedication to education for minorities represents the continuing role of African American leadership in the fight for equality and equity in the United States.

Marcus Anthony Allen

See also Washington, Booker T.

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GOSS V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Goss v. Board of Education of Knoxville, Tennessee (1963) is one of a number of legally and historically important Supreme Court cases dealing with public school desegregation. Decided in 1963, it reflected a commitment to the principle established in the 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, holding that segregated public schools were inherently unequal and thus violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This principle was premised on the fact that segregated schools were remnants of enslavement and were maintained to ensure White racial superiority. The *Goss* case expanded the scope of the ruling by overturning a plan that would have allowed students to reverse their school assignment based on racial balance and choose to return to segregated schools. This entry sets the *Goss* ruling in the context of the long history of

school desegregation cases that began with *Brown* and has extended into the new century.

Historical Context

It is not possible to appreciate the present significance of *Goss* without first understanding the context in which it took place. After the Civil War and the invalidation of enslavement, there was a period of reconstruction that put state governments under federal oversight and brought about significant legislation intended to protect the previously enslaved Africans.

The Fourteenth Amendment in particular was intended to guarantee the equal protection of the laws, but its power was quickly undermined by Supreme Court decisions limiting its application to state action only and excluding from its purview much of private conduct, even if that private conduct was necessary for subsistence (e.g., employer behavior, hotel accommodations, etc.) or was supported by governmental funds. By the late 1880s, the federal oversight of the Southern states ceased, and the states were allowed to enact legislation privileging Whites. Jim Crow laws began in Florida in 1887 and soon spread throughout the South. The Northern states, while rarely enacting state-sanctioned laws allowing discrimination against African Americans, nevertheless tacitly sanctioned segregation in public and private contexts.

From a legal perspective, Jim Crow was sanctioned by the Supreme Court in the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case in which the Court upheld a Louisiana law requiring separate-but-equal railway accommodations for African American and White passengers. Assuming a system of racial superiority, the Court stated that so long as the political rights of the races were equal, the courts could not be concerned with social inequality. The Court not only legitimated racism but also ignored the real condition of inequality, as services for African Americans rarely matched that provided for Whites. And this was particularly true with regard to schools.

The South has always lagged behind the North in the public education of its children, but for African American children, where such education existed, it was inferior if not deplorable. In urban areas, the schools for African American children were often overcrowded, with one school serving a

city's entire African American population. In rural areas, if there were schools at all, they were often in dilapidated, one-room settings.

All this began to change because of the 1954 decision in *Brown*. In that case, the Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision authored by Chief Justice Earl Warren, established the principle that public segregated schools were inherently unequal and thus violated the equal protection clause. It is the continued relevance of this principle that is at stake in the subsequent litigation seeking desegregation.

Unfortunately, establishing the principle unanimously was deemed more important than its implementation. To obtain unanimity on the principle, the Supreme Court deferred the question of remedy until the following year. In *Brown v. Board of Education II* in 1955, the Court accepted that significant problems would occur with an order for immediate desegregation, so it held that desegregation had to take place "with all deliberate speed." Local school districts were also given the responsibility for creating desegregation plans, but were given no clear guidance and an imprecise timeframe. It has been this phrase, "with all deliberate speed," that has led to litigation that led to *Goss* and has lasted even into the present.

Facts of the Case

In 1963, the year in which *Goss* was decided, and almost a decade after *Brown I*, the Supreme Court indicated that desegregation had to end. At the time, only one fifth of Southern African American children attended desegregated schools. The *Goss* case began as two separate challenges to the public school systems in Knoxville, Tennessee, and in Davidson County, Tennessee. Both districts, like many others in the South, were under court orders to desegregate. At issue in the original cases were a number of points in the desegregation plans for the two districts, plans which were approved by the appropriate federal courts. The sole issue before the Supreme Court in *Goss*, however, was the legality of similar transfer provisions in the two plans.

Under the two overall plans, the school systems were to be rezoned without regard to race, rezoning which would permit substantial desegregation. But each of the plans contained transfer provisions that allowed students, solely on the basis of their race and of the racial composition of their schools,

to request a transfer from a new school in which they would be in the racial minority back to their former school where they would be in the racial majority so that, for example, a White child required to attend a predominantly African American school after the rezoning would be allowed to transfer back to his or her predominantly White school. Despite the arguments by the districts that this promoted choice, the transfer provisions did not contain within them allowances for children to request transfers to schools in which they would be in the racial minority. As a result, the transfer provisions were challenged as illegal under the Fourteenth Amendment because they perpetuated the preexisting racial segregation in the public schools.

The Supreme Court agreed, finding that because the provisions served to perpetuate segregation on the basis of race, they were no less unconstitutional than the original race-based assignment to the public schools. *Goss* thus reinforced the judicial commitment to the principle established in *Brown* that segregation was unconstitutional, and it reflected the budding frustration of the Court about the pace of desegregation, a frustration that led the Court to begin requiring immediate desegregation in a series of cases that followed.

Goss, then, was the first of a series of cases in the 1960s and early 1970s in which the Court expanded the power of the federal courts to fashion broad remedies for guaranteeing desegregation. In 1964, the Court held in *Griffin v. County School Board* that the closing of a public school in the county and the opening of state-supported private schools for White children violated the Constitution. And in an important case in 1968, *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, the Court struck down the so-called freedom of choice plans allowing students to select the public school they would attend, plans that were a subterfuge for discrimination because they were premised on the knowledge that White families would choose White schools for their children, but African American families would be too intimidated to choose White schools for their children. In holding that these plans were illegal, the Court established criteria that must be considered to determine whether school districts have eliminated their dual system of education and attained unitary status. Desegregation, the Court held, must be

achieved with respect to facilities, staff, extracurricular activities, and transportation.

In the 1960s, the Warren Court (Earl Warren, chief justice), decided in favor of desegregation in a number of public school cases, and it did so in a decade in which this court also expanded individual liberties over and (often) against governmental interests. The *Goss* decision affecting the schools in Tennessee is significant beyond its facts because it was essentially the first public school desegregation case in the Supreme Court since *Brown II*. Viewed historically, the *Goss* case has become relatively minor for two primary reasons. First, other cases that came later were more forceful and far-reaching in requiring desegregation; second, *Goss* is now but a historical note in recent movements rejecting the principle that segregation is unconstitutional.

Impact of the Case

Goss and the other cases in the 1960s did begin to bring about significant change. But in the 1970s, the Supreme Court led by Chief Justice Warren Burger began to chip away at *Brown's* principle. In a surprising decision in 1971, the Burger Court held in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* that the federal courts had broad remedial powers to ensure desegregation, including the use of mathematical ratios for determining school assignments of students and teachers and of mandatory busing. This case was the pinnacle of the legal commitment to desegregation, the first case to uphold broad judicial remedies for attaining the principle against segregation in public schooling. Because of this case, widespread desegregation did take place in the South. Indeed, by the mid-1970s, the schools in the South were largely desegregated, surpassing those in the North.

The North was spared of much of such litigation and public concern, but was no less segregated. In the 1970s, cases against Northern public school systems began to appear and with them the establishment of the distinction between *de jure* (by law) and *de facto* (in fact) discrimination. In *Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado* (1973), the Court held that only a showing of intentional discrimination (i.e., *de jure* discrimination) would suffice to require desegregation in areas that were not proven to have existing segregated schools at the time of *Brown*.

In addition to rejecting a notion of *de facto* discrimination for establishing a legitimate legal claim against segregation, the Court in the 1970s also began to limit what the federal courts could do to ensure desegregation, thus undermining its decision in *Swann* earlier in the decade. And in one of its most infamous cases, the Court ruled that multidistrict remedies were for all intents and purposes invalid. In 1974, in *Milliken v. Bradley*, a case involving segregation in Detroit and its suburbs, the Court invalidated a district court's desegregation plan seeking to desegregate the schools of Detroit with its neighboring suburbs, a plan premised on the fact that desegregation was impossible otherwise because there were too few Whites in Detroit to desegregate its schools effectively. The plan included busing children between the city and its suburbs. The Supreme Court held that multidistrict plans are illegal when there is no proof of intentional discrimination by all the districts involved in the plan.

In the 1980s, the Court began to establish another principle that would supersede that of *Brown's*: the principle of local government control of schools. In *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk* in 1986, the Court held that a district determined to be unitary could now dismantle its desegregation plan because such a plan was supposed to be only temporary and courts must work to return schools to local government control. The 1980s, then, reflected a new era in school desegregation cases. The Supreme Court, first led by Chief Justice William Rehnquist in the 1980s and 1990s and later by Chief Justice John Roberts, illustrates a conservatism that firmly establishes segregation as an accidental historical event about which the courts are powerless to rectify.

The principle of local control is faulty because legal authority has never rested with local government, but with the state, and the Jim Crow and present eras illustrate that states govern greatly what happens in public schools. Yet in *Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell* in 1991, the Court held that desegregation plans need not be maintained in perpetuity, that courts need only determine that the school boards complied in good faith with the desegregation decree, and that districts need only show that the vestiges of past discrimination had been eliminated to the extent practicable. In *Freeman v. Pitts* in 1992, the Court held that judicial supervision may

be withdrawn with respect to the categories in which the school district had achieved compliance and that courts need not exercise active control over every aspect of school administration. In *Missouri v. Jenkins* in 1995, the Court held that programs that sought to attract White students to the inner-city schools were illegal because they essentially involved multidistrict remedies. In 2007, the Roberts Court held that voluntary district plans that sought to use race in the assignment of schools to achieve racial diversity are illegal (see *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 2005). In all these cases, the Court has indicated that local control of schools is paramount, that desegregation is essentially an accidental and naturally occurring phenomenon, and that the law only prohibits de jure discrimination.

The present significance of *Goss* for African American education thus can be thought of as reflecting an ideal never achieved and which the current political and judicial climates make elusive. In the South, in districts under court orders, the legal standard is that so long as schools comply with desegregation orders for a few years and avoid any explicit attempts at segregation, they will be released from judicial oversight. In districts that were not under court orders, such as those in the North, the legal rule is that judicial remedies will apply only upon a showing of intentional discriminatory policies.

Thus, five decades after the Court held that segregated schools were inherently unconstitutional and after courts were willing to scrutinize de jure and de facto discrimination in cases such as *Goss*, schools remain extremely segregated, structured by race and poverty. Reinforced by current judicial rules converting what counts as a legitimate claim of discrimination, sustained political maneuvering has converted the idea of segregation from one reflecting a practice intentionally used to marginalize African Americans into one that is seen merely as accidental and a natural phenomenon created by the voluntary (and legally sanctioned) choices of individuals to live where they choose. Thus, poverty and race structure the education of African Americans and other ethnic and racial minorities, and little judicial remedies exist to counter the effects of such phenomena.

The irony in all this is that the United States spends much more resources on education than do

other developed nations, relying on a theory of schooling that deems it essential to economic and political sovereignty. But the United States also spends considerably less than other nations in other social welfare provisions that reduce poverty and racism, which are highly correlated to failure in schools. Thus, schools are deemed essential to success, but little is done to ensure the elimination of the underlying poverty and racism that make schools ineffective for most racial and ethnic minorities.

Benjamin Baez

See also *Brown v. Board of Education* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *Freeman v. Pitts*; *Milliken v. Bradley*; Jim Crow; *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk*; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*

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GRADUATE EDUCATION

The graduate degree represents important credentialing and scholarly training that make a range of professional opportunities possible for its recipients. Specifically for African Americans, the advanced degree may represent not only the highest level of individual degree aspiration as a terminal credential required for entrance into professional careers, but also it may signify the

means to needed health, financial, legal, and other professional services to their underserved communities. The focus of this entry is an overview of the status of African Americans in graduate education through an examination of degree trends and factors that challenge and facilitate Black student recruitment, retention, and success in graduate and professional education.

Graduate Enrollments

The limited representation of African Americans among advanced-degree recipients in the United States and related employed professionals remains a concern as graduate enrollment rates for African Americans fluctuate below their commensurate presence in the population and the enrollment and retention rates of comparable nonminority groups.

African Americans increased their graduate school enrollment by 88.4%, from 104,820 in 1994 to 197,482 enrollees by 2004. At 9.1% of all graduate program enrollees, African American enrollment percentages—along with those of American Indians at .6%, Asians at 4.7%, Chicanos and Latinos at 5.2%—consistently remain below enrollments for Caucasians at 58.2%, or foreign students at 12.4%. Among first professionals, American Council on Education data show that African American enrollments grew by 20.7% from 20,170 in 1994 to 24,336 registrants in 2004. By the close of this 10-year period, African Americans represented 7.3% of all first-professional students compared to Caucasians at 66.7%, American Indians at .7%, Asians at 11.9%, Chicanos and Latinos at 4.7%, and foreign students at 2.5%.

Although legislated affirmative action has played a historical role to create a pool of African Americans who enter undergraduate institutions to access graduate study, one study empirically examined arguments that have been used to dismantle or limit the use of affirmative action practices in admissions, namely that institutional policies had little effect and that students admitted through affirmative action would not be prepared to succeed academically in these institutions. Using predictive analyses on National Longitudinal Survey of Freshman data for 28 selective colleges, the study examined the impact of practices that

supported three different types of programs—affirmative action, legacy admission preferences, and recruited athlete preferences. Findings showed where institutional affirmative action was widely practiced that ethnic minorities were the largest percentage of beneficiaries, but had the strongest likelihood to persist in school (compared to recruited athletes or legacy preferences).

Although the continued use of affirmative action to increase the representation of African American graduate students remains under legislative and public debate, the factors traditionally considered in graduate admissions, such as standardized test scores and undergraduate grades, compose the criteria used to select African American and other graduate students. One study found that quantitative admissions, variables such as undergraduate grade point average, Graduate Record Examination Verbal, and Graduate Record Examination Quantitative had only small positive correlations (.20) to graduate school completion. These traditional admissions criteria and subjective variables of interviews and references are the primary factors used to screen graduate applicants. Taken together, the loss of affirmative action consideration in admissions and continued adherence to stringent test score criteria further exclude African Americans from access to graduate school opportunities.

Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) have had a unique role in preparing African Americans for professional employment by way of their undergraduate origins. By the mid-20th century, more than 90% of African Americans enrolled in higher education had been educated at HBCUs. While the proportion of the potential African American graduate applicant pool produced by HBCUs has declined nationally, one study found that there was no differential impact of HBCUs compared to predominantly White colleges on African American undergraduate degree completion for a longitudinal sample, after controlling individual and institutional variables. However, the study suggests a unique benefit for African American students attending HBCUs compared to their African American peers at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) since the former group persisted to degree completion having overcome lower high school academic achievement than their peers and less resources in terms of

facilities, student financial support, and faculty salaries available at HBCUs compared to those at PWIs.

Degree Completion

Graduate enrollments contribute to the potential pool of candidates who may complete degrees in specific programs. Degree completion highlights another critical point of success in graduate education. African Americans are among the groups who earn the majority of advanced degrees at the master's level. In 2004, African Americans received 8.5% of the total 578,812 master's degrees that represented a 134.8% increase from a decade earlier, 5.5% of the total doctorates awarded, and 6.9% of the total professional degrees completed, representing respective growth during this same period of 35.1% in doctorates and 110.8% in professional degrees. Although the increase in actual degree recipients translates to a slight proportional growth for African Americans during this decade observed, the trends for degree completion for this group show consistent gender disparities. African American females complete advanced degrees across all levels at twice the rate of their male counterparts. These differences mirror completion rates at the undergraduate level and reflect additional issues related to male and female socialization and retention for African Americans.

Graduate training received by African Americans shows distinct patterns by major field of expertise. For example, in a study of African American, Hispanic, and Caucasian student undergraduate and graduate attainment patterns, Higher Education General Information Survey data for 1975 to 1976 and 1980 to 1981 degree completion were analyzed and showed that Hispanic and Caucasian males had more similar fields of degree distribution patterns than African American males and that all males in the study had more similar field distribution patterns than their female counterparts. Specifically, higher percentages of African American males completed graduate degrees in business and the social sciences compared to African American females who completed more advanced degrees in education. Both African American females and males completed fewer degrees in selected science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields than their

Caucasian peers across both time intervals examined. These degree completion patterns suggest a limited pool of African Americans available in the U.S. workforce pipeline to engage in STEM careers, or to gain the individual financial resources represented in the highest earnings tiers by professions such as nursing, medicine, and dentistry, reflecting both educational attainment and potential earnings gaps for future generations.

The study's findings also showed a unique impact of HBCUs in graduate degree completion. For example, while HBCUs made up only 9% of the data sample, these institutions accounted for the majority of master's degrees completed in STEM fields of the biological and physical sciences across the 1975 and the 1980 cohorts. These findings suggest an enduring impact of the institutional contexts in which African American graduate students are educated.

Key Challenges

Advancing along any educational path to pursue graduate and professional studies reflects a culmination of achievement at earlier points in higher education, most notably succeeding in undergraduate degree completion. Beyond the numbers, minorities face several challenges to thrive in their graduate study environments. African Americans show lower graduate degree completion rates when compared to their international and White counterparts. In one study that used national data to examine the critical step of advancement to candidacy for doctoral students, African Americans had lower patterns of advancement to candidacy and degree completion than White students, and White students in turn showed rates lower to those of international students.

African American graduate students may be challenged to build critical social supports to persist to degree completion. One examination measuring social connectedness among students and their peers and faculty provides some understanding of how graduate students develop strategies for success amid psychological and environmental stressors. The study findings showed that the lowest social network connectedness existed among African American respondents, and the least social connections existed between African American and other graduate students. Fewer than half of

the African American graduate students and faculty from other groups showed connections, and fewer than one third of the African American students and other students identified networks. Multiple regression results showed that the presence of African American faculty correlated to higher grades and greater psychological well-being for African American graduate students, suggesting a mediating influence of mentors who may help students to translate their life experiences to applicable skills for academic progress.

These differences in performance and outcomes within respective graduate school communities may be tied to ideas discussed by John Ogbu about community forces or the ways in which perceptions of and responses to schooling influenced educational outcomes. Ogbu suggests that the way society treats underrepresented students is mirrored in the schools. He contends that “voluntary minorities”—whose relocation to the United States aimed to improve the living standard—employed dual, but positive frames of reference to compare their current and past status with their places of origin. By contrast to “involuntary minorities”—whose relocation to the United States resulted from enslavement or colonization against their wills—used dual, but negative frames of reference and perceived that their hard work would never be fully rewarded or accepted by Whites given initial conditions under which they came to the United States.

Although measures of graduate student resiliency may be needed to test these hypotheses on the influence of perception and learning contexts, these ideas and empirical evidence discussed in this entry do suggest that additional mentoring and support for African American graduate students may help to mediate actual or perceived stressors to support academic performance and retention.

African American graduate students appear to be at greater risk for failure on the road to achieve advanced education. However, those who completed their advanced education were aided by factors within their institutional environments to support academic achievement, social networking, and mentoring. African Americans who enter graduate study with strong academic preparation from earlier experiences will have the best chance for persistence and achievement at the graduate level. Moreover, mentoring and engagement in the educational environments facilitate educational

progress at the advanced level to promote both professional development and student self-efficacy.

When considering the specific factors that influenced positive outcomes for African Americans in their professional development, it is important to recognize the legacy of HBCUs and to continue to assess how to support African American students from a range of academic preparation to advance in their training. Continued success to ensure graduate student access and retention requires that higher education structures its organizations to focus on inclusion, to affirm student culture valuing diversity, and to demonstrate commitment to students without the same historical traditions of college participation by creating opportunities for their social connection both to faculty and peers.

Marguerite Bonous-Hammarth

See also Affirmative Action; Black Females in College; *Goss v. Board of Education of Knoxville, Tennessee*; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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GREEK LETTER ORGANIZATIONS

Since the early 1900s, African American fraternities and sororities have created what might be the most unique student culture on college campuses. Although the major groups are heavily influenced and driven by graduate members, the undergraduate experience provides the most interesting view of this culture. Early African American fraternities and sororities adopted some of the characteristics of traditional Greek letter organizations, but there was always an emphasis on service to the African American community, and later groups took on a still more distinctively African American character. This entry begins with a historical review; then, it looks more closely at the culture and membership of African American sororities and fraternities.

Historical Background

The modern fraternal movement in the United States began with the establishment of Phi Beta Kappa at the College of William and Mary in 1776. Numerous fraternal organizations would follow the path created by this new secret society, the first being the Kappa Alpha Society founded in 1812 at the University of North Carolina. Incidentally, its founders were members of Phi Beta Kappa.

Within a few decades, the idea of fraternalism spread to college women. The process was slower for women because of their delayed entry into higher education. But after the founding of a woman's college in 1821, the sorority movement took root at Wesleyan College in Georgia in the mid 1800s.

Even more delayed was a critical mass of underrepresented students entering higher education. Although the first African American college students graduated in the early 1820s, it would not be until after the end of enslavement before African American students began a routine entrance into higher education. Certainly, this was aided by the establishment of historically Black colleges and

universities (HBCUs). These factors then created the environment for the beginning of Black fraternalism in the United States.

The Inception Era

It would take several experiments in fraternalism before African American students developed lasting organizations. The first attempt was the organizing of the Alpha Kappa Nu Greek letter society at Indiana University in 1903. This organization lasted only 14 months, but it would later be remembered in the founding of another fraternity on the campus.

In 1905, two additional attempts were made at fraternalism. At Wilberforce University, the Gamma Phi fraternity was organized on May 1. The organization existed as the sole fraternal group on that campus until 1912 and existed off and on into the 1930s. During the same year, the *Chicago Defender* reported on the Pi Gamma Omicron fraternity for African Americans founded at Ohio State University. Yet when members of the social studies club that evolved in Alpha Phi Alpha wrote to inquire about the group, the university reported no knowledge of its existence.

Although students began the fraternal experiment, a group of professional men in Philadelphia founded Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity in May of 1905. The organizer, Dr. Henry Minton, saw the fraternal idea through the experiences of his White colleagues and felt the same kind of association would also benefit African American men. Once founded, the fraternity spread nationally and continues to thrive today, making it the oldest African American Greek letter organization in continuous existence. Its members today often include men who joined undergraduate-based organizations. Although not linked directly to most of the collegiate groups that would come after it, Sigma Pi Phi signifies the transition into the foundation era.

The Foundation Era

Founded on December 4, 1906, at Cornell University, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity is generally recognized as the first African American intercollegiate Greek letter organization. The group evolved from a social studies club that met a year before it became a fraternity. The founding of Alpha Phi Alpha becomes the demarcation of the

foundation era for African American fraternalism. Between its founding in 1906 and 1922, eight historically Black fraternal organizations were founded on college campuses. Besides Alpha Phi Alpha, they are as follows:

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority	1908	Howard University
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity	1911	Indiana University
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity	1911	Howard University
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	1913	Howard University
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity	1914	Howard University
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority	1920	Howard University
Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority	1922	Butler University

These eight are important because they have been able to not only grow but also thrive over the years, and for a period of almost 70 years, they were the totality of the African American fraternal experience. These groups collectively became to be known as the big eight or the great eight as they expanded across the nation.

The Expansion Era

Prior to the 1940s, most of the expansion took place in more liberal states located in the Midwest and the Northeast. This meant there would be few chapters for the organizations, with none having more than about 50 chapters by the 1930s. But the groups would benefit by the accreditation of HBCUs in the South and Southwest, which led to a rapid expansion on those campuses.

The *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision would open a new frontier for expansion. These organizations were able to start chapters on major predominantly White campuses in the Southern states. For many, there was a sense of excitement about this new frontier. For others, they feared their existence on those campuses would cause them to be challenged for promoting segregation in the midst of desegregation.

Growth would be slow initially during the turbulent 1960s. Many Greek organizations nationally,

both African American and White, saw a reduction in the number of members due to the civil rights movement that occupied the energies of many collegians. However, those African American fraternity and sorority members who were intimately involved in civil rights are known for being some of the most famous and important African Americans in history: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Alpha Phi Alpha), Rev. Jesse Jackson (Omega Psi Phi), Rev. Hosea Williams (Phi Beta Sigma), Rev. Ralph David Abernathy (Kappa Alpha Psi), Rev. Willie T. Barrow (Sigma Gamma Rho), and Rosa Parks (Alpha Kappa Alpha).

The Black Power, Blaxploitation Era

The 1960s provided an opportunity for students to create new models for involvement, some of which were patterned off of the major African American fraternal organizations. In 1963, 12 non-traditional students founded the Iota Phi Theta Fraternity at Morgan State University. Unlike the great eight that were formed by traditional collegians, these men sought to bring a new purpose to African American fraternalism. The fraternity proved to be different from other groups started around that time as it grew into a national group and became the ninth member of the National Pan-Hellenic Council, the umbrella body for the major African American fraternal groups. With Iota Phi Theta, the group became known as the divine nine.

Many other groups started in the 1960s and 1970s, almost as parodies of the mainstream African American fraternal groups. One of the oldest, Groove Phi Groove, was also formed at Morgan State University, but founded in 1962. Although it has been able to continue to exist into the 21st century, most of the groups had short existences.

At the same time, there was a stronger interest in the major groups. The 1970s was a decade of major growth on White college campuses. Groups that added no more than five new chapters in any given year prior to 1970 were now adding at least 10 chapters a year and often adding over 20 chapters in a year. This rapid growth and increased awareness paralleled the increases of African American students in college, many first-generation students. This rapid growth would ultimately create new challenges for these organizations.

The Modern Era

By the 1980s, African American fraternalism was growing consistently. It was during this decade that popular culture would begin to highlight African American fraternalism. A spin-off of *The Cosby Show* in the late 1980s, *A Different World* was the first show to feature African American college life, including a fictional African American fraternity, along with members of the divine nine appearing regularly as extras.

The 1988 film by Spike Lee, *School Daze*, was a landmark piece in that it provided a broad view of African American fraternal life. Although exploring a number of touchy issues, the film dealt with the challenges faced by these groups, particularly regarding the process of pledging and the associated hazing. Although controversial, it exposed these groups to a broader audience, providing the average U.S. citizen with a glimpse into the world of African American fraternalism. Since that time, African American fraternities and sororities have been highlighted regularly in popular culture, including numerous documentaries, television commercials, and special programs.

Although nine groups are recognized as the major organizations, the idea of African American fraternalism today would be incomplete without recognizing several themes that are present as students continue to find new ways to make meaning on their campuses. Besides the nine major groups, over 70 organizations have existed at some point in history. The late 1980s saw the rise of Christian groups. These groups function and appear like the major groups, just with the added emphasis on Christianity.

Beginning in the late 1970s, students developed an Afrocentric mindset with regard to fraternalism. With the formation of Malik Sigma Psi fraternity at the C.W. Post Campus of Long Island University by 15 African American and Latino men in 1977, several students founded groups with an outward ethnic consciousness. Malik members call themselves African fraternalists rather than Black Greeks because of the notion that Africa's contributions to world society predate those of Greece, and this should be honored in fraternal organizations. Many groups were founded as African fraternities and took on the names of Kemet, Auset, Ndugu, and Nzinga, to name just a few.

In addition to these major categories, African American fraternalism has impacted the formation of multicultural groups and of gay and lesbian groups. Many other groups have formed and operated exactly like the divine nine, yet they have not been able to rise to the level of a national organization.

Black Fraternal Culture

For the average U.S. citizen who is familiar with fraternities and sororities, African American fraternal life provides a stark contrast to the older predominantly White organizations. Although White groups on campus may have chapters that exceed 100 members, most African American fraternities and sororities are much smaller, normally less than 20 members. The larger White groups usually have some kind of residential structure, and on many campuses, these large houses may be situated on a Greek row. Very rarely will African American fraternal groups have housing structures, although since the 1990s campuses have made an effort to house their groups, generally with some kind of apartment or lodge structure.

Throughout the history of African American fraternal organizations, a tremendous amount of emphasis has been placed on community service. These organizations generally have as one of their tenets a calling for hands-on service, particularly geared toward the African American community. Through these organizations, one finds a tremendous range of programs, from mentoring programs to scholarship events. The nine major organizations all have their own signature service and community initiatives that provide a focus for their service. This differs greatly from the philanthropy-focused White groups that host entertaining events as fund-raisers.

One of the major differences is the notion of a lifetime commitment by members of African American fraternal organizations. Graduate chapters continue to function as college chapters do, although their membership is made up of those who were initiated in college and by those who joined once completing college. In the language of Greek life, while members of a White group may say that they were members of a particular group in college, the members of an African American group always indicate that they are currently a member.

The culture of African American fraternities and sororities is best highlighted through the outward manifestations of membership. Like all fraternal groups, the use of the Greek letters indicates membership in a particular organization. For African American groups, the use of letters is one small aspect. Members wear paraphernalia that indicate their membership on a variety of clothing items, which include jackets, jerseys, sweaters, hats, socks, and even shoes.

Beginning in the 1980s, the jackets worn by members of the groups have become elaborate statements of membership. These jackets often indicate where the person was initiated, as well as in what term and year. Jackets usually include the collective name of those initiated together, known as a line, and therefore a line name. This 1970s idea started simply (i.e., The 9 Keepers of the Golden Flame), but has become more intricate and complex (i.e., The Tri-Nexus of Tenacity). In addition, the jacket would include a nickname of the member, called his or her personal line name. Further, some jackets may also list the names of the other persons initiated at that time.

Beyond the worn paraphernalia, members have incorporated various hand signs and calls to visually and audibly signify membership. Both of these innovations, started in the 1970s, have become prominent fixtures in African American fraternal culture today. Although these expressions of membership are frequently seen on the college campus, graduate members engage in the behaviors as well, and their frequency of use will increase as more who participated in these activities leave the college ranks.

By far, the most visible activity of African American fraternal groups is the art form of self-expression known as stepping. *Stepping* can be defined as a synchronized, syncopated routine of precise hand and foot movements. This is enhanced by singing, dancing, chanting, and acting in an attempt to offer a completely entertaining experience. The first stepping moves emerged in the late 1960s, but the art form has rapidly grown into a widely recognized activity associated primarily with African American fraternities and sororities, but now used by both Latino and Asian groups, as well as by church and school step teams. By 2006, stepping had grown in stature so that a national championship was broadcast on ESPN2.

Membership

Beginning in the 1920s, African American fraternities and sororities created pledge clubs as a means to train aspirants on the ways of the organization. The process of pledging continued to become sophisticated throughout the years. By the 1940s and 1950s, pledges would participate in a process that included dressing alike and carrying around objects of significance to the organization. During this time, it would not be unusual for persons to be members of a pledge club for up to a year. However, throughout the 1940s there were reports of hazing that was taking place in these pledge clubs.

The groups modified pledging in response to hazing, and the process itself evolved. Going into the 1980s, organizations drastically reduced the amount of time persons would pledge, generally around 6 weeks. After the 1989 hazing death of Joel Harris at Morehouse College, the national presidents of the eight largest organizations met in February of 1990 and unanimously agreed to end the practice of pledging in their respective organizations. This move ushered in the membership intake era, where in theory persons would apply to the group of choice and complete an educational program.

Unfortunately, membership intake did not end hazing, as students continued the practice of pledging underground, which means without approval or knowledge by the national group or the host campus. This dangerous practice has resulted in several deaths and numerous injuries, many of which have led to lawsuits and criminal trials. With suits filed as high as \$100 million, national leaders entering the 21st century continue to contemplate the viability of their organizations especially around the concerns of the undergraduate experience.

Walter M. Kimbrough

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); *Predominantly White Institutions*

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GRUTTER V. BOLLINGER

In *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) and its companion case *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), the U.S. Supreme Court restated its view that racial diversity is a compelling interest for colleges and universities. In deciding cases challenging the consideration of race in college and university admissions, the Court set some new rules for how race can be considered in admissions decisions. These cases were the culmination of years of litigation and advocacy both attacking and in defense of affirmative action programs in higher education. This entry explores the backdrop, the case, and the impact of *Grutter v. Bollinger*.

Facts of the Case

Plaintiffs Barbara Grutter and Jennifer Gratz were represented by the Center for Individual Rights, a conservative organization seeking to end the use of race-conscious admissions policies. The named defendant in the case was Lee Bollinger, who was at that time the president of the University of Michigan; he fought for the university's existing policies with the purpose of achieving racial diversity in the student body.

Grutter, a White woman, applied to attend the University of Michigan Law School and was denied admission. She thereafter sued, alleging that her application was turned down because of the law school's affirmative action program, which required consideration of race and ethnicity in its admissions decisions. Specifically, she alleged that the program violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The law school's admissions policy, with the stated goal of admitting a diverse corps of qualified students, was designed to comply with the Supreme Court's standards as set forth in *Bakke v. Regents of California* (1978). In that case, the Court struck down an affirmative action program that held that diversity was a compelling interest that could, under some circumstances, justify the use of race in admissions decisions.

At the University of Michigan, law school admissions decisions were based on a composite score, which was compiled based on quantitative criteria such as the applicant's LSAT score and undergraduate grade point average, as well as qualitative factors such as the applicant's leadership and work experience, unique talents or interests, state of residence, quality of admissions essay, the reputation of the undergraduate institution, and difficulty of undergraduate courses taken.

In addition, the admissions policy allowed special consideration for students who had low composite scores, but who exhibited various factors that would enrich diversity at the university. The applicant's race and ethnicity were considered as part of diversity. Specifically, the admissions committee considered the number of minority students and sought to enroll a critical mass of those underrepresented students. However, the school did not set aside seats for students of specific races and did not establish a separate applicant pool by race.

After a trial, the federal district court ruled in favor of Grutter, finding that the law school's admissions policy was equivalent to a racial quota system. However, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, sitting en banc, reversed while at the same time affirming the federal district court's decision upholding the university's undergraduate affirmative action policy in *Gratz v. Bollinger*, another University of Michigan case focused on a race-conscious admissions program at the undergraduate level.

The court of appeals decision was highly contentious, with numerous concurring and dissenting opinions. Gratz and Grutter then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which decided to take the cases.

To decide these cases, the Court employed the strict scrutiny test to analyze whether the use of race violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This test first requires a compelling interest to justify the use of race. Second, the manner in which race is considered must be narrowly tailored to achieve that compelling interest.

To be narrowly tailored to achieve the compelling interest in diversity, a race-conscious admissions program must meet the following four requirements: (1) holistic, individualized review of each applicant where race is used in a flexible, nonmechanical way; (2) serious and good faith consideration of race-neutral alternatives; (3) no undue burden on White applicants; and (4) periodic review of the program's continued necessity.

In *Grutter*, the Court recognized the compelling interest in promoting diversity in higher education. In 2003, the Court spoke at length about the educational benefits of diversity, noting that, among other things, it (a) "better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals"; (b) "promotes cross-racial understanding, helps to break down racial stereotypes, and enables students to better understand persons of different races"; (539 U.S. at 330) and (c) is justified because of the "unique experience of being a racial minority in a society, like our own, in which race unfortunately still matters" (539 U.S. at 333). The Court also held that the law school's interest in obtaining a critical mass of minority students was indeed a tailored use. Thus, the Court affirmed the consideration of race as a factor in the individualized, holistic evaluation of applicants.

Although the Court found the law school admissions policy in *Grutter* to be narrowly tailored, it determined that the undergraduate plan at issue in *Gratz* did not satisfy this test. Key to this finding was that the policy at issue in *Gratz* automatically awarded points to applicants from underrepresented groups. The policy was therefore struck down as unconstitutional.

Impact of the Ruling

The enduring legacy of the *Grutter* and *Gratz* decisions is the Supreme Court's affirmation that diversity is a compelling interest in higher education and that race is part of that diversity calculus. The decision largely upheld the position asserted in Justice Lewis Powell's concurrence, writing for the plurality in *Bakke*, which allowed race to be a consideration in admissions policy, but held that quotas were illegal.

The *Grutter* decision was based as much on legal analysis as it was on a pragmatic view of the purpose of education and the goal of full inclusion of all groups in society. As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote, education is "pivotal to 'sustaining our political and cultural heritage' with a fundamental role in maintaining the fabric of society" and "effective participation by members of all racial and ethnic groups in the civil life of our Nation is essential if the dream of one Nation, indivisible, is to be realized" (539 U.S. at 331).

Justice O'Connor noted, "Race-conscious admissions policies must be limited in time" (539 U.S. at 341–342), speculating that in a matter of 25 years, the use of racial preferences would no longer be necessary to further the diversity interest approved by the court. This desire for a colorblind admissions policy has been taken by some as a warning that affirmative action's legitimacy will somehow expire. This language was mere dicta, however. And ironically, the decision was rendered 25 years after the Court first broached the issue of race-conscious higher-education admissions policies in *Bakke*.

The legacy of the *Grutter* decision was apparent just a few years later in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2005) and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, companion cases holding that diversity serves a compelling interest to justify the use of race-conscious decision in the K–12 context.

However, in those same cases, the Court found that the student admissions plans were not narrowly tailored. In so holding, the Court applied an inflexible standard announced in *Grutter*, requiring holistic, individualized review in the K–12 context—something widely recognized a impractical if not impossible.

Damon Todd Hewitt

See also *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*

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H

HEAD START

Head Start is a federally funded, comprehensive child development program serving young children and families in poverty. In fiscal year 2007, Head Start served approximately 909,000 children in over 50,000 classrooms with a budget of \$6.9 billion. More than 1 in 3 Head Start children are African American, and the overwhelming majority of African American children in poverty are served by Head Start for at least 1 year. The program has been shown to produce modest improvements in children's learning and development, in health and access to health services, and in parenting. There is also evidence of long-term improvements in economic and social success, particularly for African American children. This entry looks at what the program does, describes its historical background and implementation, and assesses its record.

The Program

Head Start is administered by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. Head Start operates in every state, the District of Columbia, and several U.S. territories. Three branches serve special populations: Migrant Head Start, American Indian-Alaskan Native Head Start, and Early Head Start. Early Head Start was established in 1994 to serve pregnant women and children from birth to age 3. Head Start is the federal government's largest

investment in early childhood education and development. It operates under detailed federal regulations and program performance standards regarding children's health and mental health services, education and development, health and safety, nutrition, and family and community partnerships.

Head Start recognizes the importance of the family's role in children's development and therefore requires that parents are meaningfully involved in program governance and operations. Every program has a policy council or committee that provides a formal structure for shared governance, and at least 51% of the members must be parents of current Head Start students. Head Start also provides services to parents and other family members. The most common services provided to parents are parenting education, adult education or employment training, and health education. Services to children primarily consist of center-based education 4 or 5 days a week throughout the school year, but about 5% of children are served through home visits. Along with education, children are provided health and nutrition services.

Federal regulations require that 90% of Head Start attendees be children in families at or below the poverty level at program entry, and 10% must be children with disabilities. The program serves mostly children at ages 3 (35%) and 4 (51%), with a few children age 5 or older (4%), as well as a growing number of infants and toddlers under Early Head Start (10%). Even after 40 years of operation, enrollment capacity is still an issue as Head Start is funded to serve only about half of the eligible 3- and

4-year-olds and a far smaller percentage of the eligible infants and toddlers.

Historical Background

Head Start began with the launch of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty" and the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. To develop Head Start, the Johnson administration charged an interdisciplinary panel chaired by Dr. Robert Cook, a pediatrics professor at John Hopkins University, with the task of designing a program to enhance the development and academic achievement of the poor. The panel decided to target the preschool population and their families with a program combining health, education, and social services. The program was designed to enhance children's overall social competence, a broad construct that encompassed a wide range of elements thought to influence school achievement, including cognition and physical health.

This multidimensional approach was broader than other early childhood education programs during the 1960s. Although traditional nursery schools focused on children's social-emotional development in addition to providing learning opportunities through play, they primarily catered to affluent families. Head Start was the first large-scale effort to provide such opportunities, and more, to children in poverty.

Originally, the program was housed in the Office of Economic Opportunity, but in 1969, it was moved to the Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Head Start's design was strongly influenced by the civil rights movement and by social and political antidiscrimination activism in the African American community. It was also strongly influenced by new scholarship regarding environmental influences on child development, such as Joseph McVicker Hunt's *Intelligence and Experience*. This scholarship challenged popular views that intelligence is overwhelmingly determined by heredity and planted the idea of improving the developmental trajectories of poor children by providing them with rich educational experiences.

The political and intellectual roots of Head Start explain the program's intent to be an education program for children and a community action program in which adults could form local organizations to

eradicate poverty. Like most programs created by the Economic Opportunity Act, Head Start was designed to increase funding and community participation at the local level. Thus, federal policy emphasized maximum feasible participation at both the family and community levels. This emphasis is one reason the federal Head Start agency directly awards grants to local agencies, bypassing state government, which is unusual. Other federal education and child development programs operate through state government.

Implementation

To reach the maximum number of children, Head Start began in 1965 with an 8-week summer program enrolling 561,000 children. A half-day school year program was added the next year, and enrollment jumped to 733,000. Enrollment numbers exceeded 660,000 through 1969 when a study from the Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio University reported the program failed to produce lasting cognitive and social-emotional benefits for children.

Although the Westinghouse study was subsequently found to have serious scientific flaws, there was general agreement that the summer program was too limited to produce significant educational gains for children. Other studies in the early 1970s also came to pessimistic conclusions about Head Start's lasting impacts. As a result, the summer program was cut back, and Head Start enrollment dropped and continued to decline through 1977.

In the 1980s, Head Start experienced a resurgence in enrollment. Yet even though enrollment grew, there was little growth in inflation-adjusted funding. In 1990, Head Start served about 541,000 children with a budget of nearly \$1.6 billion. Substantial increases in funding began in the 1990s during George H. W. Bush's administration. Under the Bill Clinton administration, enrollment growth and funding accelerated as the program's budget more than tripled, and initiatives were launched that included Early Head Start, full-day and full-year services, and revised Head Start performance standards. By 2001, Head Start served over 900,000 children with a budget of \$6.2 billion.

Unfortunately, from 2001 to 2006, the inflation-adjusted budget for Head Start declined. By 2006, the inflation-adjusted Head Start budget was

almost \$1 billion less than it had been 5 years earlier. This decline in Head Start's real buying power is particularly notable because enrollment continued at record highs. Although more children than ever were served, Head Start had less money to serve them, raising questions about the ability to maintain quality and fully meet performance standards.

The majority of Head Start attendees have always been minorities who are disproportionately represented among children living in poverty. By 2006, children in poverty were more ethnically diverse than they were four decades earlier, and the program responded by increasing enrollment among Latino and Asian American children. As a result, the percentage of children in Head Start who are African American has declined steadily. However, the total number of children enrolled in Head Start increased so much that the percentage of eligible African American children served was higher than ever. In 2006, approximately 70% of 3- and 4-year-old African American children in poverty enrolled in Head Start compared to just over one third in 1980.

African American children have the highest poverty rate of any major ethnic group. They are more likely than other ethnic groups to have multiple risks that impede their school success. Factors found to be detrimental to school success include undiagnosed language impairments, a family history of literacy problems, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and living in poor neighborhoods. African American children are more likely to experience one or more of these risk factors than are other children. Although the achievement gap between African Americans and Whites has narrowed since the civil rights movement, there is still a substantial gap between the two groups, and much of that gap is evident before kindergarten.

Head Start programs help to narrow the achievement gap by providing early education experiences that focus on language, cognitive, and social-emotional development. Because reading is a key determinant of academic success, Head Start teachers participate in national and university-based training that emphasizes the developmental continuum of emergent literacy. In Head Start, literacy activities are taught in meaningful, print-rich environments where teachers engage children in extended one-on-one conversations as well as

shared reading and early writing activities. In addition, children are provided with opportunities to develop their sensory and motor skills through play activities. Teachers are also trained to encourage parents to engage in home literacy activities, and national evaluations show that Head Start increases the degree to which parents read to their children.

Head Start also narrows the achievement gap by instilling a more positive attitude about school. Many Head Start teachers have experience with children's cultural and linguistic backgrounds because most teachers are ethnic minorities. In 2005, 45% of the Head Start teachers and staff were White, 29% were African American, 27% were Latino, and 7% were Native American, Asian, or Native Hawaiian. Such strides in staff diversity have been achieved because Head Start emphasizes hiring from within the community, particularly emphasizing hiring parents. Even after 40 years of operation, more than 25% of its employees are parents of current or former students. This staff diversity allows children to culturally identify with their teachers and is designed to make them feel more comfortable in a school environment.

Evaluation

Head Start may be the most extensively evaluated early childhood intervention program in the United States. For many years, the most widely publicized evaluation was the 1969 Westinghouse study. This study had serious scientific flaws that may have introduced substantial biases, particularly with respect to measuring lasting impacts on children's learning and development. Later studies often had similar limitations and produced similar findings, indicating that Head Start's initial effects on children's development tended to disappear.

However, public support for Head Start received a boost from more rigorous studies that provided better estimates of the long-term effects of other preschool education programs on children in poverty. Prominent among these are the Perry Preschool, Abecedarian, and Chicago Child-Parent Center studies. The children in these studies were primarily African American. These studies found that although effects on cognitive development declined after children left the programs, some

cognitive and other benefits persisted into elementary and high school. These benefits included increased achievement test scores, fewer grade retentions, decreased special education placements, and higher graduation rates. Follow-up into the adult years found increased employment and earnings, less crime and delinquency, and even less cigarette smoking.

In recent years (2001–2006), several highly sophisticated research studies have investigated whether the kinds of long-term benefits found for other preschool education programs may also have been produced by Head Start. These studies have found evidence that Head Start improved childhood health and lowered childhood mortality, decreased involvement in crime, and increased educational attainment.

In the mid-1990s, Congress mandated two national evaluations of the program: the Early Head Start Evaluation and the Head Start Impact Study. These studies employed rigorous designs in which children were randomly assigned to the program or a control group. The Early Head Start Evaluation found that the program produced modest improvements in children's language, cognitive, and social-emotional development by age 3. By age 5, some of these positive effects had diminished, with no lasting gains in cognitive and language abilities. Parents of children enrolled were slightly more nurturing and supportive and less likely to be depressed than parents in the control group. There are some indications of stronger outcomes for African Americans.

The Head Start Impact Study also found modest gains in the 1st year of Head Start attendance for children's language and literacy, social-emotional development, parent-reported child health services and health status, and parenting. Effects may be underestimated by the Impact Study because some children in the control group accessed Head Start while some assigned to Head Start did not attend. Also, some children in the control group may have received similar services from such other public programs as state subsidized child care and prekindergarten. The study had not reported on the outcomes of 2 years of Head Start participation by mid-2007, but based on other studies, 2 years of Head Start would be expected to have larger effects than 1 year.

Results of recent studies highlight the fact that Head Start alone is not a sufficient remedy for the developmental challenges faced by many African

American children and their families. Head Start is a program that assists children and families for only a few years. It would be unreasonable to expect Head Start by itself to overcome all of the problems of poverty and life in low-income communities. Head Start can be expected to narrow, but not close, the achievement gap between African Americans and Whites. Head Start makes improvements across a broad range of child and family outcomes in fulfilling its mission to enhance the lives of children and families in poverty.

Head Start continues to pursue improvements with the goal of producing larger and longer lasting effects. The federal government has sought to do this by setting aside funds for quality improvement; improving teacher qualifications, training, and mentoring; increasing emphasis on literacy and other academic goals; mandating child assessments; and increasing program accountability. Mandated assessments of Head Start children have been controversial due to issues about appropriate assessment of young children, particularly young minority children. In sum, after more than 40 years, Head Start remains a work in progress, one that produces broad, positive impacts on children and families, but strives to adapt to societal changes and improve its outcomes.

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See also Academic Achievement; Compensatory Education; Higher Education Act of 1965; Poverty and Education

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HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

Among the emerging challenges of the mid-20th century was the inability of academically prepared high school graduates to enter college due to the lack of affordability; hence, the Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 was launched as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty." The goal of the HEA was to advance the efforts of colleges and universities while providing initiatives to promote educational, economic, and social mobility across diverse groups; it focuses on assisting students from low-income families—many of them first-generation college students and many of them students from underrepresented groups—to acquire postsecondary education. The HEA is one of several laws that illustrate the emergence of a federal presence in challenging poverty, racism, and sexism as obstructions to equality across the educational pipeline.

In its original version, the act included provisions for support of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), but later amendments expanded its focus to include community colleges, setting up a competition for funding. African Americans also benefited from provisions that offer support directly to students and fund programs that enhance academic preparation. This entry describes the historical context of the legislation and its passage, describes its impact on HBCUs and African American students, and briefly summarizes the current provisions.

Historical Background

U.S. higher education, also referred to as postsecondary education, involves instructional, scholarly, and service activities at two levels: undergraduate and graduate. Historically, the pursuit of a college

degree was afforded exclusively to the White elite, not to the general population. In 1867, the federal government established the Department of Education, not with the intent of making education more universal, but to assist states with developing K–16 school systems that would provide information on effective teaching and learning practices.

One of the unique facets of U.S. higher education, unlike postsecondary systems in other countries, is that the primary responsibility for establishing colleges and universities lies at the state level. The United States largely formalized public education during the 19th century. However, for much of the 19th century and 20th century, racial-ethnic minorities and women were excluded from participating in higher education. Prior to World War II, less than 20% of high school graduates enrolled in higher education.

College enrollment began to increase following the passage of the 1941 Lanham Act, which provided basic legislation for federal appropriations to schools and the 1944 GI Bill of Rights, legislation devised to offer additional opportunities to returning World War II veterans. Despite the institution of key policies of the 1940s and 1950s, barriers to postsecondary access continued for many U.S. citizens, particularly individuals from historically underserved and marginalized groups after World War II; many GIs began college study, while others reclaimed their previous jobs. This left many African Americans and women displaced.

In an effort to remedy uneven access to college, subsequent employment opportunities and strengthen higher education, Johnson presented a charge to U.S. citizens in his "The Great Society" speech of 1964. Johnson urged U.S. citizens to join the battle of attaining equality for every citizen. Attempting to bring each individual into the full fold of participation, Johnson waged a "War on Poverty," expressing a need to address societal inequities, many of which pervade higher education.

Passage of the HEA

Bills H.R. 3220, H.R. 3221, and S. 600 and S. 2302 are the antecedents of the HEA of 1965. Each of the bills was introduced in the House of Representatives and Senate to improve financial aid to students, increase teacher training programs,

and expand revenues for higher-education institutions. Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. chaired the House Committee on Education and Labor, which forwarded another bill, H.R. 9567, which expanded features of the previous bills on July 14, 1965. The House and Senate passed Bill H.R. 9567 on October 20, 1965. Bill H.R. 9567 eventually became Public Law Number 89–329, 79 STAT 1219, also known as the HEA of 1965. This key federal legislation was signed into law by Johnson on November 8, 1965.

Among the central aims of HEA was improving entry to college and assessing the condition of postsecondary education relative to the role of higher-learning institutions. More specifically, the 1965 HEA increased federal support of colleges and universities and instituted student grant aid programs. Through HEA, institutions of higher learning were allocated funding to improve library holdings; smaller colleges received greater program assistance and increased resources for community development.

Specific Programs

There are several programs authorized under HEA that include, but are not limited to federally sponsored assistance for colleges and universities, graduate fellowships, international education, student aid, and teacher quality. Since its enactment, HEA has been considered one of the most significant pieces of legislation affecting higher education. HEA is made up of seven titles: (1) General Provisions, (2) Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants, (3) Institutional Aid, (4) Student Assistance, (5) Developing Institutions, (6) International Education Programs, and (7) Graduate and Postsecondary Improvement Programs.

Federal interest in regulation is critically important in generating broad student access and mitigating hurdles to postsecondary attainment. For example, as related to Title I of HEA, the federal government makes general provisions for accreditation, articulation, and the transfer of credit. Title II addresses the need for quality teacher education preparatory programs. Title III, which seeks to strengthen institutional programs, was originally created by Congress to provide grants to low-income, first-generation students at HBCUs and financial support for HBCU facilities and services.

Title IV encompasses federal student assistance in a variety of forms such as campus-based work-study programs, GEAR UP, Upward Bound, Pell Grants, and so forth. The federal role in furthering the development and capacity of institutions of higher learning is the concern of Title V, while Title VI covers federal sponsorship of international education programs such as the Fulbright program. Finally, Title VII pushes for academic quality improvement and effective graduate and professional education through competitive grants programs (e.g., GAANN—Graduate Assistance in Areas of National Need).

Federal Involvement

The federal role in higher education has shaped the landscape of postsecondary colleges and universities. Through the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, HEA, and other laws, federal involvement in postsecondary education has evolved over the decades to guarantee equal access, sustain the national interest, and cultivate basic and applied research in addition to ensuring quality educational experiences for all.

As evident in the seven titles of HEA, the scope of federal influence on higher education illustrates how dependent institutions of higher learning are on the government in a number of areas (e.g., from financial support to guiding admissions policies and regulating protocols for academic research). Although the federal government sets national priorities relative to the educational arena, federally sponsored financial support of U.S. higher education is modest and secondary in comparison to state financing. Yet when it pertains to educational right of entry, academic bias, and uneven outcomes, the federal government takes primary responsibility for equal opportunity compliance.

Significance for African Americans

History has demonstrated how debatable it is to determine whether the federal government has intervened sufficiently in making certain that the playing field is leveled across various social groups. Mechanisms to make public education at all levels available to every U.S. citizen without regard to race, ethnicity, gender, or socioeconomic status

continue to be elusive. Hence, the goal of the GI Bill as a government intervention has been considered a failure by some scholars in terms of closing the racial gap in college attainment. Although educational inequalities persist, the spirit of the 1965 HEA legislation was to enhance the ability of the different racial-ethnic groups in low and middle income brackets to occupy a larger segment of the collegiate enterprise.

U.S. history in the education of African Americans illustrates separatist and exclusive schooling contexts. Very few White institutions readily opened their doors to African Americans despite key programs of the 1940s organized to increase postsecondary participation. In the South, many African Americans had difficulty benefitting from the GI Bill given the racial politics at the local level that often illegally dispensed advantages to White veterans.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the federal government was especially concerned with issues of equality in public K–12 and postsecondary schools. Eligible African Americans were not permitted access at traditionally White campuses and were frequently directed not to pursue higher education. Therefore, the greatest opportunities for African American educational advancement were at HBCUs.

Historically Black institutions are largely concentrated in the South. Most African Americans resided in the South until the great migration of the 1930s, which was the largest movement of African Americans from the South to the North. Congress recognized that HBCUs were paramount in the production of African American college graduates. Subsequently, Title III of HEA was designed to assist HBCUs in surmounting numerous years of disregard from the Southern states.

Aims authorized under HEA that directly impact historically Black postsecondary institutions include the following:

1. Strengthening the capacity of HBCUs in terms of infrastructure, institutional stability, acceptable facilities, capital financing and fiscal management
2. Expanding educational opportunities for low-income African American students
3. Helping HBCUs in the form of endowment challenge grants and minority science-engineering improvement programs

Title III of HEA was originally earmarked as assistance for HBCUs. Over the years, Congress has acknowledged that other institutional types have substantial African American student populations. Community colleges parallel HBCUs relative to a mission to promote access for low-income, first-generation collegians. Since 1875, historically Black 2-year colleges have existed in the United States. Aside from the traditional 4-year HBCUs that practiced open admissions, the 20th century witnessed the growth as well as the deterioration of Black 2-year colleges. There were well over 100 Black 2-year colleges during the early 20th century. By the late 1970s, severe decline occurred, and by the millennium, only 12 historically Black 2-year institutions remained, most located in the Southeast.

By 1980, as a result of lobbying from the American Association of Community Colleges' Black Affairs Council, Title III was broadened to include grant opportunities for 2-year institutions of higher learning. However, the shift of Title III funding allocations from HBCUs to community colleges would eventually include set-asides for all 2-year and minority-serving institutions (i.e., historically Black, predominantly White, women's community colleges, urban, suburban, rural, tribally controlled, and Hispanic serving). Although the history, purposes, and operating structures of community colleges and minority-serving institutions vary considerably, these institutions are in competition for limited resources, most notably federal government support for the development and growth of these institutions via Titles III and V of HEA.

Although HEA has shaped the landscape of postsecondary education institutions, HEA has also directly affected students, especially in terms of extending college affordability (e.g., Pell Grants and subsidized student loans) and protecting student rights to speech and association. HEA helps to maintain and improve financial assistance to postsecondary students, to encourage transparency in higher-education practices and the quality of academic programs, and to promote institutional efficiencies and growth.

Amendments to the Act

One of the finest features of the U.S. higher education system is the diversity of institutional types

and the divergent learners attending the various colleges. Congress reauthorizes HEA every 5 to 7 years on average to ensure that needy institutions have the necessary resources to operate effectively and to ensure that deserving students can overcome financial disadvantages. The HEA was reauthorized in 1968, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1986, 1992, 1998, 2005, and 2008.

Prior to reauthorization of HEA, Congress considers current conditions of postsecondary education, which programs and policies should be amended, and whether new national needs have emerged. On August 14, 2008, Bush signed H.R. 4137, reauthorizing the HEA through September 30, 2014. Among the many changes made to the various titles associated with HEA are the following:

Title I: General Provisions. Changes to transfer of credit and clarification of dual or concurrent enrollment; there was a reemphasizing of protections for student speech and associated rights. Greater institutional flexibility was granted in the percentage of distance education offerings colleges may have and limitations were placed on eligibility for federal student aid for specific international medical schools. The Department of Education will publish information on tuition, fees, and financial aid for students, in addition to state-by-state higher-education spending. Within 1 year of the 2008 reauthorization, institutions will be required to work with the Department of Education in developing a multiyear tuition tool. This multiyear calculator will make the estimated amount of tuition more transparent to students and their families as they make financial plans for college attendance. For the first time under HEA, the Department of Education will identify “diploma mills” to assist students in avoiding institutions operating without supervision of a state or professional agency.

Title II: Teacher Quality Enhancement. State report cards on the quality of teacher programs will be required. To encourage greater accountability in the evaluation of such programs, HEA also requires state reports of pass rates for completing students. It also calls for the enhancement of instructional technology to improve student achievement and for increases in the grants available to improve teacher training, mentoring, and professional development.

Title III: Minority-Serving Institutions. Support for HBCUs, tribal colleges, native Hawaiian-Alaskan institutions, and graduate or professional training at minority-serving institutions was reauthorized.

Title IV: Federal Student Aid Programs. An increase in the amount of the Pell Grant over the next 5 years was approved, raising the maximum award from \$5,100 to \$6,300. Permission given to award Pell Grants year-round and removal of the tuition sensitivity provision that negatively impact financial aid for collegians who attend low-cost institutions (e.g., public community colleges). Reauthorization of TRIO Programs and GEAR UP and reauthorization of services for families of migrant and seasonal workers.

Title V: Hispanic-Serving Institutions. Similar to programs already established for HBCUs, creation of a new grant program to support graduate programs at Hispanic-serving institutions. Removal of stipulation for a 2-year waiting period prior to reapplying for a grant under Title V and elimination of institutional requirement to certify students as low income.

Title VI: International Education. Alterations include reauthorization of international education programs and use of an interagency group to determine the priority for international education. For example, prior to each funding cycle, the Department of Education will request recommendations from various federal agencies regarding national needs for expertise in particular regions of the world and foreign languages. Also, the Department of Education will aid in the development of a survey that institutions will disseminate to students completing programs under Title VI in further identifying the need for postgraduate training and/or employment opportunities.

Title VII: Graduate Education Programs. Reauthorized grant programs that support graduate education particularly in areas of high need, considered a national priority due to shortages in the labor market.

Title VIII: Miscellaneous Provisions. Authorized support for the Teach for America program and

grants for occupational development in high-skill, high-growth areas. Continued support for Native American serving institutions and fellowships in math and science fields of study for minority scholars.

Title IX: Amendments to Other Laws. Reauthorization for federal grant programs at the secondary and postsecondary level under the Education of the Deaf Act.

Title X: Reconciliation. Creation of a temporary mandatory program called the Provisional Grant Assistance Program, which provides \$5.5 billion in grant aid for students over 5 years with the majority of funding allocated for low income collegians as supplemental federal student aid. Shifted fixed interest rates on undergraduate and graduate nonconsolidation loans (converted to 6.8%), increased borrowing for subsidized loans by \$1,000 for 1st- and 2nd-year students and unsubsidized loans for graduate students by \$2,000 per year, and approved longer loan deferment for members of the armed services or for the reserve who serve in a combat zone and have borrowed since July 1, 2001.

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See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

The Highlander Folk School (now the Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee) has a long legacy of providing a space for grassroots activists who were involved in numerous key struggles for social and political transformation in the United States. In its first 30 years, Highlander functioned as an adult education and community folk school for poor, “unlettered,” unemployed mill and miner Appalachians during the Depression as a leadership training center for workers in the southern labor union movement, as an educational and organizational mechanism for members in the Farmer’s Union in the South, and as a meeting place for African American and White civil rights activists. This entry discusses its history and accomplishments, with special reference to its

contributions to African Americans and to the civil rights movement.

Historical Background

Highlander was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West, in Monteagle, Tennessee. During its infancy, Highlander was concerned about labor injustices and the exploitation of the Appalachian people residing in the surrounding predominantly mill and mining counties. Horton envisioned a school that would enable the mountain people to learn the skills they would need to know so that they would be able solve their own class problems and in turn transform society into an equitable and just one.

For Horton, education, particularly adult education, was a way to cultivate self-advocacy that would ultimately lead to social activism and leadership skills at the grassroots level. Highlander was also a school that sought to cultivate and preserve the Appalachia cultural traditions through music, folk literature, and other cultural mediums.

As a theological student at Union Theological Seminary in New York, Horton was encouraged by his professor, the renowned theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, to establish a school in the Appalachia Mountains. Horton also received advice on how to start his school from Jane Addams, founder of the Hull House. Inspired by Niebuhr's and Addam's suggestions as well as literature Horton read on the Danish folk schools, Horton visited a few Danish folk schools in Denmark during 1931 and 1932.

The Danish folk schools provided free adult education for the rural peasants and farmers in Denmark. The purpose of the schools was to empower the peasants and farmers so that they could break the chains of their exploitation and in turn reconfigure their own realities for a socially just society. Horton returned to the United States armed with the information he needed to open the Highlander Folk School. Horton and West chose the name Highlander because it was reflective of the Appalachian people's culture and the southern mountain geographical location.

In the early years, the overall concern of Horton and his staff was to teach its adult student workers the skills they would need to fight against labor and class oppression. Thus, during the 1930s and into

the mid-1940s, Highlander provided assistance for striking textile mill workers, coal miners, and timber laborers. Highlander also held classes that addressed labor union issues such as labor exploitation and workers rights. The staff conducted workshops on social protest strategies and leadership training for potential labor union leaders.

Highlander also supported textile workers in their organizing efforts to unionize laborers in Tennessee and North and South Carolinas. Working closely with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Highlander organized and conducted a wide-ranging labor union movement in Tennessee and several other Southern states during the 1930s. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, Highlander began providing support for small struggling farmers in the National Farmers Union in Tennessee.

Civil Rights Accomplishments

By the early 1950s, Horton had become extremely concerned about the entrenched racial repression and oppression African Americans experienced in the South in every aspect of U.S. life due to legalized segregation. Consequently, the school began convening workshops that dealt with discrimination and segregation policies in employment, voting, housing, and schools. The workshop attendees consisted of African American and White activists studying in an integrated setting. This was extremely dangerous due to racist and repressive Tennessee segregation laws that prohibited interracial meetings and interactions.

Despite these laws, these courageous activists studied civil disobedience strategies, interracial dialogue, coalition building, and protest songs such as "We Shall Overcome" before the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, the Montgomery bus boycott, and the civil rights movement. Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, and Septima Poinsette Clark were a few of the many Highlander workshop attendees.

Rosa Parks, who began defying segregation policies prior to the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in the 1940s, originally came to Highlander in July of 1955 to partake in a workshop on school desegregation. Several months later, on December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks defiantly refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery city bus. Her civil disobedient stance sparked the Montgomery bus boycott.

Clark, an African American educator and civil rights activist, was recruited by Horton to work as Highlander's workshop director and later director of adult literacy education. Clark conducted workshops for African American and White activists on public school desegregation issues and community activism. As the director of workshops, Clark, along with Esau Jenkins and Bernice Robinson, taught adult literacy classes for the purpose of instructing unlettered African American adults in classes that ranged from reading, writing, and arithmetic to checkbook balancing and registering to vote.

As a result of the unlettered adults training in the citizenship programs at Highlander and later at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 11 southern states, many African Americans registered to vote, which facilitated the transformation of the Southern political structure by striking a near fatal blow to state sanctioned segregation voting laws. Also during this period, African American college students began protesting segregation in public facilities. Many of the Fisk University students in Nashville, Tennessee, who were involved in the sit-ins of the 1960s, came to Highlander to brainstorm and organize ways in which to further their struggle for racial justice.

Tennessee's southern segregationists and lawmakers attempted to shut Highlander down when the fight against segregation gained momentum by the 1960s. However, Highlander secured a new charter and relocated the school to New Market, Tennessee, in 1972 and changed its name to Highlander Research and Education Center. Highlander still exists today, supporting activists in their struggle for equity and social justice. The school celebrated its 75th anniversary in August 2007.

Karen A. Johnson

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Career and Technical Education; Citizenship Schools; Desegregation

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HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETICS

Interscholastic sports in the United States have evolved significantly since their inception, becoming a competitive and profitable industry. The African American presence has been a significant part of this growth and expansion. According to data from the Department of Education, in 2006, 51% of African American boys and 40% of girls were competing in interscholastic sports. This has placed a premium on African American academic and athletic performance at the interscholastic level and has put pressure on young people to win.

A major shift that has altered the terrain of interscholastic sports is adoption of a model that closely resembles the performance-oriented model exhibited in elite amateur and professional sports. Interscholastic sports has transitioned from being process-oriented to being performance- and outcome-oriented (i.e., a premium on mastering skill and winning). It has shifted from being a means of socializing youth to adhere to U.S. values into an industry reflecting practices witnessed at collegiate and professional levels of sport participation—athletic capitalism. This has had both positive and negative effects on interscholastic sport opportunities for African American youth. This entry looks at the development of interscholastic sports, the evolution of the underlying values, the impact of capitalism, and the current outlook, all with an emphasis on African American participants.

Historical Background

Informal sporting experiences in the form of playful activities and games have occupied the lives of youth in the U.S. throughout its history. However, organized sporting experiences for youth in the United States had their origin during the early 1900s. Schools, churches, and community agencies organized and funded most of the youth sporting experiences during this period. For example, the Playground Association of America was formed in 1906 by Luther Gulick, and additional organizations, such

as Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), The Boys Club of America, Amateur Athletic Union, and the Catholic Youth Organization, were major contributors to the development of youth sport programs in the United States. These programs were the foundation for interscholastic sports.

Regarding the origins of interscholastic sports, the New York Public School League was formed in 1903 as the first interscholastic sports program in the United States. The only countries that sponsor interscholastic sport are the United States, Canada, and Japan. Interscholastic programs in the United States were modeled after intercollegiate sports programs where the focus was on providing youth with activities that increased their physical fitness and provided them with a means to acquire positive traits. Interscholastic sports programs were part of the move to formalize youth sporting practices.

Sports have consistently been a part of the African Americans' educational process and pursuit. During the early 1900s, the Interscholastic Athletic Association of the Middle States became the first association for African American boys' basketball; it expanded to include track, football, and baseball under the direction of Edwin B. Henderson, an African American Harvard-trained physical educator. These all-Black high school interscholastic programs became the breeding ground for many historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and they were eventually tapped into by predominantly White institutions once these institutions began to integrate.

Values and Opportunities

According to sport sociologist Harry Edwards, there is a system of values and beliefs that he calls the dominant American sport creed. It consists of ideals and beliefs achieved through sport participation that closely resemble the ideology of the American dream—that if individuals work hard, they will achieve a certain level of economic success and upward social mobility. According to this creed, sport promotes physical and mental fitness, builds character, teaches discipline, enhances competitiveness, prepares individuals for a competitive market economy, and contributes to Judeo-Christian and patriotic belief systems.

This creed was originally used to explain participation and performance in sport in the United

States. However, these ideals became applicable and common beliefs among advocates for interscholastic sport programs in the United States. Thus, interscholastic sports were seen as a practical vehicle to promote patriotism and to disseminate cultural values and socialize youth into having desirable cultural traits while preparing them mentally and physically to be competitive and productive in a market economy.

Furthermore, the tenets of interscholastic sports (e.g., building character, instilling discipline, and developing strong work ethics) coincided with the values African Americans have placed on education. Thus, interscholastic sports have provided many African American athletes with opportunities not only to develop their athletic talents, but also to be awarded athletic scholarships to major colleges and universities throughout the United States. Research has shown that participants in interscholastic sports receive higher grade point averages, and they have greater aspirations to go to college and higher educational achievement rates. Many have attended these institutions of higher learning, and with the values they acquired in interscholastic sports, they obtained college degrees and transitioned into successful careers.

Youth sports have evolved to include opportunities for boys and girls, and participation opportunities across class and racial lines have increased in the United States. It is currently estimated that more than 40 million youth participate in some form of organized sport in the United States. Current youth sporting experiences fall within four major categories: (1) public, tax-supported community recreation organization; (2) public, nonprofit community organizations; (3) private, nonprofit sport organizations; and (4) private commercial clubs. Interscholastic sports generally fit within the scope of public, tax-supported community organizations, more specially public schools, where, according to the National Federation of State High School Association, over 7 million girls and boys compete annually.

The Capitalist Trend

Interscholastic sports have made major shifts to mirror the athletic capitalism that exists in intercollegiate and professional level sports so that sports participation has transitioned from being a

tool for socialization and character development to having as its focus athletic capitalism. This has produced arguments both for and against interscholastic sports.

Increased commercialization of interscholastic sports and the privatization of youth sports are examples of athletic capitalism in youth sports. The design of interscholastic sports has expanded more to accumulate capital at the risk of exploiting the youth participants. Critics argue that this move toward athletic capitalism undermines the educational mission of the school system and efforts of developing character. Sports have changed from a cultural practice that is a means of socialization for youth to a product for capital accumulation and consumption. This transition has adversely affected the African American interscholastic sporting experience. Similar to the intercollegiate African American athlete, a premium is now placed on athletic performance at interscholastic levels and academic performance is given a lower priority.

Proponents of interscholastic sports argue that the increased commercialization is needed to relieve the financial burdens school systems are experiencing because of dwindling state monies. They argue that creative ideas are needed to offset cuts in state funding so that quality sporting opportunities can be provided for youth. The proponents also argue that the benefits of youth playing in better facilities, receiving better coaching, and having the use of better equipment and more opportunity in a variety of sports are justifications for increased commercialization of youth sports. Several areas in which this can be witnessed are the multiple streams of revenue now available in interscholastic sports, including the sale of naming rights of gymnasiums and stadiums, sponsorships, and in a few cases, sale of broadcasting rights.

In Florida and Texas, where high school football is tremendously popular and well supported, several high schools have sold the naming rights to their football stadiums to local businesses. Along with the sale of naming rights, there has been enormous investment in the construction of football stadiums at the high school level. Stadiums for interscholastic sports are now being constructed that include track fields, AstroTurf fields, or natural grass, which have an average cost of between \$17 million and \$22 million with seating capacities ranging from 5,000 to 15,000 people.

To further illustrate this shift to athletic capitalism, there are other means of generating income, which include the sponsorship of football and basketball championship games and the sale of media rights for televising high school sporting events. For example, Toyota donates \$165,000 to sponsor a regional basketball tournament in southern California. Also in California, a high school football championship has been named the San Joaquin Section/Les Schwab Tires Division I Championship because Les Schwab Tire Company donated \$183,000.

Regarding media rights, major networks such as MTV (Music Television), ESPN, and FOX Sports are televising more high school and other youth sports (especially football, basketball, Little League baseball, and girl's softball), which generates revenue for these athletic programs. For example, in 2001, ABC and ESPN signed a 6-year deal with Little League Baseball Incorporated worth \$7 million to televise the championship series. A recent development in the popularity of interscholastic sports has been with NBC converting the story of high school football in Texas, *Friday Night Lights*, into a prime-time show.

Another recent development has been MTV's documentary, which covers the season of high school football at Hoover High School in Hoover, Alabama. Remote Film Production, Inc., paid the school system for the rights to film at Hoover High School—\$20,000 for the first season and \$21,000 for the second. These are a few examples to illustrate the direction and transition interscholastic sports in the United States are making toward athletic capitalism.

Another interesting development regarding interscholastic sports, which is affecting the educational experiences of African Americans athletes, is the creation of high school diploma mills. These programs are basically correspondence academies that enable college-bound talented high school athletes' opportunities to increase their grade point averages, which ultimately assists in improving their transcripts to qualify them for athletic scholarships at National Collegiate Athletic Associations (NCAA) institutions. The illegal practices and abuse of a few of the academies have tainted the academic credibility of them all. The disproportionate number of African American youth affected by this is a reason for concern because it borders on academic neglect in pursuit of athletic achievement.

The NCAA has made strategic efforts to reduce the occurrence of this emerging practice. The development of these diploma mills speaks to the creative mechanisms that are being employed to increase intercollegiate athletic scholarship opportunities for high school athletes.

Looking Ahead

Interscholastic sports have grown tremendously in participation and in focus since the early 1900s. They were originally designed to socialize youth into acquiring values and developing character traits that are ideal for U.S. citizens. The shift to athletic capitalism has not totally annulled the efforts of interscholastic to socialize youth to be socially well-balanced citizens, but it has expanded the scope of interscholastic sports in the United States. Some have argued that this broader scope has been a benefit to many youth by increasing opportunities, providing better equipment and facilities, and providing them with better coaching and athletic preparation.

Because education remains a means of achieving social mobility and is valued in African American communities, the mixture of athletics and academics will provide athletically talented athletes the opportunity to excel academically in institutions of higher education. African American youth will continue to contribute to the growth of interscholastic sports and receive the benefits of being able to achieve a high school diploma and college degree while expressing their athletic talents in various sports. Title IX is slowly showing promise in increasing sporting opportunities for African American females in sports beyond the traditional basketball and track and field. Interscholastic sporting opportunities are expanding for African American females in sports such as soccer and, in some states, competitive weight lifting. As these opportunities increase at the high school level, the presence of African American females will also increase in intercollegiate sports.

The challenge for the future of interscholastic sports in the United States will be the ability of interscholastic sports programs and their supporters to be able to balance the need for capital accumulation, with the need of the educational mission of the school, and with the need to adhere to its original purposes of socializing youth to acquire

positive cultural values of sportsmanship, working hard, competition, character development, and so on. Bringing harmony between the need to accumulate capital, the school's mission, and positively socializing youth can all be achieved to ensure positive sporting experiences for youth while not creating a financial burden on the institutions that provide interscholastic sport opportunities.

Billy Hawkins

See also Boys & Girls Clubs of America; College Athletics; Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)

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HILLIARD, ASA (1933–2007)

Asa Grant Hilliard III was an African-centered educator, historian, and psychologist who wrote more than a thousand publications, inspired numerous students, and was enstooled as a development chief for Mankranso, Ghana, where he was given the name, Nana Baffour Amankwatia II, which means generous one. This seemed particularly fitting for someone whose life's work was firmly rooted in disseminating truth, sharing knowledge, and enhancing a comprehensive curriculum on the contributions of African people. This entry explores the life and life's work of Hilliard.

Childhood and Education

Deeply entrenched in his role as husband, father, and grandfather, Hilliard was a family man who attributed much of his passion and success in education to his ancestors. During interviews and discussions of his life, he shared stories of his great grandparents, grandparents, and parents, all of whom were deeply committed to education.

Hilliard's great-grandparents, Bunk and Mary Hilliard, were formerly enslaved Africans from Georgia. Their union produced 13 children, including Asa Grant Hilliard I, who was born in September 1863. The Hilliards believed in education, and they relocated to Texas and did hard labor in the fields to offer their children more opportunities than they thought were possible in Georgia. Their postemancipation quest and educational goals were fulfilled in their son Asa, who became a great educator and leader in Bay City, Texas, where both an elementary and high school bore his name some years after his death. His son, Asa Grant Hilliard II, became an educator and high school principal and the father of Asa Grant Hilliard III.

Asa Grant Hilliard III was born on August 22, 1933, in Galveston, Texas. His father and mother, Dr. Lois O. Williams, were divorced when he was a young boy. He was the eldest of eight children, and many of his brothers and sisters also pursued

careers in education. After his parents' divorce, Hilliard moved to Denver, Colorado, to live with his mother, who was a Pentecostal minister. He graduated from Manual High School in Denver in 1951. He met his future wife, Patsy Jo Morrison, while they were both students at Manual. Hilliard earned a bachelor of arts degree in psychology from the University of Denver in 1955. He worked various jobs, including bartender, camp counselor in a Jewish Community Center, and teacher in American history and psychology in the Denver Public School System. He joined the U.S. Army in 1955 and served as a first lieutenant, platoon leader, and battalion executive officer in the Third Armored Infantry. He married Patsy Jo on November 16, 1957, in Denver.

Hilliard returned to the University of Denver, where he completed a master of arts degree in counseling in 1961 and a doctorate of education in educational psychology in 1963. While at the University of Denver, Hilliard was a teaching fellow in the Centennial Scholars Honors Program in philosophy from 1961 to 1963. He also worked as the head residence counselor in the men's residence hall from 1962 to 1963.

Over the next 40 years, Hilliard became an esteemed and world-renowned scholar through his scholarship, teaching, and service within and outside of the academy. His academic career began in the 1960s during the turbulent period of civil and human rights battles that were being waged in the United States. It was also during this period that Hilliard began to wage his own war to systematically deconstruct long-held misconceptions about the intellectual capabilities of African American children.

Career and Achievements

Hilliard joined the faculty of San Francisco State University as an assistant professor in the Department of Secondary Education in 1963. He became a consultant and education advisor to the Peace Corps in Liberia, West Africa. As a member of the San Francisco State University Advisory team to the Monrovia Consolidated School System, he served in a variety of roles during his 6 years as a resident of Liberia. He was consultant and school psychologist, advisor to the superintendent of schools in Monrovia, and later acting superintendent of schools in Monrovia.

Hilliard's work with the Peace Corps included the development of the first in-country training program in Monrovia, Liberia. He contributed significantly to the development of Liberia through various local initiatives in corporate and educational institutions during this period. During his tenure, he directed research projects on reading and teaching methods, consulted with the American Cooperative International School in the development of ethnic studies content for the curriculum, and developed a counseling program for Cuttington College.

Multicultural Education

Hilliard returned to the United States in 1970 and became the department chair of secondary education at San Francisco State. From 1972 to 1980, he served as dean of the School of Education. As an expert in multicultural education in the state of California, he was frequently called upon to direct evaluation and research projects on both state and national levels. He served as the project director for a variety of initiatives that assessed teaching methods and practices affecting multicultural and multiethnic groups. From 1972 to 1973, Hilliard served as an expert witness for the selection of gifted African American pupils on behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in *Johnson v. San Francisco Unified School District, Selecting Gifted Black Pupils* (1971). He helped secure a temporary injunction in 1972 by challenging culturally biased IQ tests of African American children in the case finally affirmed and decided 10 years later in *Larry P. v. Riles* (1984).

Based on Hilliard's extensive experience, he developed numerous workshops on multicultural education for administrators and teachers in local public school systems throughout California and in cities across the nation. He created and implemented projects related to the development of African and African American history curricula in school systems. He was also invited to participate as a faculty member for the Stanford Institute for Intercultural Communication each summer from 1978 to 1983.

After serving for 18 years at San Francisco State University, Hilliard relocated to Atlanta, Georgia, in 1980, where he joined the faculty at Georgia State University. Never one to forgo more education,

Hilliard received additional training at Yale University in the Center for Child Development under the direction of Reuven Feuerstein and Mildred Hoffman from 1980 to 1981.

The Role of Teachers

Hilliard began publishing on the role of teachers in the educational and psychological development of African American children with his first article titled "Cross Cultural Teaching," published in the *Journal of Teacher Education* in 1966. From that point forward, his scholarship and lectures were in high demand as he strategically and systematically began to challenge previous research about the intellectual strengths and weaknesses of African American children.

Hilliard's harsh criticisms of educational measurements became one of his most enduring legacies. He specifically noted many of the flaws of cognitive and intelligence quotient (IQ) tests. Early speeches including one that he presented to the Pacific Psychotherapy Associates Conference in 1973 titled "Anatomy of Homicide: How Teachers Kill" spoke to his growing focus on holding teachers accountable for the educational disparities that existed among children. That same year, he gave a keynote speech titled "Facing Cultural Pluralism: The Way It Can Be" to the Northern California Conference on Bilingual-Multilingual Education.

Hilliard heavily emphasized the need for teachers to understand their own culpability in situations where their students were failing. He often cited the need for teachers to be cognizant of their own hidden biases and to work to discover ways that they could emulate the best practices of other teachers who yielded high-performing students. Hilliard noted that he also felt personally responsible for the success or failure of his students; he lectured and published from this perspective.

Hilliard's publications during the 1970s continued to address his research on the influences of cultural biases, the dynamics of oppression, and the validity of intelligence testing. An early article that appeared in the *Journal of Research and Development in Education* in 1979 was demonstrative of his work during that period with the title "Standardization of Cultural Bias as Impediments to the Scientific Study and Validation of Intelligence."

Education on African Heritage

Although he had long stressed the importance of infusing African and African American history into the curriculum and instruction of teachers, Hilliard's research began to seriously reflect this during the 1980s. A lecture given at Memphis State University in 1982 was titled "The Maroon Within Us: The Lessons of Africa for the Parenting and Education of African American Children." This speech was published in the *Journal of Negro Education* in 1983. Other publications included "To Be African or Not to Be," published in Mike Harris's *Fever Dream*, and "Kemet Concepts in Education," published in the *Journal of African Civilizations* in 1985.

During the early 1980s, Hilliard began his now well-known study tours on ancient African heritage to various parts of Egypt. During this period, he was also actively involved in organizations including the National Alliance of Black School Educators, the National Association of Black Psychologists, a founding member of the National Black Child Development Institute, and a founding member of the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations (ASCAC), where he served as the first vice president. In 1986, he founded the Atlanta Chapter of ASCAC.

Hilliard continued to publish journal articles, magazine articles, special reports, and book chapters throughout the 1980s. He also cowrote with Larry Williams and Nia Damali a book titled *The Teachings of Ptahhotep, the Oldest Book in the World*, published in 1987. In December of 1990, he edited *Testing African American Students, Nos 2 and 3: Special Issue of the Negro Educational Review*. He was also an invited lecturer to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration conference on the occasion of the launch of astronaut Mae Jemison in 1992.

During the 1990s, Hilliard authored two books: *The Maroon Within Us: Selected Essays on African American Community Socialization*, published in 1995, and *SBA: The Reawakening of the African Mind*, published in 1997. He also cofounded Makare Publishing with his daughter Dr. Nefertari Patricia Hilliard-Nunn. He produced video productions on African history through his company Waset Educational Productions. Videos included *Master Keys to Ancient Kemet*, *The Kemet Lectures*

and *Free Your Mind*. He was also the codeveloper of a television series on Ancient Kemet (Egyptian history), which was featured on the Atlanta Public Schools Television channel during this period. He served with Dr. Barbara Sizemore as chief consultant on the *Every Child Can Succeed* television series, produced by the Agency for Instructional Technology. He also cochaired the first National Conference on the Infusion of African and African American Content in the School Curriculum in Atlanta with Dr. Lucretia Payton-Stewart and Dr. Larry Williams.

Later Years

Hilliard went on to become a board-certified forensic examiner and diplomat for the American Board of Forensic Examiners and the American Board of Forensic Medicine. His service included his various roles as lead expert witness in numerous cases over the years including federal landmark cases on test validity and bias, which included the *Larry P. v. Wilson Riles* (1984) in California, *Mattie T. v. Holladay* (1979) in Mississippi, and *Debra P. v. Turlington* (1984) in Florida. He was instrumental as a witness in two Supreme Court cases, *Ayers v. Fordice* (1992) in Mississippi and *Marino v. Ortiz* (1988) in New York City.

Hilliard's later works included the books *African Power: Affirming African Indigenous Socialization in the Face of the Cultural Wars*, published in 2002 and *Young, Gifted and Black: Promoting High Achievement Among African American Students* coauthored with Claude Steele and Theresa Perry and published in 2004. The latter book won the American Education Research Association Award for Excellence.

During his lifetime, Hilliard was the recipient of hundreds of awards including the American Evaluation Association President's Award, the Republic of Liberia Award as Knight Commander of the Humane Order of African Redemption, and the Morehouse College Candle in the Dark Award in Education. He was a fellow of the American Psychological Association and the recipient of the Doctor of Humane Letters from DePaul University and Doctorate of Education from Wheelock College.

Hilliard's dedication and love for his family members never wavered and was often evident in his office at Georgia State University where photos

of his wife, children, and grandchildren covered the walls. He taught for 27 years at this institution, and at the time of his death, he held joint appointments in the Departments of Educational Policy Studies and Educational Psychology and Special Education. He held an endowed chair position as the Fuller E. Callaway Professor of Urban Education.

Death and Legacy

Hilliard gave his final public lecture on August 7, 2007, in Egypt, at the annual ASCAC conference. He became seriously ill and was flown to Cairo, Egypt, where he was hospitalized. Hilliard died suddenly of complications related to malaria on August 13, 2007, 9 days before his 74th birthday. He was scheduled to return to teaching classes at Georgia State University for the fall semester within 2 weeks after his death. After his sudden passing, over 200 members of ASCAC gathered in Luxor, Egypt, and conducted a ritual in the Valley of the Kings at the tomb of Thutmose IV to commemorate his life.

Hilliard died with his wife of nearly 50 years by his side, a former mayor of East Point, Georgia, and former school board member for the South San Francisco Unified School District. He was also survived by his four children—Asa Grant Hilliard IV, Robi Hilliard Herron, Dr. Patricia Hilliard-Nunn, and Michael Hakim Hilliard—and by his seven grandchildren. At the time of his passing, his daughter, Robi Hilliard-Herron, acknowledged that Hilliard was with his favorite person in his favorite place when he made his final transition.

Services for Hilliard were attended by noted dignitaries from around the world and were held at the Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Hundreds of people paid homage to the life of this great educator, and obituaries were published in various newspapers around the world. A giant in the field of African-centered education and a staunch advocate for the process of lifelong learning, since his passing many awards have been created in honor of Hilliard's significant contributions to the educational and intellectual history of African people throughout the diaspora.

Kijua Sanders-McMurtry

See also African American Studies; African-Centered Education; Developmental Education; Gifted and Talented Education; National Alliance of Black School Educators; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Black Child Development Institute; Multicultural Education

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HIP HOP STUDIES

Hip hop studies is an outgrowth of hip hop youth culture, which has origins in the African American, African Caribbean, and Latino communities of the borough of the Bronx in New York during the early 1970s. Over the years, it has grown into an educational tool for use among African Americans and is now itself the subject of scholarly research and an academic curriculum at the university level. This entry recalls the origins of hip hop and then looks at its impact on the education of this country's youth and young adults.

Early Years

Clive Campbell, known as DeeJay Kool Herc, the father of hip hop, and his sister Cindy, the mother of hip hop, organized a back-to-school party in 1972 at which Kool Herc played recordings of

soul, funk, and rhythm and blues music on two turntables with amplified speakers by blending the recording playing on one turntable into that of another on the second turntable. Having seen this technique at the dance halls in Jamaica, Herc brought it with him to New York when his family migrated in 1967.

At the same back-to-school party, Coke La Rock, known as the emcee, recited short rhymes and gave shout outs to people present by calling out their names over the music. Posters that advertised the dance organized by Herc and C. Campbell were designed by taggers and writers who are graffiti artists. Because of the success of the first back-to-school party, for Herc's subsequent dances, he added performers such as the twins, Kevin and Keith, to his crew. These break boys or dancers had specific routines with power moves that they performed as specific recordings were played.

Many youth in attendance at Herc's parties studied him and his crew, becoming his participant-observer students and eventually masters of these elements of hip hop. One such person in attendance was DeeJay Grandmaster Flash. Recognized as one of the pioneers of hip hop, Grandmaster Flash also studied electronics at Samuel Gompers Vocational High School in the Bronx and is most noted for advancing the use of technology in hip hop culture and for having a crew of emcees, Melle Mel and the Furious Five, who were the first to pronounce each word syllable of a given message over music in time to the musical beat or a portion of each beat, which distinguishes hip hop rhymin,' rappin,' flowin,' and spittin' from other styles of communicating spoken messages over music.

Another pioneer of hip hop attending Herc's parties was DeeJay Afrika Bambaataa, who was so interested in hip hop that when Herc announced to gang members that they could not rumble at his parties, Bambaataa, who was the leader of the notorious Black Spades, along with leaders of the other gangs in the South Bronx, called a truce, which is still in effect more than 35 years later. Bambaataa organized the Universal Zulu Nation, currently an international organization of social activism, which organizes community programs that now fight social injustice globally and that preserves the positive principles upon which hip hop culture was initially organized.

In the early 1990s, with the overwhelming success of the group NWA's first recording, *Straight Outta Compton*, which used explicit lyrics to describe life in South Central Los Angeles, the music industry began to search for emcees with explicit lyrics that degenerated to such negative messages as the denigration of women, the idolization of thug life and other antisocial activity, and the virtues of materialism. On the other hand, Bambaataa's Zulu Nation has continuously confronted the music industry about its exploitation of hip hop culture and groups of people for capital gain. Moreover, Bambaataa introduced the fifth element of hip hop culture, knowledge.

Up to this point, the rap lyrics of hip hop emcees had been utilized to educate the community for its own survival, a strategy borrowed from the artists of the 1950s and 1960s civil rights and militant Black power movements. Some of the hip hop pioneers were products of these movements and had gained much social and political consciousness from them. A classic example is Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's 1982 recording of "The Message," a sociopolitical rap about poverty, police brutality, and poor quality of life for many in the urban areas of the country.

Hip Hop as an Educational Tool

Although the pioneers of hip hop initially began and developed this youth culture for entertainment purposes, it empowered them to forge an alternative identity that they used to negotiate the marginalized status relegated to them by mainstream society because of race, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. They developed a discourse, which according to James Gee, includes a group's use of language and other symbolic expressions. For the pioneers, this was a secondary discourse, one which they learned after their primary socialization as young children. However, for younger siblings of the hip hop pioneers, their friends, and their neighbors, this hip hop discourse is a primary discourse because it was part of their primary socialization, which they use to learn the secondary discourses of other institutions, including schools, colleges, and universities.

Many contemporary students who participate in hip hop culture use its elements as a study aid. Students who are emcees, in the past and present,

relate how they have taken the messages from their rhymes and rap lyrics, which are written in bars, and rewrote them in paragraphs and essays to complete writing assignments for instructors. Wade Colwell, a graduate of Stanford University and founder of Funkamentals, a company in Tucson, Arizona, that produces educational materials using elements of hip hop, often explains how he and another students studied for a calculus final examination at Stanford by writing the formulas and equations in a hip hop rhyme. Other participants of this culture have similar experiences of using hip hop as a study tool.

Educators in elementary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities utilize instructional aids that employ elements of hip hop to teach skills and other concepts. Examples of commercial materials for elementary schools include commercial audiotapes: MCA's *Nursery Raps Starring Mama Goose*, for listening and reading readiness skills; Twin Sisters Productions of *Rap With the Facts*, for all arithmetical skills; and Rock and Learn Production of *States and Capitals Rap*, for social studies. To teach fire safety, Noble Productions and the Uniformed Firefighters Association of New York City produced the video tape, *Adventures in Fire Safety*, with The Rappin' Fireman. Commercial materials for secondary school students in a variety of disciplines include the CD by Funkamentals, *Education by Any Means Necessary*. The government's space agency, NASA, sponsors a program that includes b-boys and b-girls who teach concepts of physics and physical science through hip hop dancing.

High schools, colleges, and universities around the country now offer courses on the history of hip hop culture, on critical analyses of hip hop, on hip hop as a social and political movement, and on hip hop as a performance art.

People are studying aspects of hip hop in a variety of academic disciplines for master's and doctorate degrees, and many are doing scholarly research on its historical, social, and artistic elements. As an illustration, Professor Cheryl Keyes completed the first doctoral dissertation on hip hop at Bowling Green University during the 1990s in the field of ethnomusicology, followed by Jon Yasin at Columbia University Teachers College in applied linguistics. Although the topic of research has been continuous, Dawn Fisher-Banks completed a PhD

in anthropology in 2008 by writing a dissertation on hip hop in Japan. At Princeton University, Suad Abeer is completing research on hip hop for a doctorate degree.

Jon A. Yasin

See also Culture-Based Education; Identity Development; Literacy

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HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUs)

Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), according to the Higher Education Act of 1965, are those postsecondary educational institutions established before 1964 with the mission of educating African American students. During the period of Jim Crow segregation, these institutions represented for most African Americans the only realistic opportunity for them to receive a college education. In the aftermath of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), many observers predicted, and called for, the elimination of HBCUs on the grounds that these schools were the most visible vestige of the separate-but-unequal systems of higher education that had served to deny African Americans equal educational opportunities. However, not only have HBCUs continued to exist, but also they still play significant roles in ensuring access to educational opportunity for

African Americans. This entry recalls their history and accomplishments.

Early Years

The first public Black colleges were Cheney and Lincoln Colleges in Pennsylvania and Wilberforce University in Ohio. These institutions were established prior to the Civil War in areas characterized by considerable abolitionist sentiment. During the last third of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, over 100 additional public and private Black colleges were established. The overwhelming majority of them were concentrated in the 17 Southern and border states. Confronting conditions of massive illiteracy among the formerly enslaved, the primary mission of the early Black colleges involved providing the freedmen and women with a basic education and to prepare teachers to labor within the fledgling African American schools. However, state support for African American education, where it existed, usually was minimal. Hence, Black colleges devoted the majority of their meager resources toward providing preparatory and secondary education to their students. Hence, the term college was actually a misnomer during the formative years at most Black colleges when one considers that the majority of its students were engaged in precollegiate studies (see Table 1).

Racial segregation prevailed in these new Black colleges, regardless of whether the institutions were public or private. Northern philanthropic and religious institutions, the principal sponsors of privately funded Black colleges, felt compelled to acquiesce to the racial sensitivities of the Southern White population who already resented the interference in their internal affairs by outsiders. Where public Black colleges were founded, their existence was partially justified by the need for Southern states to take some affirmative steps (no matter how halfhearted in nature) in order to ward off a reintroduction of federal intervention into local affairs once Reconstruction had come to an end. However, such institutions had to be segregated and decidedly unequal to overcome White opposition to their creation. Consequently, Southern racial fears combined with Northern indifference to the plight of African Americans in the postbellum period gave birth to the development of a

Jim Crow system of public and private higher education.

In 1896, the Supreme Court held in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that separate public facilities for the race do not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause so long as they were equal. The *Plessy* decision, when applied to education, not only gave legal sanction to existing racial discrimination against African Americans, but also encouraged its expansion. State governments were granted license to codify the official separation of the races in public education without—as it would quickly become apparent—any requirement that African American schools be treated equally when compared to their White counterparts. Not even the creation of Black land grant colleges by the Second Morrill Act of 1890 arrested this tendency; Black land grant colleges were routinely denied their share of federal dollars and other forms of state support that White land grant universities received.

The Supreme Court extended its mandate in *Plessy* to private higher education in 1908 when it outlawed the voluntary racial integration of a private Kentucky college. The precedent in *Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky* (1908) effectively closed the loop as far as establishing a racial caste system in higher education is concerned by permitting states to forbid both voluntary and obligatory contact between the races. Consequently, wide disparities developed between the missions, program offerings, and physical plants of Black higher-education institutions and their White counterparts. Although White colleges and universities were allowed to develop an increasing range of baccalaureate and graduate programs, students at Black colleges were restricted to a narrow range of professional degree options—principally teaching and the ministry. For the overwhelming number of African Americans prior to the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, public and private Black colleges represented the only viable avenue for receiving a postsecondary education.

In 1944, Frederick D. Patterson (then president of what is now Tuskegee University), Mary McLeod Bethune, and others incorporated the United Negro College Fund (UNCF). The UNCF's original mission was to raise funds for college tuition for African American students and general scholarship dollars for the nation's historically Black

Table 1 Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States

<i>4-Year Private Institutions</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Organization</i>
Concordia College Selma http://www.concordiaselma.edu	Alabama	4-Year Private
Miles College http://www.miles.edu	Alabama	4-Year Private
Oakwood University http://www.oakwood.edu	Alabama	4-Year Private
Selma University http://www.selmauniversity.org	Alabama	4-Year Private
Stillman College http://www.stillman.edu	Alabama	4-Year Private
Talladega College http://www.talladega.edu	Alabama	4-Year Private
Tuskegee University http://www.tuskegee.edu	Alabama	4-Year Private
Arkansas Baptist College http://www.arkansasbaptist.edu	Arkansas	4-Year Private
Philander Smith College http://www.philander.edu	Arkansas	4-Year Private
Bethune-Cookman University http://www.bethune.cookman.edu	Florida	4-Year Private
Edward Waters College http://www.ewc.edu	Florida	4-Year Private
Florida Memorial University http://www.fmuniv.edu	Florida	4-Year Private
Clark Atlanta University https://www.cau.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Interdenominational Theological Center http://www.itc.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Morehouse College http://www.morehouse.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Morehouse School of Medicine http://www.msm.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Morris Brown College http://www.morrisbrown.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Paine College http://www.paine.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Spelman College http://www.spelman.edu	Georgia	4-Year Private
Dillard University http://www.dillard.edu	Louisiana	4-Year Private
Xavier University of Louisiana http://www.xula.edu	Louisiana	4-Year Private
Rust College http://www.rustcollege.edu	Mississippi	4-Year Private
Tougaloo College http://www.tougaloo.edu	Mississippi	4-Year Private
Bennett College http://www.bennett.edu	North Carolina	4-Year Private

<i>4-Year Private Institutions</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Organization</i>
Johnson C. Smith University http://www.jcsu.edu	North Carolina	4-Year Private
Livingstone College http://www.livingstone.edu	North Carolina	4-Year Private
Shaw University http://www.shawuniversity.edu	North Carolina	4-Year Private
St. Augustine's College http://www.st-aug.edu	North Carolina	4-Year Private
Wilberforce University http://www.wilberforce.edu	Ohio	4-Year Private
Allen University http://www.allenuniversity.edu	South Carolina	4-Year Private
Benedict College http://www.benedict.edu	South Carolina	4-Year Private
Claflin University http://www.claflin.edu	South Carolina	4-Year Private
Morris College http://www.morris.edu/default.aspx	South Carolina	4-Year Private
Voorhees College http://www.voorhees.edu	South Carolina	4-Year Private
Fisk University http://www.fisk.edu	Tennessee	4-Year Private
Knoxville College http://www.knoxvillecollege.edu	Tennessee	4-Year Private
Lane College http://www.lanecollege.edu	Tennessee	4-Year Private
Lemoyne-Owen College http://www.loc.edu	Tennessee	4-Year Private
Meharry Medical College http://www.mmc.edu	Tennessee	4-Year Private
Huston-Tillotson University http://www.htu.edu	Texas	4-Year Private
Jarvis Christian College http://www.jarvis.edu	Texas	4-Year Private
Paul Quinn College http://www.pqc.edu	Texas	4-Year Private
Southwestern Christian College http://www.swcc.edu	Texas	4-Year Private
Texas College http://www.texascollegeonline.net	Texas	4-Year Private
Wiley College http://www.wileyc.edu	Texas	4-Year Private
Hampton University http://www.hamptonu.edu	Virginia	4-Year Private
Saint Paul's College http://www.saintpauls.edu	Virginia	4-Year Private
Virginia Union University http://www.vuu.edu	Virginia	4-Year Private
Virginia University of Lynchburg http://www.vulonline.us	Virginia	4-Year Private

(Continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

<i>2-Year Public Institutions</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Organization</i>
Bishop State Community College http://www.bscc.cc.al.us	Alabama	2-Year Public
Shelton State Community College, C. A. Fredd Campus http://www.sheltonstate.edu	Alabama	2-Year Public
Gadsden State Comm. College, Valley Street http://www.gadsdenstate.edu	Alabama	2-Year Public
J. F. Drake State Technical College http://www.dstc.cc.al.us	Alabama	2-Year Public
Lawson State Community College http://www.ls.cc.al.us	Alabama	2-Year Public
Trenholm State Technical College http://www.trenholmtech.cc.al.us	Alabama	2-Year Public
Southern University at Shreveport http://www.susla.edu	Louisiana	2-Year Public
Coahoma Community College http://www.ccc.cc.ms.us	Mississippi	2-Year Public
Hinds Community College, Utica http://www.hindscc.edu	Mississippi	2-Year Public
Denmark Technical College http://www.denmarktech.edu	South Carolina	2-Year Public
St. Philip's College http://www.accd.edu/spc	Texas	2-Year Public
Lewis College of Business http://www.lewiscollege.edu	Michigan	2-Year Private
Clinton Junior College http://www.clintonjuniorcollege.edu	South Carolina	2-Year Private

Source: U.S. Department of Education, White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. (2008). Listing of 4- and 2-Year Public and Private Institutions, Alphabetically by State. Available at <http://www.ed.gov/about/inits/list/whhbcu/edlite-index.html>

private colleges. Currently, UNCF-administered scholarships are open to students from all ethnicities; however, the vast majority of today's scholarship recipients remain African American. In 2005, the UNCF supported approximately 65,000 students at over 900 colleges and universities, with approximately \$113 million in grants and scholarships. About 60% of the students supported by UNCF funds are the first in their families to attend college, and 62% of these students come from families with an average income below \$25,000. Since 1972, the UNCF's motto has been "A mind is a terrible thing to waste." This has become one of the most widely recognized slogans in advertising history. Beginning in 1980, singer Lou Rawls began the *Lou Rawls Parade of Stars* telethon to raise funds for the UNCF. The annual event, now known as *An Evening of Stars*, features comedic

and musical performances from various popular artists. The telethon has raised over \$200 million for the fund in 27 shows through 2006.

A Transitional Period

Three major changes in federal law have not only dismantled the legal foundation for Jim Crow in higher education, but continue to shape the environment in which HBCUs currently operate. These include the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Higher Education Act of 1965.

First, *Brown* declared that separate educational facilities for the races are inherently unequal. In time, the implications of *Brown* generated heated debates over whether HBCUs were merely unconstitutional vestiges of legal segregation or necessary

institutions essential for preserving access to educational opportunity for African Americans.

Second, among its many provisions, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave the federal government a greater capacity to enforce the mandate of *Brown* in the nation's public colleges and universities. This change in the law set the stage for decades of contentious political and legal battles within a number of states with a history of segregation in higher education.

Third, the Higher Education Act of 1965 substantially expanded student financial aid assistance and provided direct institutional subsidies to Black colleges through Title III. The increased availability of Pell Grants and student loans increased access to a college education to poor and needy students of all races in the 1960s and 1970s. However, these changes in college affordability occurred in an environment in which racial integration had opened the doors of opportunity to African Americans to attend a wider array of institutions than ever before. As a result, HBCUs were forced to compete with wealthier, more endowed White universities for highly qualified African American students and faculty. Lacking comparable resources to their White counterparts in terms of scholarships, faculty salaries, and research capacity, HBCUs find themselves at a distinct disadvantage in this competition.

The *Brown* decision forced HBCUs to defend their right to exist. Some advocates of integration viewed HBCUs as mere relics of the regime of separate, but equal, which must now be eliminated. Kenneth Clark, the sociologist whose famous doll studies were relied upon by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) legal team in the *Brown* cases, considered Black colleges to be educational anachronisms. This problem was particularly acute for public Black colleges. As the federal courts grew weary of the various stalling tactics Southerners had used to delay desegregation in the late 1960s and early 1970s, supporters of Black colleges feared that courts and state legislatures would merge them out of existence.

These fears came to fruition at the same time that many African Americans were having second thoughts about the virtue of desegregation. African Americans endured recalcitrant White resistance when they tried to enroll in previously all-White

public schools. When African Americans were successfully enrolled, they often endured racist treatment from White teachers and classmates, had difficulty keeping up academically with their peers, and were disproportionately classified as disciplinary problems or placed in special education classes.

Desegregation also frequently resulted in the closing of African American schools and the firing or demotion of African American teachers and administrators. Supporters of public Black colleges worried that the same fate would befall their institutions if the Supreme Court's ruling in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968; the mandate that school districts should not have White schools or African American schools, just schools) be applied with equal force to higher education. Similarly, the leaders of private Black colleges faced the task of convincing White philanthropic donors that Black colleges were still viable, legitimate institutions within a society at least nominally committed to the principle of racial integration in higher education. The commonality of the concerns among the leaders of Black public and private college leaders led to the formation of the National Association for Equal Education Opportunity in Higher Education in 1969. One of its principal missions is to increase the federal share of higher-education funding received by historically Black colleges.

Today's Achievements and Challenges

Leaders on historically Black campuses developed a vision of their institutions as necessary institutions that needed to be preserved to combat the lingering effects of decades of Jim Crow segregation against African Americans. First, they argued that the legacy of racial discrimination against African Americans in K–12 public education meant that many African American high school graduates were ill-equipped to compete with White students on an equal basis; consequently, if Black colleges ceased to exist, a large proportion of the African American population would be denied access to higher education altogether. Second, they maintained that Black universities offered supportive learning environments and emphasis on African American history and culture that was more conducive to the successful matriculation of African American students.

At the same time, HBCUs recognized that in a post-*Brown* world, they could not afford to portray themselves as simply all-Black institutions. Therefore, they tried to present themselves as institutions that provided a unique educational experience to all students. This tendency was often motivated by legal necessity—especially for Black colleges under court-ordered desegregation plans in which they were obligated to show progress toward the enrollment of other race (or White) students. They emphasized that the tuition costs at Black schools were considerably less than that of their White counterparts, thereby making them an economic bargain for the poor, regardless of race.

Black college leaders also insisted that because of decades of discriminatory treatment, states should financially and programmatically enhance their institutions. Such enhancements, they felt, were necessary to remove the stigma of inferiority that *Plessy* had stamped on these institutions, thereby making them unattractive to White students. Privately, few HBCU leaders believed that their efforts to present their institutions in nonracial terms would net substantial gains in White enrollment—and with rare exceptions, they were proved right. Notwithstanding federally supervised desegregation plans in a number of states that awarded other-race scholarships and established new academic programs on Black campuses, the enrollment at publicly supported HBCUs has remained overwhelmingly African American.

Yet despite a legacy of underfunding and inferior resources that continues to characterize HBCUs when compared to White institutions, the evidence indicates that HBCUs continue to play a critical role in ensuring access to educational opportunity for African American students. During the fall of 1999, HBCUs enrolled approximately 14% of the total number of African Americans enrolled in college, despite that they represent only 2% of the 4,182 colleges and universities in the country. During the 1999 to 2000 academic year, HBCUs awarded a total of 24% of the baccalaureate degrees conferred on African Americans across the entire nation. Furthermore, HBCUs have produced a disproportionate share of graduate and first-professional degrees to African Americans. For example, between 1950 and 1998, 43% of African American doctors have graduated from one of only three Black medical schools in the

country—Meharry Medical School in Nashville, Tennessee; Howard Medical School in Washington, D.C.; and Morehouse Medical School in Atlanta, Georgia. Similarly, the six historically Black law schools—Howard University Law School in Washington, D.C.; University of District of Columbia Law School in Washington, D.C.; North Carolina Central Law School in Durham, North Carolina; Florida A&M University Law School in Tallahassee, Florida; Southern University Law School in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Thurgood Marshall Law School in Houston, Texas, have graduated a disproportionate share of the nation's African American lawyers and judges as well as its African American state and national legislators. And although many Black colleges continue to struggle financially to keep pace with White institutions, a few Black colleges (Spelman College, Hampton University, Howard University, and Bethune-Cookman College) have become sufficiently successful at attracting and managing endowment funds so that, on endowment dollars-per student basis, they now are comparable to well-known universities elsewhere. In a 1999 Cambridge Associates study of 344 institutions surveyed, Spelman came in 111th; similarly, Hampton finished 219th, Howard ranked 229th, and Bethune Cookman came in at 324th.

Looking Ahead

Despite their history of overcoming daunting obstacles to their success, HBCUs face an uncertain future. The Supreme Court held in *United States v. Fordice* (1992) that states had an affirmative duty to either justify or eliminate, to the extent possible, policies that are legacies of de jure segregation, which continued to have segregative effects. The *Fordice* standard does not foreclose the possibility of the future merger or closure or merger of Black universities. Court-ordered desegregation plans have expired in Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, and Florida; however, several states remain under federal scrutiny for their desegregation efforts. Still, supporters of Black colleges frequently worry that the shrinking budgets that accompany periodic economic crises present new opportunities for proposals to close HBCUs. Just recently, a Georgia lawmaker proposed that Georgia's historically Black Savannah State

University and Albany State University be merged with two nearby White universities in the name of fiscal responsibility and complying with the *Fordice* standard.

The dynamic changes within the global economy provide opportunities for HBCUs to cast themselves as vital institutions that make essential contributions to the nation's international competitiveness. Macroeconomic changes have placed a greater premium on the existence of a highly educated, technologically sophisticated work force. As U.S. workers increasingly find themselves in competition with the rest of the world, the United States can ill afford to tolerate its historic inequalities in access to educational and economic opportunity that have traditionally fallen along racial and class lines. Given their proven record of successfully graduating African Americans, HBCUs remain an essential link to insuring the existence of equal opportunity for all U.S. citizens.

Albert L. Samuels

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; Higher Education Act of 1965; Jim Crow; National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*; United Negro College Fund (UNCF)

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Web Sites

- The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education: <http://www.nafeo.org>
- The United Negro College Fund: <http://uncf.org>
- The White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities: <http://www.ed.gov/about/inits/list/whhbcu/edlite-index.html>

HOBSON V. HANSEN (I AND II)

Hobson v. Hansen, District of Columbia (1967) and *Hobson v. Hansen II, District of Columbia* (1971) are two desegregation rulings in the U.S. District of Columbia that were the first direct challenges to the use of standardized tests as part of a tracking system. In *Hobson v. Hansen I*, a circuit district court enjoined the District of Columbia School Board and the Superintendent Dr. Carl F. Hansen from discriminating against African American students through neighborhood assignment and ability tracking policies. This ruling dismantled the tracking system in Washington, D.C., public schools and imparted a good faith effort by the government to provide equal educational opportunity. In *Hobson v. Hansen II*, 4 years later, the same district court ruled in favor of a more equitable distribution of resources as an additional good faith effort by the state to desegregate the district's 173 public schools. This entry looks at the background of the case, the rulings, and their impact.

Historical Context

The District of Columbia public school system was formally established in 1805; however, it was not until an 1862 act of Congress that public schools for African American children were established. For more than 10 years, the African American public school system in Washington, D.C., was run separately from the Washington, Georgetown, and Washington County jurisdictions, which were for Whites only. Although the African American public school system was eventually absorbed into the larger District of Columbia school system, by the mid-1950s, it became apparent that African American children were not receiving an equitable educational opportunity. Not only were the facili-

ties at African American schools in poorer condition, but also the teachers tended to have fewer credentials. In addition, African American students were disproportionately represented in lower achievement tracks with the possibility of attaining a higher track level virtually improbable.

Julius Hobson, a local Washington, D.C., activist and parent, used his political enthusiasm and savvy to begin what would become one of the most well-known desegregation cases involving tracking. When his 10-year-old daughter was tested and excluded from the college preparatory track, Mr. and Mrs. Hobson pursued a two-phase suit against the District of Columbia School Board and Hansen.

Facts of the Case

In 1967, Hobson filed a lawsuit seeking to enjoin the board from continuing to deny children, primarily African American children, their right to equal educational opportunity. This neglect was proved through the neighborhood school assignment policies, tracking, and a separate and unequal compulsory biracial school system that violated the law. Hansen and the school board were both found in violation of the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs; and the district court required the school board to actively pursue the desegregation of the 173 schools through multiple mechanisms. Four desegregation issues were addressed with the *Hobson v. Hansen* cases: (1) de facto segregation, (2) unequal allocation of resources, (3) compensatory programs, and (4) ability grouping.

The District of Columbia School Board had developed and employed a policy in which students were assigned to schools near their home. Due to rampant housing segregation in the district, this policy simply perpetuated the status quo and manifested as de facto segregation in schools. For example, at the time of the suit, 11 of the 17 predominantly White district schools maintained White populations between 85% to 100% of the total student body. In addition, at 139 of the 156 African American district schools, African American students comprised approximately 90% of the population. According to the expert testimony of codefendant Hansen and agreement by the court, this neighborhood assignment policy forced African American children to

attend predominantly African American schools where they received an inferior education. Although Judge Skeely Wright did admonish, but not eliminate, the neighborhood assignment policy, the ruling suggested that the educational benefit of desegregating White schools outweighed the potential academic detriment to White students.

Second, because the overwhelming majority of students in the District of Columbia were African American, Wright realized that true integration would never be achieved. There simply were not enough White children in the public schools. However, the judge did include other avenues for the school district to provide equal educational opportunity for African American students. Compared to White schools in the district, African American schools were deemed inferior as a result of overcrowding, poorer facilities, teachers with fewer credentials, and a lower median per pupil expenditure.

Likely due to the *Brown* rulings, a construction program was being developed at the time of the suit to improve the African American school facilities. However, since African American teachers were less experienced and less credentialed, they received less pay than their White counterparts. In an attempt to increase the median per pupil expenditure, the judge ordered desegregation of teachers in the public schools. By dispersing African American teachers, who on average had fewer credentials and were paid less, the median expenditure per pupil in the district moved closer to parity.

Similar to the mandate for teacher desegregation, compensatory programs were required to improve the equal educational opportunity for African American and poor children who suffered from de facto segregation. The purpose of these programs would be to provide state-supported aid to African American children who were adversely harmed by the previously declared racial imbalance. These programs were ordered since there would inevitably be many African American children who could not attend desegregated schools.

Perhaps the most well-known element of the *Hobson v. Hansen* cases concerned the use of ability grouping and tracking. Although the court recognized that the tracking system may have been developed to provide opportunity for students at all levels of learning and to decrease heterogeneity within classrooms, simple descriptive statistics

showed that African American children were over-represented among the lower tracks. Hobson successfully argued that the IQ tests used to track students in the district were culturally biased since they had been standardized using a White middle-class sample. Along these lines, Hobson argued that the tests were inaccurate predictors of intelligence or potential achievement for lower class and African American students.

In addition to problematizing the actual test used to track students, Hobson also contested the accompanying policies. There was little maneuvering possible for students to move out of lower track into higher tracks, as evidenced by descriptive statistics. In essence, students relegated to lower tracks in elementary school, students who were predominantly African American, were further relegated to a less rigorous academic curriculum as they progressed through the educational pipeline. Tracking was designed to place those in lower tracks on a path that would provide them an educational benefit through compensatory programs and remedial instruction. Neither of these remedies was deemed adequate in *Hobson v. Hansen*. Together, the test itself and the complementary tracking policies were declared an impediment to African Americans and lower-class students and therefore imparted upon them an inferior educational opportunity.

Impact of the Ruling

Although some saw it as symbolic, Wright's ruling demonstrates how judicial power can influence the development and modification of education policy. Although the rulings of *Hobson v. Hansen I* and *II* did not mandate education policy development, they did require modification by the school board and superintendent that would ensure equitable educational opportunity to all students in the District of Columbia public schools.

The judge's decisions left an indelible mark on the District of Columbia public school system. The elimination of the tracking system was an impetus for the (re)evaluation of IQ testing—test development, implementation, and associated outcomes. Although the use of IQ tests was virtually eliminated, subsequent appeals have allowed other forms of ability grouping (e.g., achievement tests), provided there are no racially deleterious outcomes.

However, the residential segregation that persists in Washington, D.C., continued to perpetuate inferior educational opportunity in the 21st century just as it did in the late 1960s. There continue to be challenges to educational testing and assessment organizations related to the way minority perspectives are presented, portrayed, and perceived in lower- and higher-education arenas.

Valerie C. Lundy-Wagner

See also Desegregation

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HOLMES V. DANNER

Holmes v. Danner (1961) was an early lawsuit seeking to gain admission to the University of Georgia for African American students. Although perhaps not as well-known today as cases in Alabama and Mississippi, the Georgia case featured two brave young students and a farsighted district court judge who ruled that the university was unconstitutionally barring African American students. Together, they opened the gates to admission and led the way for many others. The

immediate impact of the ruling, however, was a period of violence and confrontation. This entry looks at the case and its impact.

Historical Context

Georgia became the first state to charter a state-supported university in 1785, and in 1801, the University of Georgia was established in Athens. Except for one incident soon after the Civil War, when African Americans tried to force themselves into the institution, the university remained solidly segregated.

Georgia maintained three public Black colleges offering undergraduate degrees: Fort Valley State College, Albany State College, and Savannah State College. From 1943 to 1967, if African American students wanted a graduate degree, the state paid the difference between out-of-state tuition and Georgia tuition, plus two annual round trips home.

In September 1950, Horace Ward became the first African American student to apply to the University of Georgia School of Law. After his application was denied in June 1951, he refused an out-of-state scholarship and sued in federal court in 1952. Ward was drafted into the Army in 1953, was discharged in 1955, and continued pursuing his case, but he also enrolled in Northwestern University's School of Law in September 1956. After a trial in December 1956, Ward's lawsuit was dismissed in February 1957 on procedural grounds. Ward's enrollment at Northwestern required that he apply to Georgia as a transfer student, making his case for admission as a first-year law student moot. After graduating from Northwestern, Ward joined the Atlanta law firm of Donald Hollowell, local counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

By the late 1950s, few public facilities in Georgia were desegregated except Atlanta's seven public golf courses, which integrated in 1955 after Alfred "Tup" Holmes, his brother Oliver, and their father Dr. Hamilton M. Holmes successfully sued the city. An informal group of African American businessmen in Atlanta pressed for greater equality. Jesse Hill, a member of the local NAACP's education committee, recruited applicants to integrate Georgia State College of Business Administration in Atlanta. In 1956, three African American women volunteered to apply to Georgia

State and sued to be admitted. A federal court did not order the women to be admitted, but found the college's requirement that applicants be endorsed by two alumni to be unconstitutional because there were no African American alumni of the University System of Georgia's White institutions.

The legislature responded by adopting new laws to preserve segregation. In Georgia, students over the age of 21 could not start as undergraduates, and students over 25 could not start a graduate program. Hill refocused on recruiting outstanding seniors within Atlanta's African American high schools.

In the spring of 1959, Hill found Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter at McNeal Turner High School. Holmes—the son of Tup Holmes, who integrated Atlanta's golf courses—was valedictorian, cocaptain of the football team, and senior class president. Hunter finished third in her class, was editor of the school paper, and was voted Miss Turner High. Holmes and Hunter looked over Georgia State, but preferred the University of Georgia.

Facts of the Case

Holmes and Hunter, after graduating Turner High in 1959, submitted applications on July 15, 1959, for that fall's freshmen class. The University of Georgia required all freshmen to live in dormitories, and University Registrar Walter N. Danner denied both applications because of limited facilities. Holmes entered Morehouse College in Atlanta, and Hunter enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit, but they continued corresponding with Danner between August 1959 and June 1960 to transfer to the university, first as freshmen in the January 1960 Winter Quarter and then as sophomores and juniors.

Hunter and Holmes received various reasons for not being admitted. The university said it was not considering any applications for future quarters, was denying admission to many qualified transfer students, and required transfer applicants to provide their transcripts and have a personal interview. In Hunter's case, the university cited "limited housing facilities. We stopped accepting women students for the Fall [1960] Quarter over a month ago" (191 F. Supp. at 388). Holmes was

told the university admitted a few junior transfers and many former students.

Holmes and Hunter retained the same team of attorneys: Constance Baker Motley of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Donald Hollowell, Vernon Jordan, and Horace Ward, who tried to integrate the university's law school a decade earlier. Through the summer of 1960, they appealed the denial of Holmes's and Hunter's applications up the university's administrative ladder: first to President O. C. Aderhold; then to Harmon Caldwell, the chancellor of University System of Georgia; then to Robert O. Arnold, chairman of the board of regents. On August 30, Arnold informed counsel that the board would meet on September 17, 1960, to consider Holmes's and Hunter's appeals.

Administrative Remedies

On September 2, Holmes and Hunter filed for an injunction in federal court enjoining Danner from refusing to consider applications solely on the basis of race. On September 25, Judge William A. Bootle denied the injunction because Holmes and Hunter had not exhausted their administrative remedy: The board of regents had not yet acted. Holmes and Hunter also needed to complete interviews.

On October 21, 1960, the board of regents concluded that Holmes and Hunter did not complete required procedures, and the university could not consider their applications. To comply, Hunter had her interview on November 5th with Danner and two of his staff members. Despite showing she was fit to be admitted, Hunter was informed on November 29th that transfer applicants again faced limited facilities, and she would be considered for the fall 1961 quarter.

On November 18th, Holmes interviewed with Danner and the same two staffers. He was asked questions that Hunter did not face and that Bootle, in his ruling, believed probably had never been asked of any previous applicant. Holmes was asked if he had ever been arrested; if he knew and had ever attended the tea houses, coffeehouses, or Beatnik places in Atlanta; if he knew about the red light district in Athens; and if he had ever attended houses of prostitution. Holmes answered no to all these questions, but on November 29th, he was

informed he did not qualify as a suitable applicant and was denied admission.

The Court Order

After a 4-and-a-half-day trial in December 1960, Bootle issued a permanent injunction on January 6, 1961, ordering the university to admit Holmes and Hunter. Bootle found the university's administrative remedies for appealing admissions decisions inadequate for two reasons: (1) University officials were not truly free to act because the state constitution required segregated schools and that the state appropriations act would cut off funding if university facilities did not remain segregated, and (2) university officials had unlimited time to act under their appeals policy.

The crux of Bootle's decision was a finding of discrimination: "Plaintiffs . . . are otherwise qualified, but have been denied admission solely because of their race and color" (191 F. Supp. at 402). Bootle focused on three categories of evidence to find discrimination. First, he noted the rejection of all other African American applicants, including Ward and Ida Rose McCree, who applied in June 1960. Second, Bootle found the university's excuse of limited facilities to be untrue because the university sometimes allowed housing facilities to be oversubscribed and at other times had vacancies. As a smoking gun, Bootle noted a handwritten letter dated June 15, 1960, from Caldwell to Aderhold saying Caldwell had written to a member of the board of regents who had requested help getting a White applicant admitted "that it is my understanding that all of the dormitories for women are filled for the coming year. I have also indicated that you are relying on this to bar the admission of a Negro girl from Atlanta" (191 F. Supp. at 406).

The third area of evidence of discrimination was Holmes's and Hunter's interviews. Bootle noted that the university loosely applied the interview requirement for most applicants, and the use of a three-person panel was most unusual. In Holmes's case, the judge found the interview was conducted to find a reason to reject him.

Bootle permanently enjoined the university from refusing to consider applications from Holmes, Hunter, and other African American applicants on the same terms and conditions applicable to White applicants. He also found Holmes

and Hunter to be fully qualified for admission and enjoined the university from refusing to enroll them immediately for the winter quarter of 1961.

Campus Response

On the night of the January 6, 1961, decision, 150 to 200 students gathered by the university's archway entrance and hanged an effigy of Hamilton Holmes. They also burned gas-soaked crosses and threw firecrackers. On January 7th, Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook filed a motion for a stay of Bootle's order. Holmes and Hunter registered for classes on January 9th, escorted by Ward and Jordan. Although Hunter was in the School of Journalism picking her classes, news arrived that Bootle had issued a stay of his own order to allow the state to appeal. Within a couple of hours, however, Chief Judge Elbert P. Tuttle of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the stay.

Rumors spread the morning of January 9th that Governor S. Ernest Vandiver was going to close the university, and about 1,000 students protested in the streets of Athens. A group of freshmen burned crosses near the campus tennis courts and track, and two students were arrested. At midnight on January 9th, Vandiver released a statement ordering the University of Georgia to close in accordance with the budget provision to cut off funds.

Aderhold did not receive official word from the governor, so the campus remained opened on January 10th. Later that day, the U.S. Supreme Court denied the state's motion to overturn Tuttle's desegregation order, and Bootle prohibited the governor from cutting off or refusing to furnish funds appropriated to the University of Georgia.

University rules required women under 23 years old to live on campus. Hunter was assigned her own private suite in Center Myers Hall so she would not be placed with a White female student. Holmes lived off campus with one of Athens' most prominent African American families, the Killians, who owned a local restaurant. On the night of January 10th, students outside Hunter's dorm chanted, "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate."

On the night of January 11th, a riot organized by several law school students occurred outside Hunter's dormitory. A crowd that expanded from

500 to 2,000 students—it grew after the men's basketball team lost to Georgia Tech in overtime—descended on the dorm, spread a bed-sheet banner saying, "Nigger Go Home," and threw bricks and bottles through the windows of the dormitory, aiming for Hunter's room on the ground floor. Organizers of the riot told the dorm's residents to turn off their lights that night so Hunter's windows would make an easier target.

Rioters set fires in nearby woods, threw rocks and cherry bombs at reporters, and tangled with police while cheering, "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate." The entire Athens police force of 39 officers was eventually called out, and they finally disbursed the mob with fire hoses and tear gas. Several police, at least one female student in the dorm, and Dean of Men William Tate—who was confiscating IDs from students—were injured. Hunter was not hurt, but 60 windows of the dorm were broken. The Georgia State Patrol was called, but troopers did not arrive, according to some estimates, for 2 1/2 hours, about an hour after the riot ended.

Vandiver ordered the university to suspend Holmes and Hunter. Dean of Students Joseph Williams wrote them letters indicating he was withdrawing them in the interests of their personal safety and for the safety of the University of Georgia's more than 7,000 other students. The Georgia State Patrol escorted Holmes and Hunter from the university to their homes in Atlanta.

On January 12th, Bootle issued injunctions to overturn the governor's order closing the university, ruling that the sections of the appropriations act cutting off funds to desegregated institutions were unconstitutional. The judge also enjoined the governor from cutting off funds to the university because of the admission of Holmes and Hunter.

On January 13th, Bootle—saying he would not allow violence to interfere with a court order—issued a temporary injunction requiring the university to reinstate Holmes and Hunter by 8 a.m. on Monday, January 16th. Holmes and Hunter returned to campus on January 16th, escorted by plainclothes officers and with reporters banned from campus. Bootle later affirmed Hunter's and Holmes's right to eat in the campus cafeteria and swim in the campus pool, ruling that African American students were entitled to use all university facilities.

Impact of the Ruling

The desegregation of the University of Georgia reverberated from Athens to Atlanta. African American residents of Athens, emboldened by Holmes and Hunter, protested against the city's segregation laws and staged sit-ins at the local Woolworth's. In Atlanta, the Georgia Institute of Technology decided to integrate voluntarily. In May 1961, Georgia Tech announced it had admitted three of 13 African American applicants for the fall, making it the first university in the Deep South to integrate peacefully and without a court order. Similarly, the Atlanta public schools peacefully fulfilled a court order to integrate by September 1961.

Ward became Georgia's second African American state senator since Reconstruction, serving from 1965 to 1974. He became Georgia's first African American trial court judge in 1974 and Georgia's first African American federal judge in 1979.

At the University of Georgia, Mary Frances Early became the third African American student, transferring in June 1961 from the University of Michigan. She graduated in August 1962 with a master's in music education, the first African American student to earn a degree from the university. Five other African American students arrived in the fall of 1962.

Holmes and Hunter graduated on June 1, 1963. Holmes, elected Phi Beta Kappa, was the first African American student at Emory University's School of Medicine and became a prominent orthopedic surgeon in Atlanta. He died in 1995 at age 54, soon after heart bypass surgery. Hunter, now Hunter-Gault, has enjoyed a distinguished career in journalism with the *New York Times*, PBS, CNN, and NPR. In 1991, the building where Holmes and Hunter registered was renamed the Hunter-Holmes Academic Building.

Michael W. Klein

See also Desegregation; *Lucy v. Adams*, Dean of Admissions, University of Alabama; *Meredith v. Fair*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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HOMESCHOOLING

Educational research has documented a positive relationship between parents' involvement in their children's education and student outcomes. Today, involvement has evolved to include a federal mandated policy of parental choice. Homeschooling is one of the fastest growing trends in educational choices among African American families. In choosing to homeschool, parents assume personal responsibility for their children's schooling. Reports suggest that an estimated 2 million families chose to homeschool their children nationwide.

According to Dr. Brian Ray, president of the National Home Education Research Institute, between 110,000 and 140,000 African American children (Grades K–12) were homeschooled during the 2005 to 2006 school year, and the numbers increase each year. Moreover, African Americans parents have established several national organizations to support their home education such as the African American Homeschoolers Network and the National Black Home Educators Research Association. In addition, Black home educators have created local support groups in almost every state. These organizations report increasing memberships. African American children may be homeschooled from birth through high school graduation. However, the laws surrounding home education vary from state to state. This entry explores the

range of homeschooling that occurs in the United States, the reasons that parents homeschool, and the challenges such parents face.

Forms of Home Education

African American home educators' approaches to homeschooling varies. Some parents choose the unschooling method, which requires no time frames for instruction and no specified content. Instead, children direct their own education through their interests. Home educators then facilitate their children's learning. Conversely, some African American parents choose more traditional approaches to their homeschool. At times, parents adhere closely to textbooks, or they pick and choose from among numerous curricula to tailor an educational program to their children's needs. In addition, some home educators have developed practices that represent modified elements of both unschooling and traditional schooling methods of instruction.

African American home educators occasionally join co-ops where each parent agrees to teach a subject for the children whose families are represented by the co-op. In addition, certified teachers frequently offer classes in the advanced subjects. Church groups and local organizations have also developed their own homeschools where home educators can select courses for their children in a variety of areas including advanced mathematics, sciences, and international languages.

Motivation to Homeschool

Many African American families choose to homeschool because they believe the public schools have failed their children. School failure includes the declining test scores of public schools in African American families' communities. In addition, home educators sometimes perceive inequity in special education services, teachers' low expectations, and a disregard for the specific learning interests of African American children as examples of school failure. However, African American families are not just leaving public schools. Some parents had previously enrolled their children in private or Christian schools, but they removed their children from these institutions due to financial, curricular, pedagogical, or administrative reasons.

Similar to White home educators, African American parents report religious reasons for their choice. Religious explanations not only include actual beliefs but also a decision to isolate their children from exposure to negative influences found in public schools such as profanity, violence, sex, drugs, and an overall disregard for schooling among other children. Homeschooling provides a method to instill religious beliefs in their children while they provide them the best possible educational experience, but it is not necessarily a mandate from a higher power. Multiple faiths and multiple denominations of religions are represented among African American home education communities.

Many times, the decision to homeschool requires African American families to change from a dual-income family to a single-income family. However, single parents and working mothers and fathers have also found ways to participate in homeschooling. Regardless of family structure, the decision to homeschool often represents a major sacrifice of the homeschooler's income and career. African American homeschool mothers and fathers are not usually former teachers. Therefore, homeschooling their children represents a major career change for them. Some African American fathers are sometimes referred to as the principal of a homeschool. They often provide financial support and disciplinary action as needed. Some fathers also share teaching with their spouses, especially if they possess knowledge in a particular subject.

Challenges and Supports

African American home educators face numerous challenges as they transition to the homeschool lifestyle. Aspects of home life are sometimes sacrificed for the homeschool. Homeschoolers have to get used to being with their children all day, making it difficult for them to have time to themselves. Conversely, homeschooled children need to socialize with children outside of their family. Educational responsibilities may impede regular household duties. Parents also have to take time to understand how their children learn. Home educators must select the best curriculum for their children from among dozens of possibilities. Moreover, as their children increase in grade levels, the content areas get more challenging.

To address the challenges facing African American home educators, they often participate in support groups. Support groups function in face-to-face contexts as well as via the Internet. Through the support groups, African American homeschoolers learn about curriculum, instructional strategies, and legal implications of the homeschooling experience. Support groups also become avenues for children to socialize with other children (churches and recreational sports as well). Homeschool support groups also provide a vehicle for exchanging curriculum materials. Although African American parents have been homeschooling their children for decades, the research in this area is extremely limited. Further research is needed to document the practices, challenges, and successful outcomes of African American homeschooled children.

Cheryl Fields-Smith

See also Charter Schools; School Choice

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HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Howard University, in Washington, D.C., is a private historically Black university that currently provides undergraduate, graduate, and professional education through 12 schools and colleges to a student enrollment of about 11,000. It has granted PhDs to more African Americans than any U.S. university.

Howard University has produced such great U.S. citizens as jurist Thurgood Marshall, Diplomat Ralph Bunche, United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, philosopher Alain Locke, actresses

Phylicia Allen Rashad and Debbie Allen, opera singer Jessye Norman, and presidential cabinet member Patricia Roberts Harris. Celebrated professors who spent time teaching at Howard include historians Carter G. Woodson, Rayford Logan, John Hope Franklin, and John Blassingame; writers Paul Laurence Dunbar, Sterling Brown, Benjamin Brawley, and Toni Morrison; scientists Ernest E. Just, Percy Julian, and Charles Drew; librarian and bibliophile Dorothy B. Porter Wesley; social psychologists Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie Clark; and artists James Porter and Lois Mailou Jones Pierre-Noel. Many among the first string of civil rights lawyers during the 20th-century civil rights struggle were Howard students or professors, including Charles Hamilton Houston, Marshall, James Nabrit, Spottswood Robinson, Wiley Branton, and many more.

Howard University students—both graduate and undergraduate students—have won many national and international awards and fellowships. Some students have been selected as Rhodes Scholars, Pickering Fellows, Truman Scholars, White House Fellows, and Fulbright Scholars.

Howard University embraces the schools of Arts and Sciences, Business, Communications, Dentistry, Divinity, Education, Graduate, Law, Medicine, Pharmacy and Social Work, and Engineering, Architecture and Computer Sciences. It offers studies in more than 120 areas. Howard has a television station, WHUT-TV, and a radio station WHUR-FM. The student newspaper, *The Hilltop*, is now available online. The Founders Library houses the Jesse Moorland, Arthur Spingarn, and Channing Pollock collections on African American Literature and history in the world-famous Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. The center also includes the Howard University Archives and the Howard Museum. This entry examines the origins of the university and then traces its history through its successive presidents, focusing on the years after 1926, when its first African American president was named.

Organizational Foundations

Named after its founder, Union General Oliver Otis Howard, Howard University was established in 1867. Dubbed in its early years as the capstone of Negro education, Howard University's mission

was to provide teacher and ministerial education for all interested students, but especially for free-born and emancipated African Americans. The idea for the university began in November 1866, when a group of White members of the First Congregational Society in Washington, D.C., decided to establish a seminary to train African American pastors to minister to the needs of the newly freed population. Between November and January 1867, the group decided that a seminary was not enough, and they proposed a university, named after Howard who was then serving as the commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, familiarly known as the Freedmen's Bureau.

Some of those at the planning meeting contacted members of the U.S. Congress. Together, they drew up a bill and presented it to Congress; it passed. President Andrew Johnson signed the act providing for the incorporation of Howard University on March 2, 1867. Designated as a University for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences, it would include normal, collegiate, theological, law, medicine, and agriculture departments. In 1868, the collegiate department and the departments of law, pharmacy, and medicine were opened, followed by the theological department 1871, dentistry in 1882, music in 1883, and engineering and architecture in 1910.

The first two presidents of the university were Charles B. Boynton, who served in 1867 and Byron Sunderland, whose term lasted from 1867 to 1869. Howard was the third president from 1869 to 1874. Howard found himself and the university embroiled in several financial scandals. Faculty members received half pay, buildings erected with bricks from a company partially owned by Howard were crumbling, and the university was deep in debt. Many friends of Howard University were outraged.

A June 22, 1873, headline in the Washington, D.C., paper *The Capital* dubbed Howard "The Profit of Godliness—a Pious Brigadier." Though the committee cited much mismanagement, it did not believe that Howard behaved fraudulently. After a military investigation by a special court of inquiry upon charges against Howard, Howard was cleared of negligence and dishonesty, but was criticized by General William T. Sherman as "credulous, easily used, and influenced" (Dyson, 1941).

To help with the university's support, the U.S. Congress awarded Howard University a special appropriation in 1879, but money continued to be a problem. Finally, in 1928, the Congress amended Howard University's charter to authorize a yearly federal appropriation for construction, development, improvement, and maintenance of the university. About 55% of Howard's budget continues to be provided by federal government funding.

Early African American Leaders

Howard University has always been associated with famous African Americans. For example, Frederick Douglass became a trustee of Howard University while Howard was president of the institution. Douglass's tenure on Howard's trustee board overlapped with the service of John Mercer Langston, an Oberlin graduate. Langston and Douglass both had been recruiters for the U.S. Colored Troops. Langston, son of a White father and an enslaved mulatto mother, was a lawyer; he was appointed a professor at Howard on October 12, 1868, and became dean of Howard's law department in 1870. He was elected vice president of the University in 1873 and was nominated for the presidency along with Douglass in 1874. Both men lost. Langston served as acting president of the university in 1875, but his tenure both as vice president and acting president was tumultuous. The first African American president of Howard was not elected until 1926.

During the university's first three decades well-known graduates at the preparatory, collegiate, and graduate levels included Congressman George White; Howard Dean Kelly Miller; Diplomat John Henry Smythe; Charlotte B. Ray, the first female graduate of the law department; Judge Robert H. Terrell; and Mary D. Spackman, the first woman to graduate from the medical department.

Howard University honored Douglass's contributions to the university and to the nation by naming a classroom building in his honor in 1935—the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hall—during the presidency of Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson. In 1926, when Johnson became Howard's first African American president, the university was composed of eight schools and colleges, none of which held national accreditation. The institution's enrollment during this year stood at 1,700 and its budget at \$700,000.

Growth of the University

By the time Johnson retired 34 years later, the university had 10 schools and colleges, all fully accredited; 6,000 students; a budget of \$8 million; 20 new buildings including an expanded physical plant; and a greatly enlarged faculty that included some of the most prominent African American scholars of the day. Another key indicator of the university's enhanced academic status was the 1955 inauguration of graduate programs that had the authority to grant the PhD degree.

During Johnson's tenure, historian Walter Dyson wrote about the university in a book titled, *Howard University, the Capstone of Negro Education: A History, 1867-1940*, published by Howard University press in 1941. Dyson had previously published reports relating to the founding of the university and a history of federal appropriations to Howard.

Johnson's successor was Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr. who was previously secretary of the university and dean of the law school. He had previously served as a U.S. representative on the UN Security Council and as Deputy Representative, Minister Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the United Nations. A leading constitutional lawyer and educator, Nabrit established at Howard in 1938 what is generally considered the first systematic course in civil rights in a U.S. law school. As a part of its centennial celebration Dr. Rayford W. Logan was commissioned by the university to write *Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967*. It was published for the university by the New York University Press in 1969.

In 1969, Nabrit was succeeded by Dr. James E. Cheek, who had previously served as president of Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. Cheek named Dr. Lorraine A. Williams as vice president for academic affairs; she was the first female vice president in the history of the university. It was also during Cheek's tenure that WHUR-FM and WHUT-TV, Howard's radio and television stations, began their operations. Established in 1980, Howard University Television is the first African American owned and operated noncommercial television station in the United States. Cheek retired in June 1989. He was followed by an interim president, Dr. Carlton P. Alexis, a physician and administrator who had

been the university's executive vice president and before that, its vice president for health affairs.

On December 16, 1989, the board of trustees announced the appointment of Dr. Franklyn G. Jenifer to head the university. Upon his inauguration, Jenifer became the first Howard alumnus to head the university in its 123-year history. Jenifer served through May 15, 1994, when the board of trustees appointed Dr. Joyce A. Ladner as interim president. Ladner, the former vice president for academic affairs, had also served as a professor in the School of Social Work.

Current Leadership

On April 22, 1995, H. Patrick Swygert became the 15th president of Howard. At that time, Howard was the only historically Black college and university (HBCU) designated as one of the nation's Research I universities by the Carnegie Foundation on Teaching. By 1996, Howard had awarded almost 84,000 degrees during its almost 130-year history. The university ranked first in the nation in the number of PhD degrees conferred upon African American students. The university enrollment was just over 10,000 students in 16 schools and colleges located on four campuses. In 1996, 13% of the students were from the District of Columbia, 74% from other states, 11% were international students representing 104 countries, and 5% were international students who were permanent U.S. residents. Just over 2,200 students were members of the graduating class of 1996. The endowment was almost 160 million dollars, and the university staff numbered almost 4,000.

At this time, Howard administrators stated that the university's vision was to be a comprehensive research institution demonstrating excellence in instruction, research, and service with an ongoing commitment to educating youth. The institution continued to focus on African Americans and other students from underrepresented groups in particular for leadership and service to the nation and the world.

The focus of the institution was to be a comprehensive, research-oriented historically Black private university providing a quality education to African Americans and other students of high academic potential. The university continued to try to attract and sustain faculty members who are, through their teaching and research, "committed to the

development of distinguished and compassionate graduates and the quest for solutions to human and social problems in the United States and throughout the world” (<http://www.howard.edu>).

Swygert and his staff designed a 5-year strategic plan for the university. The president articulated several challenges for HBCUs in the March 1998 edition of *Black Issues in Higher Education*. He was aware that high-scoring African American students were actively recruited by majority-White universities—after all, that was something he did successfully at State University of New York at Albany—but he did not agree that students got a better education at these institutions than they did at Howard.

He emphasized that to provide the quality education good students desired, he had to recruit talented faculty members and be able to pay them competitive salaries. He promised the faculty that Howard would do its best to provide them with the tools of their trade including personal computers for every faculty member. Swygert was particularly interested in supplying the university community with a technologically rich environment.

The 2000 Howard University *Annual Report* demonstrates that in Swygert’s first few years as the university chief administrator Howard underwent substantive growth and development, including the creation of the Louis Stokes Heath Sciences Library, a new School of Law Library, and the university’s iLab. The iLab is a technology learning center comprising more than 200 computer workstations, distance learning classrooms, and a Webcasting facility. The iLab station, open 24 hours a day, has voice, data, and video capabilities. Students had the ability to connect with the Internet without using a telephone line. In addition, Oracle Corp. donated 4,000 workstations for computer centers in the residence halls. Rapid changes in technological capabilities also led to an increase in distance learning programs available at the university. However, Swygert continued to struggle with finances for the university.

Swygert ended his tenure at the university in 2008 after 13 years. On August 1, 2008, Sidney A. Ribeau became the 16th president of Howard. Unanimously selected by the board of trustees in May, Ribeau formerly served as the president of Bowling Green State University in Ohio.

Debra Newman Ham

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Franklin, John Hope; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Woodson, Carter G.

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HYPERACTIVITY

Hyperactivity is a symptom, along with impulsiveness and inattention, of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). The term *hyperactivity* refers to an excessive amount of activity or excessive behaviors that are disruptive and maladaptive. The presence of ADHD in childhood is associated with a number of impairments that can persist into adulthood, including problems with school achievement, family, peers, and future occupational performance. Because of the problems associated with ADHD, concerns about the diagnosis of children with ADHD and with overmedication of the disorder have been raised. Some of these concerns include the role of gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class on the diagnosis

and treatment of ADHD and the influence these factors have on outcomes for children and adolescents on school achievement and long-term well-being. Because hyperactivity is nearly always discussed in connection with ADHD, discussion of ADHD will be considered to refer to hyperactivity unless hyperactivity is specifically contrasted with impulsivity or inattentiveness. This entry includes an overview of diagnosis and treatment with attention to issues related to African Americans.

Diagnosis and Prevalence

Criteria for diagnosis are outlined in the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition, Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR)*. When evaluating the presence of ADHD, hyperactivity and impulsivity are generally considered as a single category, in contrast to inattentiveness. To be diagnosed as hyperactive-impulsive, six or more symptoms must be present for at least 6 months to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with normal developmental level. These symptoms must be present before age 7 and present in two or more settings, for example, at school and at home. Hyperactivity is characterized by behaviors that are excessive and disruptive, such as excessive talking, running about, or climbing excessively; often fidgeting, leaving one's seat, on the go, or "driven by a motor"; and difficulty with quiet leisure activities.

Diagnosing ADHD in children often begins with information from the parent. The parent can provide information about the age of onset, the symptoms that are exhibited in various settings, how long the symptoms have been present, and the level of impairment. Rating scales, questionnaires, and verbal and written interviews are all necessary components to collect the necessary data. Examples of common instruments for diagnosing and assessing ADHD include the Child Behavior Checklist, Conners Parent and Teacher Rating Scales, ADHD Rating Scale-IV, and Wender-Utah Rating Scale, among others. Interviewing the child may add information, but is often not sufficient by itself because children tend to underreport their symptoms and not be aware of their condition. Multiple sources of information are important for identifying the characteristics of ADHD, identifying comorbid psychiatric conditions, and eliminating

differential diagnoses (i.e., other conditions that might be present with similar symptoms as ADHD). As a result, it is useful to collect data from the schools, especially from the child's teacher. The teacher can also provide information about the symptoms being exhibited, the level of impairment, and other conditions that are demonstrated in the classroom. Most teachers do not have the authority or expertise, however, to diagnose children with ADHD. A diagnosis of ADHD may be made by a pediatrician or primary care provider based on collecting a personal history of the child from the parent. Because these care providers are not trained psychologists or psychiatrists, the diagnosis of ADHD may not necessarily conform to the *DSM-IV-TR* criteria.

Studies of ADHD prevalence rates have shown wide variation worldwide, ranging from 3% to 20% across different countries, but these variations seem to be related to the diagnostic criteria used rather than to any real cultural differences in the incidence of ADHD. In contrast to the *DSM-IV-TR*, which is used in the United States, the *International Classification of Diseases, 10th Revision (ICD-10)* has historically been used in Europe and other countries to diagnose hyperactivity under the label of *hyperkinetic disorder (HKD)*. The criteria for the *ICD-10* diagnosis of HKD are more stringent, requiring that a child exhibit all of the following: at least six inattentive symptoms, at least three hyperactive symptoms, and at least one impulsive symptom. These differences are suggested to explain the differences in the prevalence rates, and cross-cultural studies that have employed the *DSM-IV-TR* criteria have found similar prevalence rates across countries. Based on *DSM-IV-TR* criteria, the prevalence of ADHD is estimated to be 3% to 10% of the population. There are three subtypes of ADHD: (1) hyperactive-impulsive only, (2) inattentive only, and (3) combined types. The combined type is the most prevalent (about 80% of patients), with inattentive only next (about 10–15%), and hyperactive-impulsive only least prevalent (about 5%). Although originally thought of as a childhood disorder, it is now understood that ADHD persists into adolescence and adulthood for many patients diagnosed in childhood.

Diagnosis of hyperactivity in adolescents and young adults is more difficult than in children for

a number of reasons. The criteria for diagnosing ADHD are biased toward children so that physical hyperactivity in childhood is often replaced by mental restlessness in adolescence. In adulthood, only the inattentive symptoms tend to be present, which complicates recognition of adult ADHD. In addition, in adolescence there is less oversight by teachers and parents of the adolescent's behavior compared to a child's behavior. In secondary schools, an adolescent has between five to eight teachers, and the parent usually has less contact with the adolescent as the adolescent begins to assert independence and spend more time with peers. In addition, ADHD in adolescence and adulthood often occurs with other psychiatric disorders that can mask its effects, such as oppositional defiant disorder, conduct disorder, mood disorders, and anxiety disorders. Finally, adolescents do not self-report their symptoms well, tending to underreport their symptoms, and do not cooperate with the diagnostic process as well as younger children. The consequences of not accurately diagnosing ADHD in adolescence or adulthood are profound, for those with ADHD are at greater risk for not completing high school, being suspended or expelled from school, substance use, incarceration, and dismissal from a job than are adolescents and adults without ADHD.

Controversial Issues

There is controversy concerning the diagnosis of ADHD. Although there is widespread belief among the public that ADHD is uniformly overdiagnosed, epidemiological studies have suggested that widespread overdiagnosis is not occurring. Evidence suggests, however, that regional differences, as well as age, gender, and ethnic differences, in the diagnosis and treatment of ADHD exists so that overdiagnosis may occur in some communities while underdiagnosis may occur in other communities.

Boys are generally diagnosed between 3 to 6 times more often than girls in elementary school, although the gap in diagnosis decreases with increasing age so that by adulthood the diagnosis of males and females is almost equal. This gender gap in diagnosis is the subject of controversy, for it has been suggested that boys are being overdiagnosed and girls are being underdiagnosed. Boys are more likely to exhibit disruptive behaviors than

girls, a tendency which may account for the bias toward diagnosing boys with ADHD. In addition, boys are more likely to demonstrate hyperactive-impulsive symptoms, whereas girls are more likely to exhibit the inattentive symptoms. Because they exhibit the inattentive type, girls are less likely to be diagnosed with ADHD, which puts them at greater risk for having poor academic performance. Therefore, the greater prevalence of boys being diagnosed may be a result of both difficulties with accurate diagnosis and true gender differences in the prevalence of different subtypes of ADHD.

Ethnic differences in the diagnosis of ADHD exist, although the relationship between ethnicity and ADHD is complicated. Some evidence suggests that White children are diagnosed at a higher rate than African American children, while other evidence suggests that African American children are diagnosed at a higher rate. One reason for this disparity may be the source of the information. When parental ratings of children's behavior are compared, African American parents are less likely to label the behaviors as indicating hyperactivity than White parents. This disparity may result from the perceptions that African American parents, and the African American community as a whole, have about ADHD. African American parents are more likely to question the legitimacy of ADHD as a diagnosis, to worry about the social stigma connected with a diagnosis, and to believe that the diagnosis is used as a form of social control of their children. In contrast, teachers rate African American children as exhibiting more hyperactive behaviors than White children. This disparity may be related to a cultural bias in rating behaviors, especially when the teacher is White and applying a White norm to judge behavior. There may also be a cultural bias in the rating scales themselves, as they are developed based on Western norms of behavior. These differences suggest strongly the importance of multiple sources of information for making a diagnosis of ADHD.

A diagnosis of ADHD can be complicated by the presence of other conditions that overlap or resemble the symptoms of ADHD. Estimates vary widely on the prevalence of comorbid conditions with ADHD (40%–75%), but correct diagnosis of comorbid conditions is necessary to develop an appropriate treatment plan. The most common comorbid conditions are conduct disorder,

oppositional defiant disorder, mood disorders (major depression, dysthymia, bipolar disorder), adjustment disorder, learning disabilities (dyslexia, writing-reading problems), and anxiety disorders (panic, obsessive-compulsive, social phobia). For some of these disorders, it is not clear whether these conditions are complications of ADHD or completely separate conditions that coexist with ADHD. Other conditions that have also been comorbid with ADHD include tic disorders (e.g., Tourette syndrome), mental retardation, substance use disorder (in adolescence and adulthood), and autism spectrum disorders. Because of the high prevalence of these comorbid conditions, ADHD may be masked and go undiagnosed. It is recommended that attention be paid to possible symptoms of ADHD when these comorbid conditions are noticed.

Twin studies and adoption studies have suggested that there is a genetic component to ADHD. Monozygotic (i.e., identical) twins exhibit greater concordance for ADHD than dizygotic (i.e., fraternal) twins, and children with ADHD are more likely to resemble their biological relatives rather than their adoptive relatives. Other biological factors have also been linked to ADHD, including reduced activity in the frontal lobes, reduced size of the basal ganglia, dysfunction of dopamine function, dysfunction of serotonin activity, and overactivity of norepinephrine systems.

In addition to these factors, other environmental factors have been associated with ADHD, which suggests that they may be risk factors for developing ADHD. Complications during pregnancy and delivery have been associated with increased risk of ADHD, as has low birth weight. Prenatal exposure to alcohol and/or tobacco has also been associated with increased risk of ADHD. Environmental toxins have also been associated with increased risk of ADHD, including lead exposure and manganese exposure. Factors in the family environment have been shown to be related to ADHD in children, including low social status, parental psychopathology, and marital discord.

Care and Treatment

Treatment for ADHD generally follows the chronic care model, indicating that treatment is a long-term strategy. Treatment for ADHD can involve

pharmacological interventions, nonpharmacological interventions, or a combination of the two. The most common pharmacological treatment for ADHD is stimulant medication, with the two most common being methylphenidate (Ritalin, Concerta) and dextroamphetamine (Dexedrine, Adderall). Stimulant medications for ADHD are effective on the core symptoms (hyperactivity, inattention, impulsivity) and are recommended for ADHD without comorbid conditions. Two issues are raised in connection with stimulant medication: stimulant medication leading to later addiction and misuse and diversion of stimulants. Evidence suggests that untreated ADHD leads to an increased risk of later substance abuse, but that stimulant treatment does not increase the risk of substance use above that of non-ADHD controls. There is an issue of misuse and diversion of prescribed stimulants, especially when used by high school and college students. The most common reasons for misuse included to improve concentration and alertness for study purposes, to get high, and to experiment.

Nonstimulant medications are also used to treat ADHD, which include tricyclic antidepressants (e.g., desipramine), alpha-2 adrenergic agonists (e.g., clonidine), bupropion (Wellbutrin, Zyban), modafinil (Provigil), and atomoxetine (Strattera). With the exception of atomoxetine, the other nonstimulant medications were not developed primarily to treat ADHD so that their use to treat ADHD is considered off-label. In general, these medications are less effective than stimulants in treating the core symptoms of ADHD and may carry side effects that preclude their use with some people with ADHD (e.g., those with tic disorders, liver problems, or epilepsy). These nonstimulant medications are often used when comorbid conditions exist with ADHD, especially depression, oppositional defiant disorder, conduct disorder, and anxiety disorders or when stimulants are ineffective (which occurs for about 20% of children with ADHD).

Nonpharmacological interventions are not often recommended as the first-line treatment for ADHD, but may be useful in connection with pharmacological treatment for dealing with school problems, substance use, family stress, social impairment, and other problems. Examples of nonpharmacological interventions include behavioral interventions, cognitive behavioral therapy, parental

interventions, and academic interventions. Behavioral interventions are used to reduce problematic behaviors and increase desirable behaviors, whether at home or at school. Techniques include positive reinforcement of desirable behaviors, punishment of undesirable behaviors, response cost analysis, time management, prioritization, limit setting, and socialization training. To be most effective, feedback needs to be immediate, powerful, tangible, and frequent. Cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) helps the person with ADHD to develop self-control of his or her behavior and manage impulse and attention problems. Techniques include self-talk, self-monitoring, self-instruction, and self-reinforcement. Although effective in well-defined situations and environments, the effects of CBT may not generalize well to times and settings in which the technique was not specifically applied, and classroom-based CBT has been shown to be less effective than clinic-based CBT. Parental interventions are used to teach parents how to develop the necessary skills to manage ADHD-type behaviors in their child. Common techniques include teaching parenting skills and attending family therapy. Parent training has been shown to increase child compliance and observed parenting skills. Academic interventions are used to increase the likelihood of a child's academic success. Techniques include classroom academic management (e.g., maintaining structured lesson plans), arrangement of the learning environment (e.g., having the child sit in the front of the class to reduce distractions), tutoring, and adaptation of educational methods (e.g., allowing for oral exams). School systems are responsible for providing special services for a child diagnosed with ADHD under provisions of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

Pharmacological treatment alone, specifically stimulant medication treatment, has been shown to be more effective than behavioral-psychological treatment alone for treating the core symptoms of ADHD. Combining stimulant treatment with behavioral-psychological treatment, however, has been shown to be more effective in improving social outcomes and provides the benefits of the pharmacological treatment with lower doses than needed for pharmacological treatment alone. Pharmacological treatment alone, however, has not been shown to produce long-term changes in school

achievement, social skills, academic skills, or peer relationships, whereas school-based psychological and/or educational interventions have been effective in improving general cognitive abilities.

Research Findings

Research has been conducted to investigate whether stimulant and nonstimulant drug treatment differs as a function of ethnicity. In general, African American children are treated for ADHD at almost half the rate of White children. This is true even when comparing groups of children that have been diagnosed with ADHD. Although socioeconomic status, access to health insurance, and geographic region account for some differences in treatment patterns, the ethnic difference in treatment patterns persist when these variables are controlled for. The reasons for this disparity include biases in referral services for minority populations, lack of adequate health care services, and attitudes in the African American community about the treatment of ADHD. Among the attitudes that may cause parents not to seek treatment for their children include a fear that stimulant treatment could lead to addiction, the concern that drug treatment is a means for exerting social control over the community, and the worry that the drug will alter their children in a fundamental way that causes them to lose their identity.

Research has also suggested that there are gender differences in the prevalence of treatment for ADHD. On average, girls are less likely to have their needs met by services than boys. This gender disparity may be related to the differences in the types of symptoms that girls exhibit, for example, internalizing behaviors, compared to boys, for example, externalizing behaviors, a disparity which makes it less likely that girls will be diagnosed and adequately treated for ADHD.

Jonathan Stadler

See also Academic Achievement; Learning Disabilities; Special Education; Standardized Testing

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I

IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Identity can be defined as the set of characteristics individuals recognize as belonging uniquely to themselves. Identity development often considers how an individual forms that set of characteristics and the emotional connection associated with being identified with that set of characteristics. African American identity development can focus specifically on the active and dynamic racialized processes through which people come to identify themselves; these developmental processes are often shaped by how others in society identify and perceive African Americans.

Identity and identity development are often conceptualized from psychological and sociological perspectives. Psychological perspectives of identity and identity development concern the basic mental activity involved in developing a sense of self. Sociological perspectives of identity and identity development consider how contexts shape the ways that individuals come to know and represent themselves.

Although there are numerous sources that can contribute to African American students' identity and their identity development, this entry discusses African American racial and ethnic, class, and gender identity development. The focus is on these three areas of identity development because African American students' racial and ethnic identity, their class identity, and their gender identity seem to play central roles in how they participate in and experience education in the United States.

Race and Ethnicity

Race has been used by social scientists and others to refer to distinctions drawn from physical appearance (skin color, eye shape, physiognomy), while ethnicity has referred to distinctions based on national origin, language, religion, and other cultural markers. In the United States, both terms may be insufficient for describing the identity of African Americans because they do not encompass the diversity of physical characteristics or nations of origin represented in the African American population. Race has been socially construed to embody more than skin color, eye shape, or physiognomy; the term has been debated as a factor to maintain or deny access to power to certain groups of people. African Americans, in particular, are often denied access to power because of the ingrained nature of race and racism in the United States.

One of the most influential models to describe the development of African American racial-ethnic identity continues to be William E. Cross's Black identity model. This model conceptualizes identity development for African Americans as a continuum in which individuals undergo a racialized experience that encourages them to move from an unexamined, devalued, or denied racial identity toward a valued racial or ethnic identity.

For African American students, progressing from a state of not belonging to a state of recognizing and valuing membership in a racial or ethnic group seems to play an important role in their academic success. For example, research has shown that

African Americans who value their ethnic group membership and who have a strong academic self-concept have higher grades in school. Other research shows that having a strong racial identity serves as a protective factor against racial stereotypes in academic settings. In the United States, where race and racism are endemic and purposeful, school contexts rarely provide an environment for the development of African American students' positive ethnic or racial identities or that progression towards recognizing and valuing their group membership. Admittedly, teachers are often ill prepared to address issues of race and in the attempt to treat all children fairly, often ignore opportunities to bridge understanding of racial issues for all students, inadvertently becoming part of the system that perpetuates racial and ethnic oppression of students from underrepresented groups.

Class

The position that individuals place themselves on a continuum with poverty on one end and wealth on the other is based on issues of education, parenting, leisure, and consumption and includes the social outlook one develops based on self-identification with that group. Class identity is particularly salient in understanding African American experiences because of its close ties to race and its overarching effects on the development of African American identity. The lines between race and class have been blurred over time, with conscious and deliberate actions taken by many to depress the economic status of African Americans.

Today, African Americans have more wealth and education than ever before; however, African Americans are simultaneously experiencing the largest equity gap between White Americans and all other racial groups in the United States. As of 2007, the National Urban League's Annual Equity Index ranked the economic status of African Americans at just 57% of that of White Americans.

Class identity is important to consider when discussing the educational experiences of African Americans, particularly when schools have become the social institution by which class structure is reproduced from one generation to the next. High-poverty schools are more likely to have inadequate funding, unsuitable learning conditions, and few resources. Teachers in high-poverty schools are

more likely to be new, unqualified, or awaiting positions at schools perceived to be more desirable. The hidden curriculum is based on class so that skills leading to wealth and social power are made available to the advantaged, but withheld from the working classes.

Gender

Although gender is defined as the biological differences between men and women, gender identity can be conceived as an individual's psychological self-conception of being male or female. Thus, gender roles are used to describe the set of perceived behavioral norms associated with being male or female as defined by a particular social group. For African Americans, racism and sexism are intertwined in social contexts where gender mediates racial experiences, and race mediates gendered experiences.

Consequently, being an African American male or African American female has explicitly different meanings, just as African American womanhood will be experienced differently than White womanhood. This combined social context influences the ideologies African American men and women have about their own gender roles and influences and the ideologies others attribute to African American men and women. These projected ideologies might play a role in determining differential academic outcomes of African American male and female students.

Some scholars suggest that African American males have developed gender roles that conflict with an identity of school success. However, many researchers and theorists reject these theories because the theories may suggest that African American males reject school success altogether; the theories fail to account for the enormous role of context. There are African American male valedictorians, academicians, and even a U.S. president. Still, there is a dueling reality of the African American man in which African American boys must merge multiple identities relating to manhood, education, and social expectations to navigate a world with increasing and unyielding familial, occupational, and social demands.

*Tracy Cummings, Manya Whitaker,
Catherine Darrow, and H. Richard Milner IV*

See also Body Image; Ethnicity; Gender; Poverty and Education; Racism Inside the Race: Light Skin Versus Dark Skin; Self-Esteem; Socioeconomic Status (SES); Talented Tenth

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INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

As African Americans emerged from enslavement, one of their chief concerns was obtaining a quality education to advance themselves. This concern manifested itself in myriad ways, one of the most well-known being in the form of industrial education. Industrial education taught youth the requisite knowledge and skills needed to perform agricultural and mechanical labor. The goal was to design an education system that taught African American youth a trade so they could accordingly find work and establish themselves in the U.S. social order. Proponents of industrial education, most prominently Booker T. Washington and his mentor, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, deemed it the best way of efficiently instructing African Americans following the Civil War. Notwithstanding their lofty expectations, however, few African Americans benefited from being schooled in an industrial-based curriculum. This entry looks at how both men contributed to the development of industrial education.

Armstrong's Ideas

By the end of the 19th century, the foremost spokesperson for the utility of industrial education among African Americans in the South was Washington, but Armstrong was the first to articulate the necessity of African Americans being schooled an industrial-based curriculum.

Armstrong was born in 1839 in Maui, Hawaii. In 1860, at the age of 21, he left Hawaii to attend Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts. He graduated from Williams in 1862, and with the nation in civil war, he volunteered his services to the Union Army. In this context, Armstrong was first introduced to enslavement and African Americans. His brigade fought extensively in the eastern campaigns of the war, and by 1863, Armstrong had achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel and was placed in charge of the Ninth Regiment of United States Colored Troops (USCT). Soon thereafter, he was promoted to the rank of colonel and placed in charge of the Eighth Regiment of USCT, and following the war, he would be promoted to the brevet rank of brigadier general.

Armstrong's military experiences among these all-Black regiments deeply impacted his interest in the general welfare and education of African Americans. So much so, when the Civil War ended (1865), Armstrong in conjunction with the American Missionary Association sought to establish an institution of higher education for formerly enslaved Africans and their children. In 1868, Armstrong founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia.

A principal goal of Hampton was to provide a postsecondary education to African Americans yearning to become teachers. Still, the primary goal of Hampton was to train these teachers to understand and teach the value of hard work through industrial education. Accordingly, the curriculum at Hampton was thoroughly industrial. Scholars who have studied the curriculum at Hampton offer an excellent summation. Students worked as manual laborers in the morning and studied as students in the afternoon and evening. Young men worked the farm, while young women performed domestic tasks. Small farms and shops were established as laboratories for students to learn industrial, agricultural, and mechanical skills.

Similarly, prospective teachers training at Hampton (often in their best school clothes) were compelled to do fieldwork to internalize the value of hard work. The primary objective was to work these future teachers long and hard so that they would unconditionally learn and accept an ethic and dignity of hard work. Then, and only then, could graduates from these industrial schools develop the appropriate values and character to teach African American children in the South.

There were ulterior motives to these curricular decisions, however. Although he did not believe in enslavement, Armstrong firmly believed that African Americans were inferior to Whites and therefore undeserving of equal treatment and consideration. If African Americans were to exist as free men and women, then they would need the right training to be so. Armstrong felt African Americans needed to be taught to understand their designated subordinate place in the U.S. social order, and Hampton with its emphasis on the training of teachers for the Black South would be the perfect place to inculcate proceeding generations of young African American minds. The teachers that would emerge from Hampton would go to their respective communities and teach African American children the value of hard work and subordination through an industrial curriculum. Arguably the most famous alum of Hampton was Armstrong's prized student, Booker T. Washington.

Washington's Contributions

Washington was born in 1856 as an enslaved African in southwestern Virginia. At the age of 17, as a freed man, Washington applied to Hampton, where he met Armstrong and developed an appreciation of Hampton's model of industrial education. For 3 years (1872–1875), Washington learned firsthand the value of learning to work with one's hands for self-advancement, and upon graduation from Hampton, he took his training and appreciation for industrial education into the classroom as a teacher.

In 1881, when Tuskegee University was founded in Tuskegee, Alabama, Washington became its first principal and immediately instituted a curriculum that emphasized industrial training. Thereafter until his untimely death in 1915, Washington became the chief spokesperson for industrial education as a way to educate African American children.

To Armstrong and Washington alike, an industrial education not only provided students with a sound education for gainful employment but also instilled in them a respect for practical knowledge, or knowledge that can be directly applied to one's own existence and advancement in everyday life. Through industrial education, Washington deduced, African Americans would learn the difference between being worked and working. Being worked meant degradation to Washington, whereas working meant improvement and progress. Equally important, from this foundational knowledge of industrial education, Washington concluded, African Americans would develop good habits of thrift and property ownership and a strong ethic for work and individual responsibility.

As a model, industrial education prepared African Americans for a life of subordination and servitude. On the whole, the curriculum never adequately prepared African Americans to achieve the ideals of economic independence and citizenship envisioned by Armstrong or Washington.

Christopher M. Span and Brett G. Grant

See also Agricultural Education; Dental Education; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; Medical Education; Tuskegee University; Vocational Education

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INDUSTRIAL VERSUS LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION

Despite the fact that enslavement had been abolished for nearly 40 years, the question, "What

shall be done with the Negro?" remained an important query in the first decade of the 20th century. This was especially true in the realm of education. Countless theorists and practitioners debated the most appropriate curriculum to educate African American children in the U.S. South, but two in particular—Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois—stood out. Washington was an advocate of industrial education, while Du Bois advocated a classical liberal arts education. This entry looks at their contrasting ideas.

Washington's Ideas

Washington, born in 1856 as an enslaved African in southwestern Virginia, was a strong advocate of industrial education. Industrial education taught youth the requisite knowledge and skills needed to perform agricultural and mechanical labor. The goal was to design an education system that taught African American youth a trade so they could accordingly find work and establish themselves in the U.S. social order.

Washington first learned to appreciate industrial education as a student at Hampton Industrial Training School under the guidance of Samuel Chapman Armstrong. After spending 3 years (1872–1875) learning the importance this educational strategy, he graduated and took his appreciation for industrial education into the classroom as a teacher. In 1881, Washington became the first principal of the new Tuskegee University in Tuskegee, Alabama, and implemented an industrial training curriculum. For the rest of his life, he was the chief proponent of industrial education as the appropriate form of schooling for African American children.

Washington thought that an industrial education gave students a sound education for gainful employment and a respect for practical knowledge, information that could be used in everyday life. With this knowledge, he believed that African Americans would develop a love of work and thrifty habits along with the means to achieve regular income and property of their own. He argued that an industrial education would show African Americans the difference between being worked and working. As he saw it, being worked was demeaning and working implied advancement.

Du Bois's Ideas

Not everyone agreed with Washington. W. E. B. Du Bois, born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, was an outspoken critic of Washington and his philosophy of industrial education. Du Bois earned his BA at Fisk University and his PhD at Harvard University; both institutions emphasized a classical liberal education. Although he did agree that industrial education was a good curriculum in itself, Du Bois did not believe it should be the only curriculum available to African Americans. He was convinced that some African American children should be taught a classical liberal arts education, or an education that emphasized the learning of languages and Western arts, history, politics, and philosophy so that they could be groomed to be the future leadership of the race.

Du Bois was not opposed to industrial education. He believed that only the founding and perpetuation of institutions of higher education were more important than the developments occurring in and around industrial education. Notwithstanding, Du Bois firmly insisted that the primary purpose of education was not to make men and women into tradesmen and women, artisans, or everyday laborers; the primary purpose of education was to make these artisans and laborers into men and women.

Du Bois insisted that students taught in a school that emphasized a classical liberal arts education would be best prepared to address the major issues facing them and those like them in society. These students would emerge from their learning with the knowledge, skills, and confidence necessary to debate and challenge a nation that firmly believed African Americans to be genetically and intellectually inferior, that deemed African Americans a subservient people deserving of second-class treatment, that denied African Americans their constitutionally protected liberties (such as the right to vote and equal treatment under the law), and that established a social order that legally segregated African Americans in all public accommodations.

Given such oppressive times, going to school to learn a trade to make money or gain an appreciation for the ideal of work was impractical to Du Bois. African Americans needed leaders for their race; the United States needed leaders to advance

its democratic ideals. Schools could produce both. Du Bois reasoned that if the goal of school was to make money or simply gain a technical skill, then African Americans who emerged from school would have learned a good trade, but not much more. However, if schools were designed to teach African Americans about themselves and their existence within the U.S. social order, how to be sympathetic to the needs of others, and to be knowledgeable of the world and its developments, the nation would produce not only future leaders to advance its democratic ideals but also future leaders who could specifically address and resolve issues impacting African American life in the United States.

The Debate

Although at the time most African Americans were attending missionary colleges that emphasized a classical education, White industrial philanthropists and advocates of African American education rallied behind Washington. They viewed industrial education as the ideal curriculum for the training of future generations of African Americans destined to live and labor in the segregated American South and viewed Washington as someone who was willing to concede the civic and social advancement of African Americans for the racial and economic expectations of Southern and Northern Whites. Accordingly, for many years, the majority of African Americans who lived in the South were educated for a life of agricultural, industrial, mechanical, and domestic labor and second-class citizenship.

Christopher M. Span and Adrienne Pickett

See also Agricultural Education; Career and Technical Education; Dental Education; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Industrial Education; Medical Education; Talented Tenth; Washington, Booker T.

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INROADS

INROADS is a nonprofit organization that uses a talent development approach in the placement of minority youth in U.S. corporations. Founded by Frank C. Carr, a White corporate executive, INROADS was established to address racial inequalities poignantly noted in Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech. Carr's vision included teaching minority students how to successfully enter, navigate, and survive in corporate United States. through leadership, professional and personal development training, counseling, and community service. The best-known aspect of the INROADS program is the placement of students in consecutive summer internships with corporate sponsors. In 1970, INROADS consisted of 25 college student interns and 17 corporate sponsors in one Chicago, Illinois, office; as of 2007, INROADS consists of more than 5,000 alumni, 50 locations, and 600 corporate partnerships.

INROADS strives to and succeeds in facilitating placement of graduating INROADS interns with corporate sponsors. In fact, between 2004 and 2006, approximately 90% of INROADS interns accepted offers of full-time employment from their sponsoring organization. Furthermore, a significant proportion of remaining INROADS interns accepted positions with other INROADS corporate partners. This entry explores how students get involved in INROADS, INROADS' collaborations with corporations, and the outcomes of the program for alumni.

Recruitment and Placement

INROADS specifically recruits African American, Hispanic-Latino, and Native American high school and college students with high grade point averages and standardized test score composites and/or who rank among the top 10% in their class. Prospective students are invited to attend the Talent Pool, a 2-day training seminar that prepares students with professional skills needed to obtain placement within INROADS. Students then apply through submission of counselors or teacher nominations and essays for subsequent interviews with INROADS.

INROADS participants are typically matriculating undergraduates interested in pursuing professional careers in allied health care, business, computer and information sciences, engineering, health care management, marketing, and retail management careers. As a result, the program has been historically limited to students pursuing college degrees in business or technical disciplines, but more recently, the program has expanded to include qualified students with a strong academic and professional commitment to INROADS.

INROADS is most well-known for student participation in multiyear summer internships and job placement upon graduation; however, similar to its preadmission standards, academic and professional requirements exist until completion of an undergraduate degree. To ensure high academic standards, all INROADS students are expected to maintain college grade point averages of 3.0. All students are expected to enroll in or be enrolled in 2- or 4-year colleges as full-time students. For students accepted as high school students, supplementary academic instruction and standardized test-taking preparatory courses are offered; INROADS college students are provided help in the identification of appropriate local resources for academic assistance. In addition to academic standards, students are required to attend INROADS workshops and training sessions throughout the year to continually expand their business and professional skill sets.

After participating in the Talent Pool, applying, and being accepted to INROADS, students interview with corporate sponsors. Upon receipt of a summer internship offer, students are placed in 2- or 4-year internships and begin participation in mandatory year-round programs. Even after placement, students are provided ongoing support and guidance for both academic and professional development until graduation. The INROADS curriculum provides continual training and development using interactive activities, skill-building workshops, and career guidance including business simulations, seminars, and other opportunities to comprehend teamwork in a corporate setting.

In addition to working in full-time internships, participants benefit from the concentrated training offered by the Summer Business Institute, a multi-day regional gathering. Students are brought together to network and obtain progressively

pertinent professional development training. Although the Summer Business Institute provides training to all INROADS interns, the Retail Management Institute was recently established to streamline the preprofessional training of INROADS students that aspire to corporate management jobs in retail at the departmental, store, or district level. This recent addition includes internship and mentoring opportunities at department stores, mass merchant discount stores, specialty stores, consumer electronic stores, supermarkets, and ready-to-wear specialty stores.

Corporate Partners and Alumni

Because INROADS requires high standards of its students, it holds corporate sponsors to a similar standard. In providing companies with direct access to well-trained, committed, high-ability minority students, INROADS presents organizations with opportunities to diversify and strengthen their workforce. To establish and maintain this connection, corporations support INROADS programmatic endeavors in addition to extending well-paid, real-life management-track jobs to INROADS students.

INROADS has developed a 30-year reputation in helping businesses hire and place talented minorities. In fact, INROADS interns receive and accept offers of employment at higher rates than their non-INROADS colleagues, likely due to their extensive and longitudinal preprofessional training and internships.

The INROADS National Account Partners, corporations whose strategic support exemplify consistent growth and innovation, quality, partnership, and sustainability of performance include Target Corporation, PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP, United Technologies Corporation, Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu, Ernst & Young International, MetLife, Inc., Pfizer Inc., Liberty Mutual, and the General Electric Company.

As of 2006, INROADS alumni numbered over 19,000. Eighty percent of INROADS alumni agree that INROADS training and development programs made them better prepared for their full-time job than their non-INROADS peers. Furthermore, among INROADS alumni, 36% have either completed graduate degrees or are enrolled in graduate programs.

Although INROADS is highly preparatory for industry placement, there are also a number of services available to alumni. In addition to recognizing high-performing alumni on academic and professional achievements nationally, there are local chapter clubs that support ongoing professional development and networking opportunities. The INROADS alumni database, publications, and Career Resource Center are established forums for social and professional networking. As a result of INROADS alumni placement in national organizations, alumni have played an instrumental role in the development and establishment of additional offices. Through mentoring and workshop facilitation, INROADS alumni are able to actively fulfill Carr's vision of community service. In addition, INROADS has consistently conducted alumni surveys to update existing databases and to improve on the INROADS experience and process.

Valerie C. Lundy-Wagner

See also Agricultural Education; Career and Technical Education; Dental Education; Industrial Education; Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; Medical Education

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Web Site

INROADS: <http://www.inroads.org>

INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD

The Institute of the Black World (IBW) was an African American think tank that emerged out of the Black power movement and the movement for African American studies of the 1960s. IBW was established in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1969. At its inception, the full-time and research staff and Fall Seminars of the Institute of The Black World

included Dr. Vincent Harding, chairman and historian; Lerone Bennett, historian and *Ebony Magazine* senior editor; Chester Davis, professor of education; Dr. Stephen Henderson, professor of English; Dr. Joyce Ladner, professor of sociology; Dr. William Strickland, professor of history; Dr. Sterling Stuckey, professor of history; and Dr. Robert Browne, professor of economics.

In addition to its research component, the institute also offered several African American studies-oriented classes. The listed class offerings during the fall of 1969 included Black Reconstruction in America; Building Black Curriculum in Public Schools; Blues, Soul and Black Identity; The Socialization of the Black Child; and Racism and American Social Analysis. IBW conducted several projects that were designed to teach, document, and validate the Black experience. One such project was IBW's *Report for the Black Studies Curriculum Project*. This project was a 58-page critique of course outlines that focused on the African American experience; it was conducted by several African American studies specialists.

IBW was originally housed in the Martin Luther King Jr. Center and operated in partnership with both the King center and the Atlanta University Graduate Center. Functioning as a component of African American studies, IBW was established as an institute whose mission was to encourage and support advanced scholarship in the discipline of African American studies and to contribute to the validation of the African American experience and a fresh appreciation for the past, present, and future conditions of African people around the world, with a primary focus on the U.S. experience.

The institute was initially composed of scholars, artists, teachers, community activists, and organizers of African descent. The advisory council (the governing body of IBW) consisted of Walter F. Anderson, Margaret Walker Alexander, Lerone Bennett, Horace Mann Bond, St. Clair Drake, Katherine Dunham, Vivian Henderson, Tobe Johnson, Julius Lester, Frances Lucas, Jesse Noel, Rene Piquion, Eleo Pomare, Pearl Primus, Benjamin Quarles, Bernice Reagon, William Strickland, Council Taylor, E. U. Essien-Udon, C. T. Vivian, Charles White, and Hosea Williams. The organizers of the institute were committed to providing the African American community with the best of their intellectual and creative talents.

Intent on working in cooperation with several colleges and universities, IBW identified 10 key objectives:

1. The definition and refining of the field now loosely called African American studies
2. The development of a new consortium for African American education
3. The encouragement of basic academic research in the experiences of the people of African descent
4. The encouragement of African American artists, especially those who are searching for an aesthetic, which will contribute to the struggle for the minds and hearts of our people
5. The development of new materials and methods for the teaching of African American children
6. The development of a Black policy studies center
7. The establishment of creative links with our counterparts in other areas of the Black world
8. The preparation of a new cadre of men and women who are at once precisely trained in the scholarship of the African American experience and fully committed to the struggles of the Black world
9. The sponsoring of short-term seminars and of vacation and summer workshops and conferences, both independently and in concert with one or more of the cooperating institutions
10. The development of a publishing program

In 1970, IBW split with the King Center as a result of ideological and other reasons. The King Center made its sole focus the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and demonstrated a more integrationist focus than that of the leadership of IBW, which demonstrated more of a Black nationalist perspective.

Major funders of the institute included the Ford Foundation, Wesleyan University, the Cummins Engine Foundation, and the Southern Education Foundation. By 1980, the institute's funding sources decreased significantly. By 1983, the staff was greatly reduced and the main office was moved to Washington, D.C. Exactly when IBW closed its doors is unclear. However, in an effort to rekindle

the historic legacy of IBW, Dr. Ron Daniels recently established a similar organization called the Institute of the Black World 21st Century.

Kefentse K. Chike

See also African American Studies

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INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

The educational ministry of the Interdenominational Theological Center (ITC) to African American people in general and the Black church in particular should be viewed in several larger contexts. These include interinstitutional cooperation among African American schools of higher learning, ecumenical ministry among the historic Black denominations and the African American constituencies of historic predominantly White denominations, and the relevance of graduate theological education of Christian leaders for ministry and service in the church and the global community. The ITC seeks to educate and nurture women and men who commit to and practice a liberating and transforming spirituality; academic discipline; religious, gender, and cultural diversity; and justice and peace. This entry looks at its history and current challenges.

Historical Background

Gammon Theological Seminary, a United Methodist graduate school of theology, was the first and only predominantly African American

seminary in the nation, located in Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays and others at the School of Religion at Howard University in Washington, D.C., gained membership in the American Association of Theological Schools in December of 1939. Therefore, Gammon and Howard were the two leading postsecondary theological lights for African Americans.

Mays became president of Morehouse College in Atlanta in 1940. The School of Religion there had almost been phased out. Mays wanted some kind of affiliated arrangement with Gammon and the Turner Theological Seminary at Morris Brown College, an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) institution named after Bishop Morris Brown, who had conspired with Denmark Vesey's revolt plot in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822. Whites closed the AME Church in Charleston from 1822 until the end of the Civil War, 1865. The seminary was named after Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, a radical Pan Africanist who had fought in the Civil War; preached an 1892 sermon, "God is a Negro"; and created an organic union between the AME church and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of South Africa in 1896.

Gammon was the only accredited seminary among the three and the only one with a plant and an endowment of its own. Morehouse and Turner needed Gammon, but if the United Methodists desegregated the Candler School of Theology at Emory, Gammon would probably also need Morehouse and Turner. In the early 1930s, cooperative theological education ideas for African Americans in Atlanta surfaced. There were cooperative Gammon-Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) programs and then, in the 1940s Gammon-Morehouse programs. Also throughout the 1940s, Mays; Dr. Willis King, president of Gammon; and Dr. William A. Fountain, president of Morris Brown (representing Turner) discussed some future plan of cooperation. At Morris Brown, Fountain was followed by Dr. John H. Lewis, then Dr. Frank Cunningham, and finally Dr. John A. Middleton. Mays was at Morehouse until 1965. King of Gammon was succeeded by Dr. John W. Haywood.

Coming Together

The key personnel shift leading to the founding of the ITC was the ascendancy of Dr. Harry

Richardson as president of Gammon in June of 1948. President Rufus Clement of Atlanta University wanted more seminary cooperation. Gammon did not like the idea, feeling that Clark College's entry into the Atlanta University complex had not worked out too well and that Morehouse was a relatively weak potential contributor.

Gammon needed to move its physical plant. The Sealantic Fund, a Rockefeller Foundation beneficiary, was not interested in denominational seminaries, but was interested in interdenominational work in November, 1955. The general education board, another Rockefeller Foundation beneficiary, granted money to form a plan of cooperation between Gammon, Morehouse, and Turner. Dean Rusk, head of the Rockefeller Foundation and later secretary of state, conducted an inspection.

Phillips School of Theology of the CME church had been at Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee, since 1944. They came on board. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church declined participation to protect and preserve Hood Theological Seminary at Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina. Edward C. Miller, the first African American architect to be licensed in Georgia, planned the campus buildings. All four schools voted in 1957 to join. Six teachers came from Gammon and three each from Morehouse, Turner, and Phillips. Richardson became the first president. The general education board gave \$500,000. The Sealantic gave \$1.75 million. The seminaries had 5 years to raise a \$250,000, and they did it in less than 1 year.

Teaching began in September of 1959. There were 21 faculty and 97 students. They were (and remain) of diverse racial backgrounds, international, and interdenominational. The first graduation was held at Gammon with the master's of divinity degree in May of 1960. There were 40,000 books in the initial library. President John Fitzgerald Kennedy sent a telegram of appreciation at the inaugural convocation in 1961. By then there were 124 students, and the initial \$1 million endowment had grown to \$2.5 million by 1968. That was the year Richardson retired.

He was succeeded by Dr. Donald Bronson, who had written his doctoral dissertation on ITC. The Presbyterian Church, USA moved Johnson C. Smith Seminary from the undergraduate Charlotte campus to ITC in the 1969 to 1970 school year.

The Church of God in Christ opened the Charles H. Mason Theological Seminary at ITC later in 1970. The Absalom Jones Theological Institute of the Episcopal Church was a member of ITC from 1972 to 1979, closing due to costs and small numbers of students.

Bronson was followed by Dr. Grant Shockley in 1976, Dr. J. Deotis Roberts in 1980, Dr. James H. Costen in 1983, Dr. Robert M. Franklin in 1997, and Dr. Michael A. Battle in 2003.

Strengths and Challenges

Because of financial struggles, there is a heightened need for interinstitutional cooperation among (especially private and church-based) African American schools of higher learning. Three of the ITC constituents are historically Black denominations (AME, CME, and the Church of God in Christ). Two are predominantly White denominations: United Methodist (Gammon) and Presbyterian Church, USA (Johnson C. Smith). Morehouse is funded by both African American and White Baptists.

The African American denominations bring not only history and heritage to the table, but also a radical autonomy of institutional, systemic, and cultural space away from a ubiquitous presence of White sociopolitical and economic power. The African American constituencies in White denominations bring access to exponentially more money than the African American denominations can muster, a thorough commitment to ecumenical ministry and a more uniformly high valuation on a formally educated clergy. Morehouse, as well as Gammon and Smith, bring an insider-outsider view on the politics of gaining financial access to White denominations and on pushing those White denominations to racial, social, economic, political, and cultural justice.

All of these schools combat a long-standing strand of anti-intellectual elements in the Black church community in particular. These historic and contemporary anti-intellectuals have argued for a mutual exclusion, if not outright antagonism, between piety on the one hand and formal learning on the other. For African American anti-intellectuals, the former should always be chosen over the latter. Indeed, many have argued that as formal education goes up, the power of piety inevitably goes down. The six constituent members of ITC

strenuously disagree and remind the Judeo-Christian world that there is a Hebraic admonition to love God with all one's heart, mind, soul, and strength.

Carlton A. G. Eversley

See also African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; Black Theological Education; Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church

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INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS OF AFRICAN DESCENT

Students from other nations, many of African descent, have been migrating to pursue a college or university education for many years. This entry looks at the factors that contribute to the ongoing enrollment of students from Africa and the Caribbean, some of the challenges they face, the outcomes of their studentship, and the perceived tensions that exist between these students and African Americans, particularly in regard to education.

Political, economic, and technological developments, along with the needs and demands of the new knowledge-based economies, have led to increased concerns about the availability, accessibility, and quality of higher education in countries of sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean. College or university education is now considered the key to economic development, modernization, and the reduction of poverty in these countries and to the overall health and well-being of their people.

Because human capital is seen as the most valuable entity in the economic development equation, developing nations have made large investments in

primary education and to a lesser degree in secondary and postsecondary education where there is less support from international lending institutions. The numbers, quality, and varieties of higher-education institutions in the United States have outstripped those of countries in the Caribbean and the African regions.

With the increasing attention to primary education, an increasing number of students from African and the Caribbean have the qualifications for colleges and universities. As U.S. educational institutions seek to satisfy diversity requirements, they often see these countries as ideal sites for marketing the educational opportunities they offer. The most recent data from the Institute of International Education show that of the 564,766 international students enrolled in 2005 to 2006 in U.S. colleges and universities, 49,998 came from African and Caribbean countries.

Liberal legislation initiatives such as the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 have accounted in part for the initial increase and heightened visibility of international students from the Caribbean and African regions. At the same time, students there are motivated through increasing globalization, internationalization of education, and access to knowledge about U.S. institutions and the wider range of academic opportunities they offer.

The flight of human capital from these areas has been referred to as the "brain drain." Caribbean economists and historians bemoan the fact that instead of being of benefit to the local economies, the investment in the education of their citizens has benefited the North Atlantic countries. Although a U.S. education may benefit the individual, it is more often than not detrimental to the economic and social development of the sending countries. Open Doors reported that 61.8% of all international students relied on personal and family funds for their U.S. studies, taking their resources out of their homelands; only 25% of their funding came from U.S. colleges or universities. Overall, international students have contributed over \$13 billion to the U.S. economy. Many of the students who study in the United States do not return to their home countries and instead bring with them their extended families. As a result, the economic and social costs to Africa and the Caribbean will be difficult to recover.

Challenges Abroad

Colleges and universities have instituted policies and established services to meet the diverse needs of international students. Faculty and staff, however, may have difficulty understanding the cultural diversity of students who come from such a wide variety of countries. As a result, the institution's services may seem inadequate to the students. Indeed, faculty attitudes make the difference in how welcomed students feel. Having obtained the funds to finance their education and living expenses, students then face the realities of living in an environment that is far different from what they have seen on television.

Although all students have to deal with issues of adjustment, those from Africa and the Caribbean face additional challenges, classified not only as international students but also as Black or African Americans. Their status in the United States is far different from their status in their home countries, which in Africa often have a Black majority and a Black leadership. In the Caribbean, class and color play a more significant role in stratifying the society than in Africa, but the racialization process is different than it is in the United States. Those whose first language is not English also experience language problems. Thus, the challenges to students from Africa and the Caribbean may come not so much from academics as from life outside the classroom and a new physical and social environment that does not differentiate among people of similar color and racial characteristics.

Stigma tolerance and anticipated risks of seeking counseling may prevent these students from seeking help from persons who have the specialized training to assist them. Students who can form national and regional networks find themselves better able to adjust and survive the exigencies of being international, Black, and an alien resident in a country that they likely thought regarded and valued diversity.

Students from countries in Africa and the Caribbean who are classified as Black have become embroiled in a debate on the issue of who is benefiting from colleges and universities that still ascribe to affirmative action policies. The largest fraction of immigrant students of African descent is from the Caribbean, and a sizable fraction is from Africa.

This situation has given rise to some measure of hostility between immigrant students of African descent and native African Americans who sometimes view the immigrant student as a threat and as someone who is taking the places intended for the native African Americans whose parents fought for them. The question then becomes, “When are you going back?”

In addition, the academic performance of the immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean and their high completion rates continue to make them stand out in the community. Although these achievements put a solid nail in the coffin of scientific racism, they also create distinctions and divisions and feed the good–bad binaries that benefit neither of the groups—African American or overseas Africans—that need to be working together and not against each other.

Janice B. Fournillier

See also Affirmative Action; First-Generation College Students; Open Admissions

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JIM CROW

“Jim Crow” was the name given to laws and practices originating in the late 19th century that in effect extended the enslavement of Africans and maintained a legal second-class citizenship status for free and newly freed Africans. The goal of Jim Crow was to physically segregate and discriminate against African Americans. By this means, the actions and future possibilities of African Americans were limited from the 19th through the middle of the 20th century. Although Jim Crow laws have now been dismantled in the United States, the residue of these segregationist laws continues to limit African Americans in various areas, including education. This entry looks more broadly at the origins of Jim Crow and examines its impact on education.

Overview

Beginning during the colonial period and intensifying throughout the antebellum era, the precursors of Jim Crow were the Black Codes, which were often used in the North and East to limit African Americans’ participation in voting, jury duty, militia service, employment, and education. The term *Jim Crow* has its roots in a minstrel show created by Thomas “Daddy” Rice in the early 19th century, which presented a distorted caricature of African American life. Whereas Rice recited the ditty, “Weel about, and turn about / And do jis so; / Eb’ry time I weel about, / I jump Jim Crow,” for

the entertainment of Whites, it was not entertaining, nor did it depict the lived reality of African Americans.

The Jim Crow system of oppression was the southern version of Black Codes; it began in earnest as customary practices during Reconstruction, with legal enforcement beginning late in the 19th century. The major difference, however, is that Jim Crow laws enforced mandatory segregation of the races, whereas Black Codes curtailed African American access but were not always applied or enforced in all situations.

After the Civil War and Reconstruction, Jim Crow created a system of legally imposed U.S. apartheid. Historian C. Vann Woodward has argued that Jim Crow was a result of the reconciliation of divided Whites during Reconstruction. Whites resolved their economic and political conflicts at the expense of African Americans, resulting in the institutionalization of a perceived inferiority of African Americans in every facet of southern life. Consequently, Jim Crow provided the sanction of law to racial ostracism that was extended to churches, schools, housing, jobs, and eating and drinking establishments. Either law or custom further extended racial discrimination through public transportation, sports, recreation, hospitals, orphanages, prison, asylums, funeral homes, morgues, and even cemeteries. Even the use of water fountains was restricted.

At the end of the 19th century, Jim Crow was bolstered by legal decisions such as *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which mandated segregated equal facilities by race for both African Americans and

Whites. The so-called separate-but-equal doctrine was applied throughout the South and the District of Columbia. In practice, however, Jim Crow was always practiced as separate and *unequal*.

Impact on Education

Before the Civil War, most southern states criminalized the education of free and enslaved Africans, although between 1800 and 1835, South Carolina provided segregated education for African Americans. Research by historian Heather A. Williams explains how African Americans attained an education in spite of these legal measures.

With the passage of the Constitutional Conventions in the South after the Civil War, all education became segregated by law. The impact of Jim Crow on African American education has been chronicled by many historians, including Horace Mann Bond, Henry Bullock, and James D. Anderson.

Despite the principle of separate but equal, schools for African Americans curtailed African American access to equitable educational opportunities in elementary, secondary, and higher education institutions. Segregated schools received less funding, curricular opportunities were unequal, and African American teachers and principals were provided with less compensation—indeed, there were limited opportunities for them to be employed in the South. African American children were subjected to overcrowded classrooms, inadequate facilities, shorter school hours and calendars, unequal curricular resources, and poor physical recreational facilities. Moreover, African Americans were required to support public schools with their taxes while their children received less than their share of tax revenue collected for the education of all children. This practice often resulted in the double taxation of African Americans, who raised additional funds to establish and support educational systems for their children.

Consequently, the impact of Jim Crow education in 17 southern states, the developing western states, and the nation's capital was to provide African Americans with unequal opportunities throughout the K–12 and higher education system of schooling. The goal of Jim Crow education was to prepare African American youth for less than full participation in a democratic society. An unintended benefit

of segregated education, however, was that some African American teachers and principals sought to educate African American students for full citizenship. In this process, they utilized resources such as the *Negro History Bulletin* to teach African American children about their contributions as African people to the world. As a result, many African American children, even within a segregated context, learned that they could achieve beyond the confines of Jim Crow.

The system of Jim Crow education was dismantled as a result of the civil rights movement, and the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) legal campaign against segregated education. This culminated with the *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, decision on May 17, 1954, declaring that separate education was inherently unequal. Without African Americans' persistence to develop schools beyond the principles embodied in Jim Crow, there would not have been a civil rights movement. African American schools, though segregated, served as a bulwark against the structure of Jim Crow. Although Jim Crow is legally dead, urban areas often have schools attended predominantly by African Americans, schools with inadequately prepared teachers, poor facilities, and poor educational opportunities. Consequently, Jim Crow's legacy lives on in second-generation segregation. Recent scholars have questioned the long-term effectiveness of *Brown* in securing first-class citizenship for African Americans. Without it, however, African Americans would still be relegated to legally segregated and unequal education.

Adah L. Ward Randolph

See also Black Codes; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Resegregation

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JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES

The *Journal of Black Studies* (JBS) is a refereed scholarly journal founded by Molefi Kete Asante and Robert Singleton in 1969 and published by SAGE Publications since its inception. During the height of the Black Power movement, Asante, who was a young professor of communications at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and Singleton, a doctoral candidate in economics at UCLA, joined forces to create a framework for a journal that would have rigorous standards; would focus on what was then called the "Black perspective," which soon became Afrocentricity or African-centeredness and would have relevance to social justice. When this idea was presented by Asante and Singleton to Sara Miller McCune and George McCune of SAGE, it was accepted as a progressive idea in the academy, and preparation was soon under way to publish the journal. This entry looks at its origins and current operation.

A New Publication

Among the key influences on the journal during its early years were editorial board members Vincent Harding of the Institute of the Black World; C. Eric Lincoln of Union Theological Seminary; E. U. Essien-Udom of the University of Ibadan; Clyde Taylor of UCLA; Lerone Bennett, senior editor of *Ebony*; Orlando Taylor of the Center for Applied Linguistics; Charles Hamilton of Columbia University; Harold Cruse of the University of Michigan; and Henry McGee of UCLA.

When the journal started, the editor, then called Arthur L. Smith (soon to be Molefi Kete Asante),

wrote that "seldom in the history of academic disciplines has an area of study been born with so much pain and anguish as Black Studies." The author went on to say, "Discussions initiated, for the most part by university students, produced significant re-evaluations of curricula, research and pedagogy." It was clear to the editor that scholars would not be able to sustain the field merely by awakening rhetoric. It was then that the call for papers went out to the entire world of African and African American studies. As editor of JBS and director of the UCLA Center for African American Studies, Asante was able to encourage veteran scholars to send their manuscripts to the journal and to enlist their support in suggesting younger scholars for the journal.

Seeing the creation of the journal as an important juncture in the synthesis of the field, the editorial board sought to involve as many scholars as possible, regardless of their fields, who felt a need to do research from the standpoint of African agency. To that end, the first issue had four African American writers and three White writers from five different fields of study. Marcus Alexis, a prominent African American economist, dealt with African American patterns of consumption, and Orlando Taylor, later to become the graduate dean and the communication dean at Howard University, wrote "New Directions for American Education: A Black Perspective." Other scholars, such as Patrick Kennicott, Robert Scott, and Harlan Hahn, were published in the journal.

Among the members of the advisory board were significant scholars in several disciplines. Much like the editorial board, this board was stellar and included Ronald Takaki, Gary Nash, Irving Bernstein, and Alice McGaughey of UCLA; Ewart Guinier of Harvard; St. Clair Drake of Stanford; Martin Kilson of Harvard; Price Cobbs of Pacific Psychotherapy Associates; Lee Rainwater of Harvard; Agnes Jackson of Pitzer College of Claremont; Frank E. X. Dance of the University of Wisconsin; and Anne Allen of Allen Associates.

In its first volume, the journal published some of the young scholars who would become major figures in U.S. scholarship. There were articles by Boniface Obichere, Edward Brathwaite, and Kofi Asare Opoku to underscore its Pan African approach, as well as articles by Hanes Walton, Maurice Jackson, and Joanna Zangrando and Robert Zangrando, who initiated some of the

earliest work in politics, history, and social studies. Robert E. Hemenway, Douglas Glasgow, Eugene Grigsby, Letitia Alston, and Lawrence Crouchett, Myron Ross, William Loren Katz, and Frank Kofsky made their contributions to the intellectual tradition that was to become *JBS*. By the end of the first year, new scholars were attracted to the editorial board, including Jack Daniel of the University of Pittsburgh, Carlton Molette of Spelman College, Roy Simon Bryce-LaPorte of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Edward Isibor of Cleveland State University.

Growing to Maturity

In 2007, *JBS* was ranked by the Thomson Scientific Journal Citation Reports as 9 out of 9 in Ethnic Studies and 54 out of 57 in Social Sciences, Interdisciplinary, making it the highest scoring journal in its field with an impact factor of 0.144. *JBS* is a leading source for dynamic, innovative, and creative research in the African world. It remains in the forefront of new and relevant scholarship under the leadership of Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama, associate editor.

JBS is published six times per year. While the journal can normally publish only one fourth of the manuscripts received, it has become the favorite intellectual home of thousands of readers. Areas of coverage include society, media, economics, communication, literature, language, heritage, history, and Afrocentric theory. *JBS* welcomes contributions from both established and younger scholars working in any area of the African experiences, transcontinentally and transgenerationally. Articles may have a critical, historical, analytical, or empirical focus. The journal particularly appreciates cutting-edge work on the theoretical debates in the field. All research articles published in the journal have undergone a rigorous peer review, based on initial editor screening and refereeing by two or more anonymous referees. In addition, no article is published in *JBS* without detailed review of the article's writing style and reference consistency.

Molefi Kete Asante

See also African American Studies; African-Centered Education; National Council for Black Studies; Drake, St. Clair

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JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

The *Journal of Negro Education (JNE)*, established in 1932 at Howard University, has for nearly 75 years served as one of the most significant vehicles for the critical analysis of African American education. Consequently, *JNE* is one of the oldest refereed scholarly periodicals continuously published by and about African Americans. From its first publication to the present, each issue introduces the aim of the journal to be threefold:

First, to stimulate the collection and to facilitate the dissemination of facts about the education of African American people; *second*, to present discussions involving critical appraisals of the proposals and practices relating to the education of African American people; and *third*, to stimulate and sponsor investigations of issues incident to the education of Black people.

The fact that the journal was established the same year that the infamous Tuskegee Experiment was started, less than 70 years after the end of the enslavement of Africans, highlights both the significance of undertaking such a publication in the United States in the 1930s and the lofty aims of its inceptors. It was born amid a dire need for increased study of the general aspects of African American life, and the *JNE* attempted to address this need as far as educational matters were concerned. Besides providing a reference, the journal also fulfilled the role of a beacon for African Americans during the Jim Crow era. Through the leadership of the journal's founder and first editor, Dr. Charles H. Thompson (1932–1963), the establishment of *JNE* was envisioned as an avenue for “stimulating Negroes to take a greater part in the solution of the problems that arise in connection with their own education.” This entry examines the journal's historical background and describes its participants and contents.

Historical Background

Although there were some publications that focused on certain aspects of African American life at the time, none of them focused exclusively on education. The inaugural edition of the *JNE* outlined its unique purpose when compared with other African American publications. As Thompson wrote,

The Crisis and *Opportunity* . . . are organs specifically devoted to discussions of the Negro's civil rights and social and industrial opportunities. . . . *The Journal of Negro History* is what its name implies—it is a journal of Negro history . . . [and] *The Bulletin* does not pretend to present primarily, critical discussions and the results of the scientific investigations of educational problems.

The journal was established with the intent to remedy a severe lack of literature concerning African American education and to provide much needed support to those wanting to study these issues.

The decision to house the *JNE* at Howard University in Washington, D.C., has proved to be both a matter of necessity and prudent planning. The fact that during the early years of the journal, Howard was one of the most prestigious institutions of African American higher education was noteworthy. Presently, Howard University is supporting the only publishing house in the United States owned and operated by a historically Black institution. The journal was established in what came to be the longest-lasting venue for African American scholarly literature. Howard's press was not officially established until 1972 (roughly 40 years after the *JNE* started); since then, in addition to publishing *JNE*, Howard University Press has also published other important periodicals and books closely associated with the African American community, such as the *Journal of Religious Thought* and the *Howard Journal of Communications*.

Another important factor in the relationship between the *Journal* and Howard University is that historically the ranks of faculty at Howard have constituted somewhat of a "Who's Who" of African American scholars. Notable members of the Howard University community include individuals such as physician Charles Drew, sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, historians Carter G. Woodson and John Hope Franklin, attorney Ralph Bunche,

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and writers Zora Neale Hurston and Toni Morrison.

Discussing the faculty in the College of Education at Howard, Thompson wrote,

The Faculty of the College of Education of Howard University, consisting of the largest single group of professionally trained Negroes in the field of education in the United States, feel that one of their first responsibilities as a part of a University, devoting its major efforts to the education of Negroes, is to make a concerted attempt to study some of the problems arising out of educational efforts among Negroes.

Howard was the perfect place for the *JNE* to be effectively managed and nurtured.

Authors and Articles

Despite these early connections between Howard University and the *JNE*, it was neither the original nor is it the current intent that the journal be provincially grounded. From its early years, members of the editorial board have included scholars from outside the Howard University community, including Horace M. Bond and Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University to more recently Walter R. Allen of the University of California or Rodney K. Hopson of Duquesne.

From its beginnings to the present, *JNE* has played a major role in providing a forum for national and international dialogues and articulations about African American education. An examination of the topics addressed over the journal's seven decades shows that no major issue concerning African American education has been left out or unduly chronicled. Examples of the articles and topics addressed over the decades by the journal include W. E. B. Du Bois's "Education and Work" (1932), James A. Atkinson's "Negro Educational Institutions and the Veterans' Educational Facilities Program" (1948), Leslie F. Fishel's "Can Segregated Schools Be Abolished?" (1954), Ralph Goldman's "The Politics of Political Integration" (1964), Wilson Record's "The White Professional Educators and the Black Ghetto Schools" (1970), James A. Banks's "Black Youth in Predominantly White Suburbs" (1984), Preston C. Green's "Can State Constitutional Provisions Eliminate De Facto

Segregation in the Public Schools?” (1999), and Dawn Williams and Roderick Land’s “The Legitimization of Black Subordination: The Impact of Color-Blind ideology on African American Education” (2006).

The continued success and relevance of the journal is evident through its strong readership. The current readership includes educators, students, and researchers in areas from sociology, history, and cultural studies, to political science and women’s studies as well as students of education at all levels. The emergence of other successful periodicals about African American education such as the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* and *Black Issues in Higher Education* is proof of the continued need for similar venues to conduct conversations started in the *Journal of Negro Education*.

Roland W. Mitchell

See also *Crisis, The; Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*; DuBois, W. E. B.; Franklin, John Hope; Howard University; Marshall, Thurgood; Woodson, Carter G.

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JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

The *Journal of Negro History* was founded in 1916 by Carter Godwin Woodson, a Harvard-trained historian, who said, “If a race has no history, if it has no worthwhile tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world, and it stands in danger of being exterminated.” His idea was to create a journal that would bring to the U.S. consciousness the history of African Americans and the African Diaspora. In Volume 10, Woodson explained that the journal was established for the compilation of sociological and

historical data on the African American experience and for the study of people in the wider African Diaspora. Inaugurated during World War I, when the United States was fighting to make the “world safe for democracy,” the journal has been one of the most enduring scholarly works about African Americans. Woodson’s profound influence on authenticating and interpreting the African American experience earned him the appellation of “the father of Black history.” This entry chronicles how the journal came about and describes its contributions.

Founding a Publication

In 1912, Woodson earned a PhD from Harvard, becoming the second African American to earn the PhD degree in history. He was resolute in his belief that conventional scholars disregarded or misrepresented the role of people of African descent in U.S. history and in the history of other cultures. On September 9, 1915, Woodson met with George C. Hall, James E. Stamps, William B. Hartgrave, and Alexander L. Jackson at the Wabash Avenue Young Men’s Christian Association in Chicago to establish the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), which was later renamed the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History (ASAALH). Its purpose, according to Woodson, was the scientific study of disregarded facets of African American life and history.

A year later on January 1, under the auspices of ASNLH, Woodson published the first issue of the *Journal of Negro History*. The scientific academic periodical provided scholars, from all racial groups the opportunity for research and publication of articles giving voice to and about the African American experience. Woodson firmly believed that historians had a responsibility to collect, preserve, and publish the records of African Americans to prevent them from becoming an insignificant factor in the assessment of humankind.

As one of the most influential members of what historian Joe W. Trotter describes as the “second generation of African American historians” (between World War I and the 1920s), who used the research methodology of the ever-evolving history profession, Woodson employed a more scrupulous, methodical, and analytical approach to

the systematic search for the truth about African American history, especially that of African Americans. Through the journal, he challenged the racist bias of majority studies on the enslavement of Africans, Reconstruction, and African history.

Correcting History

Few topics captured the attention of historians as those of the Old South, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Southern defenders of the enslavement of Africans contended that Reconstruction had been an experimentation destined to fail by the intrinsic inferiority of African Americans. Influenced by the William A. Dunning and John William Burgess School of History (now discredited) and their adherents, such as pro-enslavement historian Ulrich B. Phillips, historians had interpreted the Old South and its Cotton Kingdom as a region of benevolent planters and contented and happy enslaved Africans.

For a period, the *Journal of Negro History* was the only agency for the dissemination of new points of view on the enslavement of Africans, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Covering a wide range of topics, the journal led to a shift in the focus of historians from the master's perspective to that of the enslaved African. Woodson, as editor of the journal, emboldened scholars to pursue subjects previously disregarded by conventional historians.

In freeing African American history from the bonds of White intellectual narrow-mindedness, contributors to the journal presented African Americans as active participants rather than passive observers in history. Its authors, through their scholarly articles, underscored the ways that African Americans wrought their lives within the oppressive environments of their enslavement and Jim Crow and how the contributions of labor and culture shaped the life, history, and progress of the United States.

Other Contributions

ASNLH and the *Journal of Negro History* foreshadowed the birth of the Negro Renaissance in the early 1900s. As historian Lawrence Levine noted in his article, "Marcus Garvey and the

Politics of Revitalization," which appeared in *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, the Renaissance and the rise of Marcus Garvey reflected African Americans' longing for a greater appreciation of culture and liberation from external influences. Serving as a scientific medium for highlighting the positive side of African American participation in the culture and history of the nation, the journal served as a means of both combating White racist portrayals of African Americans and as a means of implanting racial pride. With urgent admonition, Garvey emboldened African Americans in the 1920s to "canonize [their] own saints, create [their] own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honor African American men and women who made distinct contributions to their racial history."

Preparatory to Garvey's remonstrations, historian Woodson had already begun the process of recording the contributions of African Americans and others in the African Diaspora through both ASNLH and the *Journal of Negro History*. Woodson's work also opened the scholastic door for future generations of African American historians to cross the threshold into the mainstream of the historical profession.

The journal became one of the most significant means of expression for recording and promoting the history and contributions of the diasporic people, especially in the United States. As a result, African Americans became cognizant of their influence in the intellectual domain. Woodson's leadership spanned more than three decades, as he continued to edit the *Journal of Negro History* until his death in 1950.

After Woodson's death, the *Journal of Negro History* was edited by Rayford W. Logan (1950–1951). He was followed by William M. Brewer (1952–1970); W. Augustus Low (1970–1974); Lorraine A. Williams (1974–1976); and Alton Hornsby Jr. (1976–2001). The *Journal of Negro History*, so named at its founding in 1916, was renamed the *Journal of African American History* in 2002. It presently is edited by V. P. Franklin and remains one of the discipline's premier journals.

Linda T. Wynn

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH); Woodson, Carter G.

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KELLEY v. NASHVILLE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education was filed in 1956, 2 years after the first *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, seeking to desegregate the schools of the City of Nashville, Tennessee. A similar case, *Maxwell v. Davidson County Board of Education*, was filed in 1957. Following the adoption of the metropolitan form of government and the resulting creation of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County in 1964, the cases were consolidated. The initial goal of these cases was to secure equal access to public education for African American children in a system segregated by law. The progress of the cases throughout the 50 years since their filing paralleled the evolution of school desegregation law at the U.S. Supreme Court level as well as political and societal debate on the continuing effort to secure “colorblindness” in public education. On a local level, the various desegregation plans adopted by the Court responded to significant political and demographic changes and sought the elusive goals of stability of the system and permanency of what desegregation was able to be achieved.

Background of the Case

The plaintiffs in *Kelley* were led by A. Z. Kelley, a humble man, a barber by trade, whose son, Robert, had to walk past East High School every day to

Pearl High School, located across the Cumberland River in North Nashville. The lead plaintiff in *Maxwell* was the Reverend Henry Maxwell, a resident of Antioch, in the southern part of Davidson County, whose children were bused every day to Haynes School in North Davidson County. Far from being “caught up in the moment” of the national desegregation effort, these were real people, facing real issues of how to secure the best education for their children, particularly with regard to the disparity in resources between the “White” and the “colored” schools. It was no accident that these persons became the lead plaintiffs in the case. Their economic independence allowed them to be free of the fear of retaliation for their participation in the case. The distances their children had to travel to attend school were the longest in the city and county.

When the suits were filed, there were two African American high schools in the city, one serving students in the east and north and the other serving those in the south; elementary and junior high schools were smaller and more numerous and fed into the high schools. Robert Kelley and African American high school students living in East Nashville had to cross the Cumberland River and pass through downtown Nashville before arriving at Pearl High School, located across a train track from Fisk University. There was one African American high school in the county, located on the northern edge of the city. The Maxwells were a prominent family in Antioch, an unincorporated suburban community in southern Davidson County with a small African American

population. The daily ride to Haynes High School took between 45 minutes and an hour and bypassed the all-White Antioch High School.

The first desegregation plan adopted by the Court was a “grade-a-year” plan, under which the schools were to be desegregated one grade per year, beginning with the first grade. This plan was typical of desegregation plans of the era in which school boards adopted plans that would comply tacitly with the law of the land while granting reassurance to nervous and sometimes hostile White parents and school patrons. The holding of *Brown I* and *Brown II* that local boards of education were uniquely situated to develop plans reflective of local realities and that such plans should be developed “with all deliberate speed” allowed recalcitrant boards to delay the adoption of effective desegregation measures and local political forces to adopt measures to preserve the societal norm.

In Nashville, as in other places, “segregation academies” had sprung up overnight, leading to an exodus of White students—and the political support of their parents—from the systems. “Freedom of choice” plans as well as student assignment plans that permitted any student in the racial majority of a school to transfer to a school in which that student would be in the minority became popular. The desegregation gains of such plans, dependent as they were on voluntary action on the part of parents, were negligible.

As a result, the second wave of Supreme Court decisions began to come down, including the 1968 case of *Green v. School Board of New Kent County*, holding that school boards had an affirmative duty to desegregate and could not rely on voluntary measures, and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education* in 1971, holding that the use of busing to achieve racial balance was constitutionally permissible.

The First Nashville Plan

By its very nature, the “grade a year” plan adopted in Nashville would take 12 years to be implemented. In 1971, after extensive hearings on the failures of the original plan, and in light of intervening Supreme Court decisions (most notably *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education*), Judge L. Clure Morton ordered a plan that involved busing of children for the purpose of

achieving racial balance. At the elementary grade level, African American children were bused 4 of their 6 years, while White children were bused for 2 years, reflecting the approximate two-third White, one-third African American racial composition of the elementary school-age population.

Similar ratios obtained for the junior high and high school grades, although the enrollment in schools at the higher grade levels was larger, leading to a decrease in busing (as measured by miles bused) for students in these grades. The development, beginning in 1970, of large comprehensive high schools built or developed in a ring through the middle of the county, achieved the highest degree of racial balance in the system.

The busing plan ordered by the Court also “froze” attendance lines, resulting over time in what became known as “court-ordered” and “non-court-ordered” schools. The practical effect of the frozen attendance zones was that many schools in the suburban and rural parts of the county remained virtually all-White. As new housing was built in areas that were not subject to the busing plan, Nashville began resegregating, particularly at the elementary school level. A prohibition on new construction or expansion of existing schools, also ordered as part of the 1971 desegregation plan, created considerable space problems in the “non-court-ordered” schools, leading to the widespread use of portable buildings. These portables became a symbol of substantial dissatisfaction of White families with the desegregation effort.

Continuing Litigation

As a result of the resegregation of the system under the 1971 plan, the plaintiffs filed a motion for further relief in late 1976, leading to hearings addressing the effectiveness of the 1971 plan and the possibility of substantial modifications to it (or the creation of a new plan). The board took advantage of the opportunity to ask the Court for relief from the prohibition on new school construction and renovation as well. Following protracted hearings, the Court ordered the board to develop a new plan that incorporated the entire county and that limited the time and distance children were bused. Because the parameters of the plan developed under the new guidelines substantially resegregated

the system, plaintiffs appealed the order and were successful in reversing the decision.

When the case came back from the U.S. Supreme Court, which had denied review, lead counsel for the plaintiffs and the chair of the board of education (also a lawyer) engaged in negotiations that resulted in the presentation to the district court of a new desegregation plan, which the Court approved and which remained in effect until the board voted to seek unitary status.

Prior to going to federal court to receive such a declaration, the board, the plaintiffs, and the mayor appointed the members of the Equity and Excellence Committee and charged the committee with the responsibility of establishing a long-range vision for the public educational system in Nashville (the "Vision for the Future"). Following that committee's work (a period of 18 months), the board's staff incorporated the various recommendations of the committee with the demographic realities of Nashville and existing school facilities to show what the system would look like if all the recommendations were adopted.

After much study and debate, the board agreed on a long-range plan, denominated the "Commitment to the Future," and invited the plaintiffs to discuss the possibility of agreeing on such a plan and agreeing not to contest the board's application to the Court to be declared unitary and to have the case dismissed. Following precedent set in the negotiation of the existing plan, representatives of the board and the plaintiffs spent many hours discussing modifications to the Commitment to the Future plan and ultimately reached accord. Under the plan, the public education system went to a three-tiered grade structure (K–4th grade, 5th–8th grade, and 9th–12th grade) with the schools divided into nine clusters, one for each of the nonmagnet high schools. Pupil assignment became as integral a part of school planning as did facilities and curriculum. Some school choice was made available to parents in each cluster. Judge Thomas A. Wiseman Jr. approved this plan, declared the system unitary, and dismissed the case in 1998.

Later Outcomes

Kelley and *Maxwell* were two of a relatively small number of southern desegregation cases that were initiated by private parties rather than the U.S.

Department of Justice. Over a period of many years, with plaintiffs dying, boards changing, demographic shifts, political tides and trends, the objective originally sought by the plaintiffs remained the same—equality of opportunity. The resistance to effective desegregation tools and remedies was formidable. The persistence of these plaintiffs, at times with great personal sacrifice and loss, over the years was nothing short of remarkable.

As the federal judiciary became more conservative in the 1980s, the importance of public school desegregation as a laudable and worthy objective waned. The passage of laws prohibiting discrimination in employment and housing resulted in a larger and more mobile African American middle class, with the resulting gradual deterioration of traditional African American neighborhoods. The concentrated poverty that has resulted in such neighborhoods presented considerable and continuing challenges for boards of education, like Nashville's, in the postunitary era. It is, as always, a question of access to educational resources.

Richard H. Dinkins

See also Busing; Desegregation; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg County Board of Education*; White Flight

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Maxwell v. Davidson County Board of Education, 203 F. Supp. 768 (M.D. Tenn. 1960); 301 F.2d 828 (6th Cir. 1962), *rev. in part, rem sub nom.*

KILLINGS ON HBCU CAMPUSES

Several young people were killed and dozens were injured in confrontations between students and law enforcement officers at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) related to civil rights and antiwar demonstrations in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Student unrest was widespread on college and university campuses of the era. HBCU students agitated against White supremacy, as had their predecessors in organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and also battled against

racism and discrimination off campus. In what was the Black Power era, they also turned their attention to the vestiges of the racial hierarchy on campus and accused their universities of complicity in the racial status quo.

Administrators, state officials, and the federal government attempted to curtail activism through threats, regulations, and intimidation, and HBCU students were subjected to harsher and more punitive forms of punishment even when employing the same tactics as students at other types of institutions. The presence of law enforcement officers on campus became part of the dynamic in this situation, and it resulted in violence on more than one occasion. No officers were punished in connection with these killings, which this entry describes.

South Carolina State College

The first killing of African American college students occurred at South Carolina State College at Orangeburg in February 1968. The Black Awareness Coordinating Committee, in conjunction with members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and students from Claflin College (a private Black college nearby), organized a boycott in 1966 against a local bowling alley because of the manager's refusal to allow African Americans to patronize the establishment. The boycott lasted for 2 years, in which time students also issued a list of demands including that the bowling alley and drive-in theaters be desegregated, that the mayor establish a biracial committee to examine problems in Orangeburg and create a fair employment commission, and that the city comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act barring segregation in public establishments.

African American vandalism of White stores and Whites shooting into the campus heightened anxieties, causing the administration to close the campus in early February 1968. Shortly thereafter, White law enforcement officers arrived on campus under the guise of keeping control of the situation, which escalated in reaction to White police presence on a Black college campus. Although an investigation found no evidence to support their claim, officers told investigators that they were responding to sniper fire when they shot into a crowd of demonstrators, killing Henry Smith, Delano Middleton, and Samuel Hammond Jr. and

wounding 27 others—almost all of whom were shot in the back. Though the investigation charged the officers with neglect and willful disregard for life, they were never punished.

Jackson State College

Events at Jackson State College (Jackson, Mississippi) in May 1970 mirrored the events at South Carolina State. In this case, however, the escalation of the Vietnam War, the draft, and the police murder of four students at Kent State heightened the tensions on campus. On May 13, students held a rally to demonstrate their disgust with the expansion of the Vietnam War and a long-standing pattern of racism and violent White supremacy that affected the daily lives of African Americans in Mississippi. White officers from the city of Jackson sealed off the campus with roadblocks to contain the students.

The next day, students continued to demonstrate and gathered on Lynch Street, a major thoroughfare running through the center of campus, near a women's residence hall. Without warning, students heard that shooting was being contemplated, and without an order to fire, police and highway patrolmen fired nearly 400 rounds into the crowd and the women's residence hall, killing a Jackson State student, Phillip Lafayette Gibbs, and a high school student, James Earl Green, and wounding 12 others.

A highway patrol investigation and a Hinds County grand jury absolved the officers of wrongdoing. A federal grand jury also returned no indictments. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, however, found that officers used excessive force and fired on African Americans because they knew there would be no repercussions.

Southern University

Two years later, police shot and killed Leonard Douglas Brown and Denver A. Smith, students at Southern University and A&M College (Baton Rouge, Louisiana) as they demonstrated on campus. That October, students in a group called Students United protested the resignation of a well-liked faculty member and submitted a list of other grievances to the president. Initially reluctant, the president agreed to review their demands.

When the administration issued its response, however, students rejected it and initiated a march to the state board of education and then to the state capitol, only a short distance from the campus. Students then initiated a boycott of classes and another demonstration, at which time the administration closed the campus with the aid of the all-White sheriff's deputies.

When law enforcement officers arrested several campus leaders a few days later, students initiated a sit-in demonstration in the president's office in what reports called a peaceful protest. At that time, untrained deputies with no riot control training were called to campus, and their superiors devised a plan to get students to evacuate the building. The lack of training and miscommunication among law enforcement created a crisis situation. They attempted to use tear gas to force students to vacate the building along a particular corridor, but tear gas canisters exploded over several law enforcement officers and led to massive confusion.

Without an order to fire, police shot into groups of students as they ran away from the building

along the escape route law enforcement agencies planned, killing two and injuring several others. Though the Louisiana attorney general found fault with the officers for their actions—as at South Carolina State and Jackson State—none were punished for the deaths.

Joy Williamson-Lott

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Southern University; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

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LAND GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Land grant colleges and universities ushered in a revolution in the development of higher education in the United States. They were originally created with the primary purpose of fostering the scientific study of agriculture, the mechanical arts, and military science. Eventually, these institutions would significantly transform the role of higher education in U.S. society and increase the degree of access that students from historically underrepresented groups in the United States have to a college education. At the same time, however, the development of the land grant colleges also illustrated one of the most striking examples of the underdevelopment of higher education for African Americans during the era of legal racial segregation. This entry reviews the history of land grant institutions and their impact on the educational progress of African Americans

Origins

In 1862, Congress authorized the creation of land grant colleges through the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. This act provided that large tracts of federal land would be granted to states that were willing to establish land grant colleges. According to the legislation, the proceeds from the sale of these lands in each state were to be used as follows:

For the endowment, maintenance, and support of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts in such a manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively proscribe. (U.S.A., Title 20, Education 81–1686, cited in Alexander & Alexander, 1985, pp. 55–56)

Prior to the Civil War, higher education, to the extent that it existed in the United States, had been restricted overwhelmingly to private, sectarian institutions that served only the wealthy and professional classes. These colleges offered classical liberal arts curriculum designed principally to train the children of the privileged to assume leadership positions in society. These colleges were vestiges of the aristocratic practices that had been imported to the United States from England where wealth and privilege accrued to individuals as a function of inheritance and social status.

The land grant colleges stood as a radical departure from the traditional classical liberal arts curriculum. Although the classical curriculum emphasized subjects such as history, law, theology, and philosophy, the land grant colleges gave a new legitimacy to a practical curriculum that emphasized subjects such as agriculture, engineering, and other scientific disciplines. Moreover, they articulated a role for colleges that seemed more apt to the needs of a growing nation

taming a wilderness—namely, the development of scientific farming techniques and newer and more sophisticated industrial technologies and business practices.

From these humble beginnings, universities would evolve into institutions that did more than educate students; they also would develop a research mission that dedicated them to the production of practical scientific knowledge that could be utilized by both industry and government. Finally, the establishment of the Reserve Officer Training Corps programs at land grant institutions expanded the pool of available talent for the nation's armed forces.

An Important Addition

African Americans derived practically no benefit at all from the early land grant programs. State legislatures had exclusive authority to distribute the Morrill funds. Most Southern states simply did not dedicate the federal land grant monies to institutions that educated Black students. As of 1890, nearly 30 years after the passage of the Morrill Act, only three states (Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia) had shared Morrill funds with Black institutions.

These patterns of discrimination prompted Congress to pass the Second Morrill Act in 1890. Its original sponsors intended that the new law require states to ensure an equitable distribution of land grant funds for the benefit of African American and White students. It specifically forbade the federal government from appropriating land grant funds to institutions “where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students” (Samuels, 2004, p. 36). Yet to assure passage of the measure, its proponents were forced to compromise with segregation. Thus, the law also reads (in the same paragraph) that “the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be in compliance with the provisions of this act if the funds received in such State or Territory be equitably divided as hereafter set forth” (Morrill Act of 1890, chap. 841, sec. 1, cited in Preer, 2004, p. 36).

Thus, 6 years before the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that separate public facilities for Blacks and Whites in the United States did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment,

the principle of “separate but equal” had already been enshrined in federal law by virtue of the Second Morrill Act. The states made sure that the Black land grant colleges (see Table 1) would not only be separate, but be unequal as well. Though federal law required an equitable division of funds between Black and White land grant schools, states routinely denied funding to the Black land grant colleges. When Black land grant colleges did receive Morrill funds at all, they received only a fraction of what they were legally entitled to.

Moreover, even if federal funds had been divided among the institutions in accordance with the proportion of African Americans within the population of the states (as the federal law required), it would not have resulted in equity between Black and White colleges. Morrill funds were comparatively small in comparison to state appropriations, the lion's share of revenue for state universities. Therefore, in a state where one third of the population was African American, simply allocating one third of Morrill funds to the Black land grant colleges would not have been enough to overcome the state's blatant pattern of racial discrimination against these institutions with respect to funding.

In addition, other forms of federal aid collaborated with the Second Morrill Act to further relegate Black land grant colleges to an inferior status. For example, the Black land grant colleges were handicapped by the wholesale refusal of the states to establish experiment stations at the Black institutions. Authorized by the Hatch Act of 1887, the experiment stations involved the land grant universities in collaborative research projects with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and private industry. The experiment stations played a significant role in developing scientific research methods in higher education. Often the experiment stations were staffed by members of the faculty; thus, through research and federal employment, the stations afforded White faculty members a bounty of opportunities for professional development. The stations became the first form of graduate education at the land grant universities.

In addition to the experiment stations, Congress passed the Smith Lever Act in 1914, authorizing the creation of agricultural extension programs whereby the land grant universities would disseminate the results of their scientific research to farmers within their states. However, because the

Table I 1980 Land Grant Universities

Alabama A&M University
Alcorn University
Delaware State University
Florida A&M University
Fort Valley State University
Kentucky State University
Langston University
Lincoln University
North Carolina A&T State University
Prairie View A&M University
South Carolina State University
Southern University
Tennessee State University
Tuskegee University*
University of Maryland Eastern Shore
Virginia State University
West Virginia State College

*Tuskegee is not an official land grant university, but is commonly included in this group.

legislation gave the states the discretion to decide which schools received the funds, state legislatures appropriated little, if any, federal aid to Black colleges under this program.

Thus, Black land grant colleges, their faculties, their students, and their larger constituencies were excluded from the benefits of both the experiment stations and the agricultural extension services. African American faculty was excluded from the nexus of research and employment opportunities that the experiment stations afforded. African American farmers and sharecroppers, who sorely needed the information amassed by the scientific work of the experiment stations, were, for the most part, denied the benefits of the research on scientific farming techniques.

Moreover, while White universities were able to develop some diversified curricula offerings, instructions in the physical sciences at most Black colleges did not exist until the 1940s. Instead, the teaching of manual skills substituted for a truly collegiate curriculum appropriate for the purported mission of the land grant college. As late as the 1950s, Fred Humphries found that about 90% of the graduates of Black land grant institutions were still prepared to enter the field of teaching as

opposed to the natural science professions and engineering.

Modern Evolution

Black land grant universities have made remarkable strides since the era of Jim Crow. Southern state legislatures during the 1940s and 1950s began to belatedly enhance the curricula at Black colleges in response to legal challenges to admissions policies at all-White state universities that excluded African Americans. In addition, the passage of federal civil rights legislation enabled Black land grant universities to receive a substantially larger share of Morrill funds than they had previously received under the Jim Crow regime.

Substantial gaps remain in the research capacity and services offered by Black land grant universities and their White counterparts. However, Black land grant universities have carved out for themselves a significant role in providing access to higher educational and research opportunities for African Americans.

Albert L. Samuels

See also Agricultural Education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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LAW SCHOOLS

In 1869, George Lewis Ruffin became the first African American to graduate from Harvard University Law School. He went on to become the first African American appointed to the Massachusetts judiciary. In 1883, Governor Benjamin F. Butler appointed Ruffin to the Charlestown Municipal Court, making him the first African American to serve as a judge in the state of Massachusetts. However, in spite of Ruffin's accomplishments, during his day, African Americans typically were barred from receiving a legal education.

To remedy that inequity, one of the nation's first institutions of higher education, Howard University, created a law department to serve the needs of previously enslaved Africans. The graduates of that law school led the fight for racial justice that allowed more and more African Americans of both genders to attend not just Howard's law school, but any in the land. That history is recounted in this entry.

The Howard School

In November 1866, Howard University was established to educate African Americans in the liberal arts and sciences. The institution bears the name of its founder General Oliver O. Howard, a Civil War veteran and commissioner for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. On January 6, 1869, the university created the law department to "provide a legal education to Americans traditionally excluded from the profession" (<http://www.law.howard.edu/19>).

The first class was made up of six students who attended evening classes in the homes and offices of part-time faculty members. By June 30, 1869, the student body increased to 26. Two years later, 10 students completed the program and were granted bachelor of law degrees (LL.B).

Eight of the 10 graduates were immediately admitted to practice law in the District of Columbia. In 1872, the law department granted Charlotte E. Ray an LL.B, making her the first African American woman lawyer. Ray is also noted for being the first woman "to practice law before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia" (Tushnet, 1994, p. 6).

In 1929, Mordecai Johnson, Howard University's first African American president, appointed Charles Hamilton Houston (a Harvard Law School graduate) academic dean of the law school. Under his leadership, the law school was transformed into an institution that trained lawyers to assist African Americans in their quest for justice and equality. He endeavored to produce lawyers who would become agents of social change and who would challenge racial discrimination. According to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, one of Howard University Law School's most recognized alumni, Houston was "hell bent on establishing a cadre of Negro lawyers, dedicated to fight for equality...[both] to do something for Negroes as such and...to raise the image of the Negro lawyers" (*Murray v. Pearson*, 1936).

Fighting for Justice

During Houston's tenure, Howard University's law school did produce a cadre of lawyers who engaged in the struggle to overturn the legal doctrine of separate, but equal established by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). In 1933, Marshall graduated from law school and immediately sought cases that challenged segregation in professional schools. In 1935, Marshall represented Donald Murray, an African American graduate of Amherst College who had been denied admission to the University of Maryland's law school. Marshall reveled in the opportunity to take on the university as that academic institution had rejected his law school application a few years earlier. In *Murray v. Pearson* (1936) the Maryland Supreme Court ordered the University of Maryland law school to admit African American students. Houston and Marshall, working with the Baltimore branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), won an unprecedented victory.

In 1946, Marshall argued before the Supreme Court the case of *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). Herman Sweatt was denied admission to law school solely based on race. The University of Texas Austin Law School barred African Americans, and they proposed that African American students attend segregated institutions. To comply with *Plessy*, the Texas state legislature created Texas State University for African Americans in Houston.

The school was temporarily housed in the basement of a building located in Austin, and three professors were hired to conduct classes. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the Supreme Court ruled that segregated law schools for Negroes were void of “those qualities which are incapable of objective measure but which make for greatness in a law school” (339 U.S. at 629, 635). In 1950, Sweatt was admitted to the University of Texas Law School.

Marshall, along with Howard law alumni Oliver Hill and Spotswood Robinson II, worked to dismantle segregation in all facets of U.S. society. They successfully challenged separate, but equal in graduate and professional programs. And ultimately, they prevailed in their efforts to overturn *Plessy* as it pertained to education when the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) that “in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place” and deprived “plaintiffs and others similarly situated...equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment” (347 U.S. at 483).

Current Enrollment

These Supreme Court rulings paved the way for a racially marginalized people to gain access to a legal education. African Americans increasingly enrolled in law schools. Throughout the 1970s, there was a steady growth in African Americans pursuing law degrees. In 1971, there were 1,715 African American first-year law students compared to 2,212 in 1985. From 1986 to 1994, the enrollment of African American students leaped from 5,894 to 9,271—more than a 60% increase in less than a decade. This was followed by a slow, but steady increase over the following years (except for a slight decrease in 2005–2006). By 2007, the number of African American students attending law school reached a high of 9,529, exceeding an earlier high of 9,488 in 2004 to 2005.

In the last two decades, a disproportionate number of African American students enrolled in law schools have been women. This is ironic considering that women have historically been excluded from obtaining law degrees and practicing law. For instance, the same year that Ray received an LLB from Howard University’s law department, the Supreme Court heard arguments in the case of

Bradwell v. Illinois (1873). Myra Bradwell applied for a law license in the state of Illinois. The Illinois Supreme Court denied her application in *Bradwell v. Illinois*, stating “that God designed the sexes to occupy different spheres of action, and that it belonged to men to make, apply, and execute the laws” (83, U.S. at 130, 132). Bradwell appealed that ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court held that Bradwell’s constitutional rights were not violated, and in rendering the majority opinion, Justice Joseph P. Bradley contended that “the paramount destiny and mission of women are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. [And] this is the law of the Creator” (83 U.S. at 141). In upholding the lower court’s ruling, the Supreme Court allowed states to ban women from practicing law.

In 1956, Harvard University Law School, one of the first institutions to admit African Americans, but one of the last to accept women, graduated Lila Finwick, its first African American female law student. Finwick earned a law degree from Harvard University almost a century after Ruffin graduated from one of the nation’s most prestigious institutions. However, more recent statistics suggest that African American women have outpaced their male counterparts in U.S. law schools. In 1998 to 1999, 63.7% of African Americans accepted to law schools and 64.7% of first-year African American law students were women. According to one study, 59.6% of African Americans attending the 50 highest-ranked law schools were women.

Researchers have produced several studies that address the gender and the racial gaps visible in U.S. law schools. Reginald McGahee, Howard University Law School’s dean of admissions, suggests that there is a universal decline in African American male applicants. According to one study, African American women are more likely to earn bachelor’s degrees; hence, their opportunities to enter law school are greater than those of African American men. This same study maintains that African American women typically completed undergraduate programs with a higher grade point average than did African American men. These, along with other factors, are said to greatly contribute to the imbalance of African American women versus African American men in U.S. law schools.

Recently, studies critical of affirmative action in law schools have garnered attention. Opponents of affirmative action argue that schools who employ racial preference in determining the demographics of their student body cripple African American students who traditionally score lower on the Law School Admissions Test (LSAT), have a significantly lower attrition and matriculation rate (as compared to their White counterparts), and have a lower bar passage rate. However, affirmative action proponents argue that the LSAT is culturally biased and that if schools eliminate racial preference as one of their criterion, the enrollment of African Americans in law schools will decrease, as will the number of African American lawyers. As this intense debate continues, most who are for or against affirmative action as policy agree that it is critical for law schools to maintain diversity within their student bodies. However, there is much disagreement as to how law schools should achieve that diversity.

Sharita Jacobs Thompson

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Howard University; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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LEARNING DISABILITIES

Learning disabilities make up the largest of all of the special education categories. In 2004, 47.2% of the students who received special education services were served under the learning disabilities category. More boys than girls (approximately 3 times as many) are identified as having learning disabilities. Although African American students represent 16.8% of the school population, they make up 18.3% of the learning disabilities population, 26.4% of the emotionally disturbed population, and 34.3% of the mentally retarded population.

Many argue that since only 6% of the U.S. teaching force is African American, cultural misunderstandings of African American students by White teachers contribute to high rates of teacher referrals of African American students for special education services. These referrals translate to overrepresentation of African American students among students classified as learning disabled. This entry defines learning disabilities and looks at the implications of relevant law for African Americans.

Definition

Most students diagnosed with a learning disability have a severe discrepancy between potential and achievement (i.e., have an average or above-average IQ score, but score low on standardized achievement tests). Furthermore, it must be determined that their learning problems are not caused by other disabilities. The causes of learning disabilities are still debated. However, four factors that are suspected to cause learning disabilities are as follows: (1) environment, (2) brain damage, (3) heredity, and (4) biochemical imbalance.

The landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) challenged the segregation of students, determined that separate was not equal, and proclaimed that all children were to be educated on equal terms. Although this case was paramount for African American students, many African American students with learning disabilities continued to be excluded from certain educational settings or served in segregated venues.

In 1975, Congress passed the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, Public Law 94–142, which said that students with disabilities, including

those who were African American, would be provided with a free, appropriate public education. This law has been reauthorized and amended five times. It was renamed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in its 1990 reauthorization.

The passing of the IDEA Improvement Act of 1997 required special educators to hold a full state certification as a special education teacher. If teachers do not have a license, a state special education teacher licensing examination would have to be passed for them to obtain a license to teach within the state. The passing of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 required that all children be proficient in all subject areas by the year 2014. This law also mandates that all teachers are highly qualified. Furthermore, it requires that all curricula utilized within the classroom be validated by scientific research. All school districts are expected to make adequate yearly progress toward the goal of being proficient in all areas. Failure to make progress toward the goal of proficiency after intervention would result in the ultimate restructuring of the entire school district.

Implications

The IDEA definition of learning disabilities indicates that students with learning disabilities have difficulty in one or more of the basic psychological processes. These students may have difficulty understanding what is being said to them or expressing what they may want to say. They may also have problems with retaining information, reasoning, attending to a task, or choosing or focusing on significant information.

In school, students with learning disabilities also struggle with reading and written language. They often underachieve in math, exhibit hyperactivity and poor social skills, have behavioral problems, and have deficits in the area of attention.

A majority of the students identified as learning disabled are referred for special education because they are having trouble reading. Dyslexia, also called specific reading disability, is a persistent deficit. Students with dyslexia often have difficulty with accurate or fluent word recognition and exhibit poor spelling and decoding abilities. Students with learning disabilities usually fare more poorly than their nondisabled peers in most

written expression areas, including vocabulary, grammar, and punctuation. They also consistently perform lower than typically developing students in the area of math.

Donna Y. Ford and Michelle Frazier Trotman

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, Kansas (and Brown II); Effective Schools; Special Education

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Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1997 (Pub. L. 105–17).

LEE V. MACON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Lee v. Macon County Board of Education (1964) concerns the first statewide desegregation ruling in the United States. In this ruling, a federal district court first enjoined the state board of education and the governor of Alabama from interfering in desegregation efforts and later ordered the desegregation of all of Alabama's 118 school districts. This entry covers the background, the facts, and the aftermath of the *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education* ruling.

Historical Context

It has been said that no other Supreme Court decision has affected so deeply and so immediately the daily lives and emotions of so many U.S. citizens as did the striking down of school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Within weeks of the declaration by the United States Supreme Court in

that case that racial segregation of public schools was illegal and unconstitutional, a White Southern resistance movement emerged, and it burgeoned into a massive force crystallized around and organized against desegregation. When a year after the 1954 *Brown I* ruling the Supreme Court declared in *Brown II* that it was now time for compliance, White resistance escalated.

This private White resistance took civic shape largely in the form of citizens' councils, primarily in the Deep South states of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The first council was formed in Mississippi. By October of 1954, White segregationists in Alabama started its first citizens' council in Selma, just after African American members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had signed a petition seeking admission to a White school. Dozens more citizens' councils sprang up in Alabama after the Montgomery bus boycott in late 1955 and the attempt by Autherine Lucy, a young African American woman, to gain admission to the University of Alabama in early 1956.

The citizens' councils exerted resistance to desegregation in the early post-*Brown* years through economic and political pressure; meanwhile, the Ku Klux Klan, which began in Tennessee and whose membership overlapped with that of the councils, exerted force through violent means. By the late 1950s, there were hundreds of these local White organizations throughout Southern towns with hundreds of thousands of members united in the goal of resisting desegregation.

White defiance was officially expressed at the legislative level in the form of the Southern Manifesto, signed onto by almost all of the U.S. senators and representatives from the South. The manifesto denounced the *Brown* decisions as unconstitutional, pledged their reversal by all lawful means, and asserted the intention to defy any effort of the federal government to implement desegregation by force.

Facts of the Case

This solidified and pervasive White resistance to desegregation worked to ensure that not one single public school in Alabama had desegregated by 1960, regardless of the new law of the land handed down in *Brown I* and *II*. Schoolchildren in

Alabama attended schools exclusively of their own race. The state of Alabama, in fact, maintained an official policy favoring racial segregation in public education and purposefully operated a dual school system with one set of schools for African Americans and another for Whites. George C. Wallace, in his successful gubernatorial campaign in 1962, pledged his opposition to all attempts to desegregate Alabama's public schools; he would, he promised, refuse to abide by any such court order and physically bar the entry of African American students into White schools.

This intentional dual system, in complete defiance of the *Brown* ruling, was evident in the facts and figures of the annual report of the Alabama Department of Education, which set forth statistical and financial data for the 1961 to 1962 school year. Virtually every school, student, teacher, and piece of equipment in every public school throughout Alabama was designated in the report as White or African American and separated on that basis.

In January 1963, in Tuskegee, Alabama, a group of African American children and their parents filed suit against the Macon County Board of Education, seeking to enjoin the school board from continuing to assign children to schools on the basis of race and continuing to operate a compulsory biracial school system that violated the law. The Macon County Board of Education was found to be in violation of the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs. The district court's initial order required the school board to begin desegregation of its county school system in September of 1963.

In compliance with the court order in this case, 13 African American students were assigned to begin the new school year at Tuskegee High School, previously operated as an all-White school. When those children arrived for their first day of classes at Tuskegee High, they were met with more than 200 Alabama state troopers, acting at the direction of Wallace, who had declared the school to be closed for the ensuing week. When the African American students returned to Tuskegee High 1 week later, state troopers again barred their entry, but permitted White students to attend the school.

Within days, however, every White student registered to attend Tuskegee High had withdrawn; these White students were transferred to two other all-White Macon County high schools and a newly formed private school that was limited to White

students. Soon thereafter, the state closed Tuskegee High and required the African American students who had remained there to transfer to an all-African American high school.

After Macon County's failure to desegregate and the state's interference therein, the plaintiffs in this case amended their complaint to include the Alabama State Board of Education, the state superintendent of education, and Wallace, the ex officio president of the state board of education, who, through their establishment and enforcement of rules and policies, exerted extensive and specific control over the operations of local Alabama school systems. These state-level defendants had used their considerable authority and control—via finances and funding, school construction, provision of textbooks and educational materials, local school bus transportation, and placement of students and teachers—to sustain the statewide dual system of segregated schools.

In this instance, these state actors had directed the closing of Tuskegee High, the transfer and transportation of White and African American students to other White and African American high schools, and the transfer of teachers to accommodate these racially segregated student transfers. The evidence clearly established persistent, willful, obstructionist acts by the governor, the state superintendent of education, and the state board of education to prevent the Macon County school system from carrying out its court-ordered desegregation responsibilities.

District Court's Order of 1964

With the original lawsuit extended to include the state officials, the district court in 1964 enjoined them from interfering with court-ordered desegregation anywhere in the state of Alabama. The court's order of 1964 is in several aspects an exercise of judicial restraint, an effort to encourage, guide, and accommodate a constitutionally required and court-ordered process that could yet be driven to a great extent by the school systems themselves, with all due support from the state, rather than by the judiciary. There were four major statutes and legislative decisions critical to the school system defying the *Brown* decisions.

First, in its consideration of Alabama's grants-in-aid statutes, by which it provided funds to

establish and maintain a private school in Macon County, the district court refrained from declaring these statutes unconstitutional on their face. Rather, the state was enjoined from using such statutes to pay tuition grants to schools that discriminate on the basis of race, but the court left open, for the time being, the possibility that such statutes and private school options could be employed on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Second, the district court considered the Alabama School Placement Law, which had been employed by the state clearly as a means of thwarting desegregation, by requiring testing only for African American students, but not White students, who sought transfer. Again, while the defendants were enjoined from this unconstitutional application of the law, the court held open the possibility that such a placement law could be put to good, nondiscriminatory use.

Third, the court considered the plaintiffs' argument that, in view of the state-level defendants' extensive power and control over the local school systems, the order to desegregate Macon County ought to be enlarged to a desegregation order for all of Alabama. Although the court admonished the state against any future interference—subtle or outright—it chose not to order statewide desegregation, assuming instead that the governor, the state superintendent, and the state board of education would comply in good faith with the injunction prohibiting their interference with local school systems. In hindsight, this was a faulty assumption and further thwarted the intent and promise of *Brown*.

Fourth, in light of *Brown*'s requirement for all deliberate speed in the effectuation of desegregation, the court acknowledged that it could, and possibly should, order an immediate cessation of state funding for this purpose of operating segregated schools; instead, the 1964 order issued clear notice to the local and state school officials that the state must, within a reasonable time, begin distributing public funds only to those Alabama school systems that had proceeded with deliberate speed to desegregate.

District Court's Order in 1967

Two and a half years later in 1967, however, the district court considered anew the plaintiffs' repeated request for a statewide desegregation

order and injunctive relief against the use of state funds to support a dual school system based on race. This time, in view of the state's utter failure to comply with its affirmative constitutional duty to desegregate Alabama's public schools, the court was no longer reluctant to grant the relief to which the plaintiffs were entitled from the beginning.

The opinion of the court in this case reviews in great detail the ways in which the state of Alabama, through its state board of education, its governor who was also ex officio president of the state board of education, and other officers and individual members of the state board of education, had exerted control to maintain the racial characteristics of the segregated Alabama public school system. In many instances, the state used its authority both as a threat and through a system of punishments and rewards to obstruct the desegregation efforts and obligations of local school officials.

Numerous local school systems throughout Alabama had, in fact, submitted compliance plans for desegregation of all 12 grades for the 1965 to 1966 school year. State officials had adamantly contested such plans, causing local districts to revoke their own desegregation initiatives. Similarly, Alabama school districts that attempted to assign teachers across racial lines had been faced with the proclamation by Wallace that it contravened Alabama law and public policy to have White children taught by African American educators and that he would use state police power to enforce it. The state board of education had backed up this position with promises of generous funds for additional classrooms and additional paid (White) faculty positions for districts that allowed White children to choose White teachers and opt out of African American teachers' classrooms.

In many other instances, the state had continued to perform its own functions in such a way as to maintain racial separation, as exemplified by the state's earlier interventions with Tuskegee High. The state had pervasive control over school construction and consolidation, faculty and staff assignment, and transportation. The state board of education had funded school construction where it would thwart desegregation, locating new schools so as to perpetuate the dual system and controlling the financing of construction so that African American children were assured of markedly inferior school facilities. They had disallowed

consolidation where it would have a desegregating effect and conversely consolidated schools in ways to maintain segregation.

It was an affirmatively stated public policy in Alabama that African American teachers not teach White children, and the state board of education had worked to thwart desegregation of faculty and staff in Alabama's public schools. In its micromanagement of the school transportation system, the state board had provided markedly inferior buses for African American children and transported them past closer White schools to segregated African American schools farther from their homes.

The court imposed a statewide, freedom-of-choice desegregation plan. According to the court, there was at this point no other conceivable way to assure that school desegregation could be achieved than to create a uniform plan, applicable to each local school system not already under court order to desegregate with the onus on the state to implement it. Under this order, subsequently affirmed by the Supreme Court in *Wallace v. United States* (1967), the state defendants would bear responsibility for the various categories of desegregation.

Later Litigation

A year after the Supreme Court affirmed the uniform, statewide desegregation plan set forth by the Middle District of Alabama, the plaintiffs returned to the district court, this time to assert that the freedom-of-choice approach was an unfeasible and inappropriate one for achieving desegregation. The court took this opportunity to order minimum faculty desegregation requirements and minimum student standards, but it reaffirmed its freedom-of-choice plan at that time.

Later, however, the court overturned the freedom-of-choice remedy and proceeded to make the individual school boards and their members and superintendents formal defendants in the statewide litigation. By 1970, the case was divided into individual lawsuits for each school district, creating numerous separate school desegregation cases for the school systems located within the three federal judicial districts of Alabama with each case to be supervised by the district court for the geographic area in which the school system was situated.

In 1997, nearly 35 years after initiation of *Lee v. Macon County*, all but two of the approximately

40 school desegregation cases in the Middle District of Alabama still lingered in the court system with very little recent activity. The court then began to issue orders in the desegregation cases for detailed discovery regarding what particular steps were necessary to bring each school system into full compliance as a unitary school district. Soon thereafter, partial unitary status—on the various areas traditionally targeted for desegregation, including facilities, transportation, faculty and staff assignment, student assignment, and extra-curricular activities—was declared where warranted in each individual case, and consent decrees were entered for all aspects of the school districts that required additional desegregation work.

These decrees encompassed specific quality-of-education issues—including tracking and ability grouping, special education, discipline, drop-out prevention, graduation statistics, resource allocation, curriculum, and salary—all with the goal of eliminating the vestiges of past discrimination and assuring future compliance with constitutional requirements. Through thorough and strict oversight by the court, nearly all of the school districts in the Middle District of Alabama have achieved full unitary status, bringing *Lee v. Macon County* finally to a close in those areas.

M. Elizabeth Kirkland

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Dropouts; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Special Education; Unitary Status

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LIDDELL V. MISSOURI

Racial segregation in St. Louis schools and the poor quality of schools that served mostly African American students were the main issues that arose in *Liddell v. Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri* (1984). This case has a lengthy and complex judicial history and illustrates many of the difficulties in remedying urban school desegregation cases. The outcome in *Liddell* was the implementation of one of the largest and most expensive school choice programs in the nation. This entry reviews the historical events that led to the initial lawsuit in *Liddell* and the subsequent developments in the case. It then examines the impact of the case on desegregation in St. Louis.

Historical Background

Prior to 1865, Missouri prohibited the creation or maintenance of schools for teaching African American children to read or write. Yet in 1865, the state legislature passed laws requiring that separate schools be established for African American students and incorporated the substance of this legislation in the Missouri Constitution of 1945. Thus, separate schools were maintained by the St. Louis Board of Education in accordance with this law. However, in 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the separate-but-equal doctrine in public education in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954, *Brown I*). Yet almost 20 years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1955, *Brown II*) ordered that schools be desegregated with all deliberate speed, St. Louis and other Missouri cities were still failing to provide school systems that remedied the continuing effects of past discrimination and barred future discrimination.

The integration of African American children into White schools was not the only dilemma that faced the courts in St. Louis and beyond. Schools attended primarily by African American students often had inferior textbooks and curricula and inadequately trained teachers and administrators. During this time, many city and county schools in Missouri were busing African American students to White schools, only to place them in separate classrooms. *Liddell v. Missouri* was among the cases in which the federal courts labored to formulate a remedy that would minimize the effects of segregation to constitutionally permissible limits.

Facts of the Case

In 1972, St. Louis resident Minnie Liddell, along with other North St. Louis residents, filed a discrimination suit against the St. Louis Board of Education and the state of Missouri. This class action suit was filed on behalf of Craton Liddell, (Liddell's son), and other African American students in the city. The plaintiffs charged the St. Louis Board of Education and the state of Missouri with maintaining racially segregated schools in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. In the initial litigation proceedings, a federal trial court in Missouri entered a consent agreement between the *Liddell* plaintiffs and the defendants that provided for an increase in the number of African American teachers and a pledge by the board of education to seek racial balance in the schools.

The case was reopened in 1977 when the court allowed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to be added as a plaintiff-intervenor and the state commissioner of education to be added as a defendant. In 1979, the federal trial court ruled that the plaintiffs failed to prove that the St. Louis Board of Education and the state of Missouri had intentionally caused student segregation and further held that none of the board of education's actions had the foreseeable effect of causing or maintaining segregation. The court added that regardless of whether the board of education or the state had committed a constitutional violation, the parties were still bound by the consent decree in which the board agreed to desegregate the schools wherever possible.

Dissatisfied with the outcome, the plaintiffs sought further review. In 1980, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit reversed and remanded the case in favor of the plaintiffs. The appellate court found that the St. Louis Board of Education had not effectively desegregated the schools and that its policies and actions furthered segregation in the school districts. To satisfy its constitutional duty to disestablish its dual school system, the appellate court ordered the St. Louis Board of Education to develop a systemwide plan for the desegregation of its schools; the plan had to offer African American students substantially equal opportunities to attend desegregated schools.

In 1980, the trial court, on remand, determined that since the state of Missouri was primarily responsible for providing schools that met constitutional requirements, it had the duty not only to participate in remedial desegregation efforts, but also to provide funding for such programs. In addition, the trial court decided that since the state of Missouri and the St. Louis Board of Education were liable for the segregated conditions as a matter of law in the schools, they had to participate in a desegregation remedy that was multifaceted. Ultimately, this mandated desegregation plan survived multiple rounds of litigation and contained multiple remedies. Generally, the program called for the following: (a) student reassignments within the district, (b) the opening of magnet schools, (c) the creation of budgets that would fund the costs associated with improving the quality of public education for African American students who remained in the St. Louis district, and (d) the hiring of African American staff in the county school districts.

The *Liddell* litigation went on to generate a lengthy series of related cases, consisting of more than 65 separate legal actions beginning in 1983 with voluntary interdistrict remedies. *Liddell* finally culminated in 1999 when the trial court declared that the public schools in St. Louis had attained unitary status because they had done everything necessary to eliminate the vestiges of legal segregation and would not return to these discriminatory practices.

The Impact of the Ruling

By 2001, more than 10,000 African American students in the city of St. Louis boarded school buses

each morning heading to suburban schools in the county, and another 700 White suburban students attended city magnet schools. The state of Missouri and the St. Louis Board of Education had spent more than \$2 billion to implement this desegregation plan.

Over the years, the Missouri desegregation plan has provided for a voluntary city-county transfer program, where students are allowed to transfer from inner-city schools and to other county schools; the plan has also expanded the magnet school program. The voluntary transfer program is optional, but there has not been a shortage of students willing to face hour-long bus rides just for the opportunity to attend county schools. Students are also flocking to magnet schools; yet the placement through the annual magnet school lottery is limited to the number of available seats.

Although the plan created by the St. Louis Board of Education and the state of Missouri has helped to alleviate the initial concerns caused by school segregation, many educators argue that the plan has had an adverse impact on African American teachers and students. Specifically, scholars argue that the push to transfer students from the city to the county has stigmatized African American educators teaching in city schools as inferior. Consequently, the desegregation plan has fueled the pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* belief that African American teachers are unqualified and incompetent. The effects of this stigmatization can be seen in the low number of African American educators teaching in county schools; if they are not qualified to teach African American children, they are deemed to be ineligible to teach White students in racially mixed or predominantly White schools.

In addition, it has also been argued that the desegregation plan has had negative effects on African American students who transfer to county schools and on those who remain in schools in the city. African American students in all-White or racially mixed county schools have reported that they feel isolated and were treated unfairly, while African American students who remain in the city have been disadvantaged by the removal of the top students from the classrooms and the transfer of state funding from the city to county school districts.

The full effects of the decision in *Liddell* have yet to be seen. In 1998, the report of the Voluntary

Interdistrict Coordinating Council reported that the test scores for African American transfer students were relatively the same as those for African American city students. By 2003, the number of children in the inner-city schools decreased by 64%. The dropout rate of African American students left in schools in the city has fallen, and the graduation rate has increased, but their test scores are still below statewide educational statistics.

Difficulties within the St. Louis School District continue, and conflict over educational issues continues to be at the forefront of political and social debates. Yet in spite of this, St. Louis has sent more African American high school graduates to college than in the past. For example, Craton Liddell graduated from Yeatman Middle School and Northwest High School and then attended Lincoln University in Jefferson City and Harris Stowe State College in St. Louis. He died on December 6, 2002, and shortly after, Yeatman Middle School was renamed Yeatman-Liddell Preparatory Junior High in his honor.

Patrice A. Fulcher

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); School Choice; Urban Education

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Web Site

University of Missouri–St. Louis: <http://www.umsl.edu>

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (PENNSYLVANIA)

Lincoln University, located in southern Chester County, Pennsylvania, is the oldest of the bachelor of arts degree-granting historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). From its beginning, it had a relationship with Africa that was unmatched by any other learning institution in the Americas. In the 20th century, it was the only university that could boast of graduating two of Africa's most influential leaders: Nnamdi Azikiwe (class of 1930) and Kwame Nkrumah (class of 1939, 1942 seminary). During the first century of its existence, Lincoln graduated approximately one of every five future African American physicians and more than one of every 10 future African American attorneys in the United States.

Its graduates have gone on to lead over 35 colleges and universities and an impressive number of prominent churches. At least 10 of its alumni served as U.S. ambassadors or mission chiefs while others became federal, state, and municipal judges. There have also been mayors and city managers that acknowledge Lincoln University as their alma mater. Lincoln is also renowned for the African American business persons and African American

military who received their undergraduate education there, but it is most known for the early cadre of ministers and missionaries that it prepared.

Lincoln shares the similarity of producing African American leaders with other historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), but its special role as a trailblazer in liberal arts education for African-descended males and its Presbyterian-Quaker roots set it apart. Lincoln's early and continued relationship with Africa also helped to mark it as an institution of Pan African importance that only few HBCUs can claim. Indeed, Africa and the condition of the African descendants in the United States were at the center of the institution's origin.

Since 1972, Lincoln has been formally associated with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a state-related, coeducational institution. Lincoln University is accredited by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education. Lincoln offers academic programs in the arts and sciences for undergraduate students at its main campus and graduate programs in human services, education, and administration at its urban center in Philadelphia. The Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools is the agency that accredits Lincoln University. The university's spring semester 2008 enrollment was approximately 1,900 undergraduates and 500 graduate students. This entry looks at the university's historical roots and evolution.

Founding Rationale

Lincoln University's origin, which antedates the demise of chattel enslavement in the United States by almost a decade, is both amazing and peculiar. Lincoln is the first institution of higher learning to support U.S. colonialism in Africa. The institution's support of colonization of Liberia pleased both abolitionists and those who enslaved Africans.

The motives for these two social forces were different, yet their conclusions were the same. Abolitionists saw the institution as an incubator for African missionaries who would be able to spread the gospel in Liberia and other parts of Africa. For those who enslaved Africans, an African colony was a preferable locale for the settlement of free Africans at that time residing in the United States. The American Colonization Society (ACS) was the organization that brought these two

forces together, and the founder of Lincoln University was an active member of the ACS.

In 1853, one of New Castle, Pennsylvania's presbyters received an approval for beginning an institute to provide scientific, classical, and theological education to African American male youths. That recipient was Dr. John Miller Dickey (1806–1878), who was a Presbyterian minister from 1832 to 1856 and an active member of ACS. Sarah Emlen Cresson, Dickey's wife and a member of a famous Philadelphia land-owning Quaker family, figured largely in the institute's founding. Dickey served as the director of Princeton's seminary, his 1927 alma mater, and president of its board from 1856 until his demise in 1878. This would also figure largely in the institution that he was to help mold as it would provide a constant source of faculty for the endeavor.

The institution was initially chartered on April 29, 1854, by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as Ashmun Institute, named in honor of the early administrator of the U.S. colony of Liberia, Jehudi Ashmun (1794–1828). Ashmun's effectiveness in establishing Liberia earlier in the century earned him the naming honor. Liberia would later become a training ground for graduates from the Lincoln University seminary as well as a significant feeder of students near the close of the 19th century.

Early Years

On December 31, 1856, Rev. John Pym Carter was installed as the Ashmun Institute's principal, and on the next day, the institute began instruction. The 1857 inaugural class was made up of four students, two enrolled in the preparatory track of the institute and two enrolled in the missionary training track. By 1859, three students graduated and were ordained by New Castle's Presbytery. They then were commissioned by the Presbyterian Church's Board of Foreign Mission and expeditiously took positions in Liberia as missionaries. James Ralston Amos, who in 1852 had originally sought Dickey's assistance for an education that would allow him to serve as a minister, was one of these graduates. By 1867, the institution officially launched its theological department as a 2-year course of study.

The 1860s, a tumultuous decade punctuated by the Civil War, led to increased enrollment of newly freed Africans, primarily from the southern region of the United States. With the increasing enrollment

came economic challenges, which Dickey responded to by mortgaging his house in 1860 to defray operating costs. Ashmun Institute was renamed Lincoln University in 1866, in honor of the slain president, and was changed into a full-fledged university that sought to offer professional training and liberal arts curriculum. The professional fields were law, medicine, and pedagogy (education).

The seminary remained prominent and was now joined with a College of Liberal Arts. All enrolled students were required to belong to one of the two literary societies on the campus. Lincoln's ambition did not stop at curricular offerings; the university's leadership sought to introduce a racially integrated student body. Lincoln University's six 1866 bachelor of arts degree recipients were made up of four African American and two White students. By 1896, Lincoln University had graduated 515 students.

The liberating atmosphere of the Reconstruction era (1865–1877) helped to illuminate opportunities and generate hope for matriculating students at Lincoln University. Lincoln's graduates had a profound impact on the African intelligentsia generally, but the alumni's self-awareness was remarkable and is worth noting. The Lincoln University Alumni Association was launched during Lincoln's 1872 commencement. Its goals were twofold: increase enrollment and strengthen the unity of the alumni.

In 1875, under the presidency of Rev. Charles Hedges (class of 1869), the association launched a petition demanding that African Americans be fairly represented among the faculty. In June of 1876, the board returned their negative reply, explaining that teaching at Lincoln was a form of penitence for Whites who had committed the collective sin of enslavement. Since African Americans were not guilty of this sin, they had no need to repent. This response only galvanized the opinion of the alumni, but with the waning of the federal commitment to the Reconstruction and Lincoln's growing economic problems, the absence of African American faculty would have to wait for another 55 years for a resolution.

Hard Times

Lincoln's administration and trustees were less concerned with the growing militancy of some of its alumni than it was with the changing climate in

the country. Conservative forces were reversing the policies of the Reconstruction and blaming the reformers for the economic downturns resulting from the Civil War. Such a turn of events led to decreased giving. The economic crisis of 1873 eventually reached Lincoln University and economic shortfalls caused it to scale back its academic programs. The schools of law and medicine were closed in 1873 and the business and normal departments were phased out in 1875. The seminary, however, continued.

The alumni association continued to assist in outreach and began to fund-raise for the university. From 1884 through 1885, the Lincoln Alumni Association published the first alumni magazine produced in the United States. The publication, titled *The Alumni Magazine*, was published by Nathan F. Mossell (class of 1879) and helped to develop the self-worth of the alumni by regularly reporting on advances made by Lincoln's alumni in their professional and personal endeavors. The magazine also contained hard-hitting articles and book reviews challenging European cultural arrogance with a specific aim at White supremacist attitudes in educational institutions.

A series of articles, which included a tract authored by Fredrick Douglass, took on the colleges and universities that taught African Americans, but refused to employ them as faculty. One of the most noteworthy contributing authors to the magazine was Solomon M. Coles (class of 1872), who made a strong case for African American teachers and professors. Coles also included a thorough article on the need to teach all students about the accomplishments of the Africans in ancient Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia.

Although Lincoln University was ahead of other HBCUs in its awarding of bachelor degrees to African American men, it lagged in trustee and faculty representation from its targeted cohort. This resulted from the paternalistic ideology of its founders and sponsors. By 1928, however, the first African American trustee was elected to the board. This change of heart was influenced by the rising influence of the alumni and its financial support and the criticisms from scholars such as W. E. B. Dubois, who were publicly challenging the sincerity of HBCUs that did not place African Americans in faculty or leadership positions. Howard University had appointed its first African American

president in 1927 and that added pressure to Lincoln's leadership to catch up to the times.

African American Leaders

Horace Mann Bond reported that Lincoln University hired its first African American faculty in 1931, which is the year that future Nigerian president, Nnamdi Azikiwe, was hired as a part-time instructor. Azikiwe initiated Negro studies into Lincoln's curriculum by teaching the first course of its type at Lincoln. Bond was probably referring, however, to Theodore Frederick Hawkins (class of 1931), who taught chemistry and obtained the rank of a full-time instructor upon his graduation. Lincoln catalogues, however, listed Bond as an instructor in pedagogy at an even earlier date than these other two alumni. He is listed as teaching three education courses during the 1924 to 1925 academic year. Like Azikiwe and Hawkins, this was the next year after his graduation from Lincoln.

At a more influential level of the university, in 1945, Bond became Lincoln University's fifth president, the first alumnus and first African American to hold that position, and he served through 1957. One year after serving as Lincoln's president, Bond achieved another milestone by becoming the first Lincoln University official to participate on the African continent in the African Liberation Movement. Bond was listed as the only college president to attend the African Freedom Fighter's conference in Accra, Ghana, in 1958. It was also during Bond's presidency that Kwame Nkrumah, as leader of government business of the Gold Coast, was given an honorary doctorate at Lincoln University. Bond's presidency not only strengthened the African American leadership voice at Lincoln, it also ushered in the era of women's matriculation toward graduation.

As of this writing, there have been four African American presidents of Lincoln University: Horace Mann Bond, 1945 through 1957; Herman Branson, 1970 through 1985; Niara Sudarksa, 1987 through 1998; and Ivory Nelson, 1999 through present. This list excludes acting presidents.

Women's Role

In 1873, Lincoln's board decided to admit women as that was a requirement to win certification for its

normal department. Pennsylvania did not allow for such status if access to enrollment in the requesting institution was denied based on race or gender. The state turned down Lincoln's application, and the board returned to its original enrollment policy. Lincoln had no female faculty members until 1943, when Grace Hughes Rivero began to teach Latin. She was the wife of the famous Lincoln University coach, Manuel Rivero. During 1934, the female enrollment barrier was broken temporarily for Marjorie Martin, wife of Coach Julius Fitzgerald Martin. The policy was also relaxed in the summer of 1934 when Lincoln officially offered coeducational courses targeting teachers.

Females were not graduated, however, until the year 1953, as Lincoln's charter had prohibited female matriculation toward graduation. The prohibition prevented Ruth Fales, wife of Philosophy Professor Walter Fales, from graduating in 1952 though she had completed the proper credits for a bachelor's degree. To resolve this problem and to keep the university solvent during a slump in enrollment, Lincoln's Board of Trustees announced in the early 1950s its intention to extend the university's mandate beyond its Negro focus and its male exclusiveness.

There would eventually be much more success with the enrollment of women than of students of other races. The university admitted women students in 1952, amended its charter in 1953 to allow women to receive degrees, and outfitted the campus for female residential matriculation by 1965. By the 1970s, female student enrollment surpassed male enrollment, and it still does.

The most outstanding presence of females at Lincoln University came with the inauguration of Niara Sudarkasa, Lincoln's eighth president from 1987 through 1998. During her presidency, Lincoln University instituted its mandatory African American Experience course, which continues to be required for all matriculating students. Sudarkasa's presidency continued Lincoln University's prestige on a Pan African level, and during her tenure, Lincoln enjoyed an increase of faculty and students from the African continent.

D. Zizwe Poe

See also *Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)*

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LITERACY

Literacy is broadly understood as one's ability to read and write, especially in the dominant language of one's society. In the African American tradition, however, the mastery of the English language is also often demonstrated in oratory. Thus, African American culture reflects the symbiosis of literacy and orality. In the context of African American education, in particular, literacy is ostensibly more political in connotation. Historically, literacy for African Americans has been linked to notions of freedom—especially freedom from enslavement—and empowerment. Many scholars have characterized the attainment of literacy as an assertion of African American humanity. Literacy remains a critical sociopolitical and academic issue for African Americans—particularly in light of achievement gap discourse. Thus, literacy is quite a contentious topic in African American education. This entry looks at the history of the issue and its current status.

The earliest demonstrations of the politics of literacy are found in the publications of enslaved and formerly enslaved Africans. Phyllis Wheatley, writer of "On Being Brought From Africa to America," for instance, invokes the humanity of the enslaved by serving as an example of and testifying to the potential for change and refinement of the enslaved. Furthermore, slave narratives such as *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, while simultaneously condemning chattel enslavement in the United States, also celebrate the humanity of the enslaved. The narratives of the enslaved reveal not only the drastic measures taken by the enslaved to escape bondage, but also the risks taken to secure literacy. The authors of narratives of the enslaved used their stories as abolitionist texts and as an assertion (or insertion) of their—the African Americans'—place in history.

Because literacy for the enslaved was illegal and frowned upon by masters who thought it would distract their laborers, learning to read and write was life-threatening work. The enslaved risked being sold, beaten or whipped, and even killed to become literate. They viewed literacy as the key to emancipation because it enhanced their understandings of their sociopolitical worlds, which allowed them to actively participate, for instance, in the abolitionist movement, political debates of their time, and the shaping of U.S. history. Thus, after becoming literate, many of the enslaved sought immediate emancipation from bondage.

After the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), which abolished enslavement in the United States, literacy in the African American community remained a preeminent concern. Debates over the rights of and place for African Americans were commonplace, and although no longer enslaved, African Americans continued to experience social, political, and economic inequity. In other words, though free from physical bondage, they were not free from oppression. African Americans in the United States did not become citizens until after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868), and the right to vote was not extended to African American men until the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment (1870). Nonetheless, as a result of the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and the missionary work of many Christian churches, separate schools were built to educate freed African Americans.

Although literacy efforts improved and increased with the opening of grade schools and colleges for African Americans, the African American condition in the United States remained plagued by racist ideologies and discrimination. Literacy was used as a weapon to combat these challenges. Many African American leaders used their mastery of the English language in both writings and speeches of protest against discrimination and political and economic disenfranchisement. Because literacy was viewed as a privilege in the African American community, those who obtained literacy were thought to have the responsibility to impart knowledge to the rest of the African American community. Thus, the combining of oral traditions and literate practices resulted in prolific speech-making as a mode of resistance.

Noteworthy speeches given by African American leaders include Booker T. Washington's (1895)

"Atlanta Compromise Speech" and Mary Church Terrell's (1906) "What It Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States." These speeches demonstrate the power of literacy as a tool to address issues concerning African Americans and protest the injustices of the day. In addition, continued access to higher education, which enhanced the literacy skills of many African American leaders, led to myriad publications on the nature of race and solutions to the problem of racism. Among them was W. E. B. Du Bois's (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk*, which particularly addressed the place of education in the improvement of the condition of African Americans in the United States.

In addition to speeches and individual publications, the "Negro Press," a system of African American news publications, became an invaluable resource in the struggle against social injustices. Although the first African American newspaper was published 1827, the Negro Press grew tremendously after the emancipation of the enslaved. The dependence on print media as a communication network for information exchange and celebration of achievements within the African American community made literacy essential. African Americans were educated about local and national politics, informed about community issues, and exposed to the talent present within the community through African American newspapers and magazines.

But literacy, along with other modes of resistance, was met with opposition. The Jim Crow South in particular was a site of great challenge to African American rights and to African American humanity. In an effort to disenfranchise African Americans, literacy tests were implemented at voting polls throughout the South. Upon arriving to vote, African Americans were made to read a text (most notably a section of the U.S. Constitution) and demonstrate comprehension. Comprehension was determined by the poll administrator and was based on his definition of proficiency. Failure to prove one's competence resulted in the rescinding of one's right to vote at that poll. Thus, literacy as a fight against oppression was more than mere ideology during the Jim Crow era; it was an actual practice. It would not be until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that literacy tests became illegal. This act outlawed any acts of terrorism used to intimidate African American voters.

The mid- to late 1900s witnessed increased rates of poverty in the African American community and the growing density of low-income African American communities in urban areas. Among the challenges facing these communities was education. The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* decision ushered in a new wave of school equity concerns for African Americans. The *Brown* decision reversed the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that required separate-but-equal facilities for African Americans and Whites and called for school desegregation and equity. However, school desegregation did not quell the social injustices experienced by African Americans in education, and literacy remained an academic concern. As discrepancies in the achievement of African American students and White students increased, theories of cultural deficiency emerged. Cultural deficit theory is an extension of Darwinian reasoning and suggests that failure of a group to succeed in particular contexts is the result of natural inferiority. As this pertains to schooling of African Americans, it suggests that African Americans are naturally inferior intellectually and that African American culture inhibits African American student success.

In 2001, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, also known as No Child Left Behind (NCLB), called for enhancing efforts to minimize the gap in achievement between White students and those in particular subgroups—African American being one of the said subgroups. Literacy attainment in NCLB rhetoric is often quantified as the score received on particular sections of state-mandated standardized tests. Literacy in the African American community, however, is about more than passing standardized tests in the K–12 school systems of the United States. It is what grants access to higher education, as all students must demonstrate writing and reading competence to be granted admission to degree-granting programs. Literacy attainment also has implications for the distribution of wealth in the African American community and the rate of employment. Furthermore, literacy continues to be viewed as a form of empowerment—an effective strategy for overcoming oppression based on race, gender, and class. Yet literacy has become more complex in the 21st century.

Chantae Recasner

See also Academic Achievement; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; Jim Crow; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Slave Narratives; Standardized Testing; Washington, Booker T.

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LITTLE ROCK NINE

The Little Rock Nine were nine African American students and their families who bravely challenged segregation in the public schools of Little Rock, Arkansas. These trailblazers are etched in the annals of U.S. history and the nation continues to celebrate their contribution to the civil rights movement. In 1958, Melba Pattillo, Ernest Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Minnijean Brown, Terrence Roberts, Carlotta Walls, Jefferson Thomas, Gloria Ray, Thelma Mothershed, and Daisy Bates received the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP's) Spingarn Award for their courage. This entry provides the legal context and describes the developing crisis in Little Rock, the response of the nine students, and the aftermath.

Legal Background

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was integral in confronting Jim Crow segregation. In 1940, the organization

established the Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF) and launched a full assault on the separate-but-equal principle set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Prior to addressing this landmark decision in primary and secondary education, the LDF effectively dismantled segregation in professional and graduate schools. No longer content with agitating for equalization, they shifted their strategy and focused on a plan of desegregation. The court's opinion in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938), *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education* (1950) provided the foundation for the LDF to challenge the constitutionality of state-sanctioned segregation in primary and secondary education.

In 1952, lawyers argued five cases in succession, *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas*; *Briggs v. Elliot* (South Carolina); *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* (Virginia); *Gebhart v. Belton* (Delaware); and *Bolling v. Sharpe* (first filed in 1951; District of Columbia). In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court combined these cases (although *Bolling* was decided separately), rendering its landmark opinion that "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place" and deprived "plaintiffs and others similarly situated...equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment" (347 U.S. at 483, 486). The following year, in *Brown II* the court ordered that schools desegregate with all deliberate speed. As a result, school districts across the nation were saddled with the challenge of implementing the court's mandate.

Events in Little Rock

In 1955 (days before the court's decision in *Brown II*), the Little Rock, Arkansas, school board swiftly moved to formulate a desegregation plan. Virgil Blossom, the city's superintendent of schools, adopted a gradualist approach. He proposed that the city's two high schools under construction open as integrated facilities. Blossom's plan would desegregate the city's junior high schools the following year. Several years later, elementary schools were to be desegregated.

The school board, however, altered Blossom's plan. They proposed that Central High School desegregate in September of 1957 and the city's junior high schools 3 years later. The school

board's revised plan, known as the Blossom Plan and the Little Rock Phase Program, did not set a firm date for desegregating the city's elementary schools. The plan also allowed students to transfer to schools where they were not in the minority, thus ensuring that Black schools would remain segregated.

The local NAACP, led by Daisy Bates, challenged the school board's desegregation plan. They protested the board's decision to open the city's new high schools on a segregated basis. Moreover, the NAACP objected to the school board's delay tactics. The organization encouraged African American parents to enroll their children in Little Rock's all-White schools. In 1956, school officials denied admission to those who applied, and the NAACP filed suit in the federal court of the Eastern District of Arkansas. The NAACP maintained that the school board violated students' constitutional rights by implementing a gradualist plan that sustained segregated schools. However, in the case of *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958) the school board successfully argued that they were working within the framework of the Supreme Court's all-deliberate-speed mandate. The LDF, led by Thurgood Marshall, appealed the trial court's decision. But, in April of 1957, that judicial body's decision was upheld by the Eight Circuit Court of Appeals.

In the meantime, the Arkansas State Legislature organized to resist the desegregation of Little Rock's public school system. They passed a bill that established the State Sovereignty Commission. The commission was charged with investigating persons who encouraged desegregation, removing mandatory school attendance requirements at desegregated schools, registering individuals and organizations (such as the NAACP), requiring them to routinely report to the commission and empowering the school board to make use of school funds to challenge desegregation. Furthermore, state legislators placed a 3% sales tax on the election ballot with the expressed purpose of collecting revenue to defy the Supreme Court's ruling.

Local Whites also organized to oppose school desegregation. For instance, the Capital Citizens Council (CCC) formed in 1956 and engaged in a racially divisive campaign. The CCC plastered local newspapers with inflammatory advertisements suggesting that school desegregation would

lead to miscegenation. They argued that African Americans had adequate educational facilities and that local African Americans were being unduly influenced by outside agitators. They blamed local members of the NAACP and the Urban League for carrying forth their organizations' national agenda.

In addition, the CCC helped establish the Mothers League of Central High. This organization was composed of lower-middle-class and working-class White women. In October of 1957, they staged a student walkout. In addition, these mothers routinely harassed local and state officials. That same year, the Mothers League of Central High filed suit, and they were granted a temporary injunction, which threatened to halt desegregation. However, Federal District Judge Ronald Davies invalidated that injunction and ordered Little Rock to proceed with its desegregation plan.

The Confrontation

When the Little Rock, Arkansas, academic year began on September 3, 1957, the African American students who became known as the Little Rock Nine were supposed to attend classes at previously all-White Central High School. However, the pro-segregationists' threat of extreme violence compelled school officials to encourage the African American students not to attend the first day of classes.

On September 4, the African American students—who ranged in age from 14 to 16 and were top-performing students—attempted to enter Central High School. They were prohibited from doing so by Governor Orval Faubus, who used the National Guard to block the school's entrance. He declared that "blood will run in the street" if these students were allowed to enroll; thus, the eight students and their escorts retreated. But Elizabeth Eckford, who was not informed of plans to assemble at Daisy Bates's home that morning (her family did not own a telephone), arrived after the other students had departed. Upon her arrival, she was confronted by an angry and hostile mob. Eckford was turned away by the National Guard, and she was left alone and unprotected. The unruly crowd assailed her with racial epithets and threatened physical violence. Eventually, Eckford boarded a

public bus and left behind the mob gathered outside of Central High School.

Immediately after this incident, Davies commenced hearings that lasted for over 2 weeks. At the conclusion of the hearings, the Little Rock School Board was again ordered to proceed with its desegregation plan. The judge also instructed United States Attorney Herbert Brownell Jr. to file an injunction against the governor that would prevent him from further interfering with the desegregation process.

President Dwight Eisenhower was also disturbed by the actions of Faubus. He regarded his use of the National Guard to thwart a court decision as an affront to the federal government's power. The president insisted that "mob rule cannot be allowed to override the decisions of our courts." On September 14th, the president hosted Faubus at his vacation home in Rhode Island. During that meeting, the governor agreed to use the National Guard to protect the African American students. On the contrary, however, he removed the National Guard, leaving the Little Rock Nine to confront a riotous mob.

On September 23rd, the African American students returned to Central High School, and White rioters responded by attacking African American reporters, hurling bricks through school windows and demanding that their children vacate the building. As the protesters occupied themselves with beating the African American reporters, the Little Rock police escorted the students into the school through a side door. Once the mob became aware of what had transpired, the violence reached its zenith. For that reason, school and police officials agreed that for their own protection, the African American students should be removed.

Pattillo recalled that people were running after the African American students as they entered the side of the building. She reported that after only 2 hours, it was clear that the mob was taking over the school and that the police were throwing down their badges and refusing to protect the African American students. According to Pattillo, someone suggested that they sacrifice one African American student so that the police could escort the other students to safety. She asserted that officials suggested that students draw straws to determine who would be left behind. Eventually, all the African American students were put into two cars and

instructed to keep their heads down as they were swiftly driven away.

Little Rock's Mayor Woodrow Mann requested assistance from the federal government to prevent further violence. On September 25th, Eisenhower dispatched 1,200 members of the U.S. Army 101st Airborne, and he assumed control over the Arkansas National Guard. Initially, the 101st Airborne provided the African American students with protection accompanying them throughout the school day. In October, the federalized National Guard assumed that responsibility.

Aftermath

The African American students remained vulnerable to verbal and physical attacks from fellow students. Beal sustained injuries to her right knee when a bottle was broken and she was thrust upon the shattered glass. Brown responded to constant taunting by dousing one of her aggressors with a bowl of chili. The school board suspended her, and they began expulsion proceedings. A number of White students celebrated Brown's dismissal, and some vowed to drive out the remaining eight.

That academic year, Bates remained active in the daily affairs of the Little Rock Nine. For instance, Bates accompanied Brown's mother to a meeting with the school principal and assistant principals. Brown's mother and Bates confronted school officials who allegedly rejected Brown's request to join the school's glee club. Bates also pressured school officials to suspend and expel students who verbally and physically attacked the African American students. On one occasion, she criticized officials for giving only a 3-day suspension to a White student who had seriously injured an African American student, and on another occasion, she successfully argued for an indefinite suspension of another White student who attacked another African American student.

Bates maintained constant contact with the NAACP's New York headquarters, the organization's president, Roy Wilkins, and federal officials. However, due to her role as spokesperson for the Little Rock Nine and her continued agitation for public school desegregation, Bates became the primary target of local segregationists. On several occasions, Lucious Bates and D. Bates, who together published the *Arkansas State Press*, were

forced to protect their home from attackers. In spite of this, Bates remained steadfast in her support of the African American students. Throughout that turbulent year, her dedication and determination helped the Little Rock Nine survive their first year at Central High School.

On May 27, 1958, Green became the first African American graduate of Central High School. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. attended the graduation ceremony, and he sat in the audience with Green's mother and Bates. Just 3 months later, Faubus closed Little Rock's public high schools, and they remained closed until 1959. Hence, African American high school students had to seek educational opportunities elsewhere. Brown moved to New York after being expelled by the school board. She took up residence in the home of psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark. The Clarks's research had been integral to the NAACP's argument in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. Brown attended and received her high school diploma from New Lincoln School in 1959. Ray and Mothershed finished high school in Missouri. Pattillo and Roberts completed their high school years in California. Eckford earned her diploma by completing correspondence and night classes. Thomas and Walls returned to Central High School and graduated in 1960.

Forty years later, Little Rock Central High School was designated a historic site. And in 1997 and 2007, national, state, and local officials gathered at Central High School to reflect and honor the Little Rock Nine.

Sharita Jacobs Thompson

See also *Bolling v. Sharpe*; *Briggs v. Elliot*; *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II)*; *Cooper v. Aaron*; *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*; Desegregation; Jim Crow; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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LUCY V. ADAMS, DEAN OF ADMISSIONS, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Lucy v. Adams (1955) is the legal battle that involved Autherine Lucy's and Polly Anne Myers's attempts to attend the University of Alabama, which had denied them admission based on their race. Lucy, with the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund, represented by Thurgood Marshall, pursued her claim against William F. Adams, the dean of admissions of the University of Alabama, all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The extended litigation that followed was a turning point in the progeny of cases that laid the foundation to desegregate educational institutions.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision on Lucy's motion to reinstate the injunction of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama also has significance in the desegregation efforts of the 1950s. In Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks's refusal to yield her seat in a bus on December 1, 1955, led to desegregation in Montgomery and elsewhere throughout the United States. The long legal conflict between Lucy and the University of Alabama was similarly noteworthy in the context of the civil rights movement because its influence extended beyond the realm of education to all aspects of African American life. This entry looks at its historical context, the details of the case, and its long-term impact.

Background

Segregation in Education

Segregation had become the norm of southern social policy after the Democrats regained power following the Reconstruction era (1865–1877). In

1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the state laws that allowed segregation as constitutional (e.g., *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). However, Justice John Marshall Harlan, in his dissenting opinion in *Plessy*, emphasized that segregation interfered with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom and placed African Americans in a place of legal inferiority.

With the formation of NAACP, the challenges to the culture of segregation increased. The establishment of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund facilitated challenging segregation in the federal courts. The Legal Defense Fund, led by Charles Hamilton Houston, Marshall, Spottswood William Robinson III, and Oliver W. Hill, challenged the constitutionality of the laws that segregated African Americans from Whites in all areas of life, including education.

In 1932, the NAACP had one of its first victories in desegregating the U.S. educational institutions. In *State ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1932), the U.S. Supreme Court held that the University of Missouri, an all-White institution, must admit in-state African American students as well. In *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma* (1948), the Supreme Court held that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment mandated that a state law school for White students also provide legal education to African American applicants. Similarly, in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the Supreme Court held that substantial equality in education could not be found in separate institutions.

Lucy

Lucy was born in Shiloh, Alabama, on October 5, 1929, one of 10 children. She attended Shiloh public schools through junior high school, and graduated high school from Linden Academy in 1947. Lucy also performed farm labor to help her family during her school years. She attended the Selma University in Selma, Alabama, and earned a 2-year teaching degree. Then she attended Miles College in Fairfield, Alabama, and graduated in 1952 with a bachelor's degree in English. Both these universities were historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

For her graduate studies, Lucy decided to attend the University of Alabama. University of Alabama was an all-White college, and Lucy knew that attending this institution would be a struggle. On

September 4, 1952, Lucy, together with Myers, applied to the University of Alabama. On September 5th, the university sent Lucy and Myers application forms and requested dormitory registration fees. On September 10th, Lucy and Myers were assigned dormitories, and on September 13th, the applicants received a form letter welcoming them to the university.

However, all this happened because the university did not know the ethnicity of the applicants. On September 19th, the university received the application forms from Lucy and Myers that indicated their ethnicity. When the university learned that Lucy and Myers were African American, the university asserted that the state law did not allow African Americans to attend the institution. Lucy and Myers arrived at the university on September 20th. The dean of admissions returned their dormitory deposit and advised there had been a mistake in accepting Lucy and Myers as students.

Lucy and Myers turned to the NAACP for help with their attempt to enroll at the University of Alabama. NAACP Legal Defense Fund laid the groundwork for Lucy's struggle to enroll in the university. Marshall, Constance Baker Motley, and Arthur Shores were assigned to represent Lucy's and Myers's case. On September 24th, Shores appealed to the president of the University of Alabama, Dr. John M. Gallalee, demanding that Lucy and Myers be admitted. Gallalee attempted to persuade Lucy and Myers to attend Alabama State College or Tuskegee College, both Black institutions. However, the university did not grant Lucy or Myers admission.

Shores then appealed to Governor Seth Gordon Persons, president ex officio of the board of trustees of the University of Alabama. The petition was placed before the board of trustees on June 1, 1953, at their annual meeting. On July 6, 1953, the board of trustees wrote to Shores indicating that they were deferring final action on these applications pending the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*; again, Lucy and Myers were urged to seek admittance at Alabama State College or Tuskegee College. The legal proceedings began in July of 1953. NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys filed for declaratory judgment in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama.

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas

Meanwhile, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, had been pending before the U.S. Supreme Court since June of 1952. On May 31, 1955, the U.S. Supreme Court announced its decision on *Brown*. The Court held that racial discrimination in public education was unconstitutional. This decision opened the doors to desegregation in public education, and Lucy's and Myers's legal challenge of the practices of the University of Alabama was the first test of the application of *Brown*.

The Legal Battle

Trial Court Proceedings

Lucy filed suit with the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, alleging that the university's refusal to grant admission to Lucy and Myers was unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment bars a state government from denying any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Further, because the University of Alabama was a state institution, its acts and policies came within the purview of the Fourteenth Amendment limitation on state government.

In preparation for trial, the University of Alabama did all they could to justify their denial of admission to Lucy and Myers on legal grounds. Because Myers had been unmarried and pregnant at the time of her application to the university, she would have been ineligible for admittance to the university under the moral codes then in place. Myers was disqualified as a candidate to the university, and Lucy had to continue alone with the lawsuit.

The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama pronounced its decision on June 29, 1955. The court found that, even though there was no written policy that excluded students based on race or color, there was a tacit policy to that effect. The district court further held that in conformity with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, Lucy and Myers were "entitled to equal advantages and opportunities available at the University of Alabama at the same time and upon the same terms and qualifications available

to other residents and citizens of the State of Alabama” (Lucy v. Adams, 134 F. Supp., 235, 239). Therefore, the tacit policy that denied the African American candidates admission to the university offended the Fourteenth Amendment’s right to equal protection under the state laws.

The court issued an order of injunction prohibiting Adams, the dean of admissions, his servants, agents, assistants, and employees, and those who might aid, abet, and act in concert with him from denying the plaintiffs from enrolling in the university solely on account of their race and color. On July 1, 1955, the district court amended its order of injunction to apply to all African American students who apply for admission to the University of Alabama.

Appellate Court Proceedings

The University of Alabama appealed the district court’s order of injunction to the U.S. Circuit Court for the Fifth District. Further, the university filed a motion with the district court to suspend the application of the injunction pending appeal. The district court granted the university’s motion.

Motion to Vacate the Order of Suspension

In response, Lucy filed a motion with the circuit court to vacate the district court’s order suspending the injunction pending appeal. In an unpublished opinion, the circuit court denied Lucy’s motion. Thereafter, Lucy petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to vacate the order suspending the injunction. On October 10, 1955, in a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court reinstated the injunction to the extent it enjoined the university from denying admittance to Lucy and Myers. However, the Court did not reinstate that part of the order of injunction that enjoined the university from denying admittance to all African American applicants.

Motion to Hold Adams in Contempt of Court

Lucy attempted to register for classes after the Supreme Court’s order reinstating the injunction. However, the university denied Lucy enrollment. The university justified the denial on the basis that the last day to register for fall classes was October 6th. Lucy petitioned the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Alabama to find Adams in

contempt of court. The court initially ordered Adams to show cause why he should not be found in contempt of court. However, in an unpublished opinion, the district court found that Lucy was not denied registration for fall classes solely because of her race because the registration deadline applied to both African American and White students equally. Therefore, the district court did not find the university had done any act in violation of the injunction. Lucy’s petition to find the university in contempt of court was dismissed. Lucy appealed the district court’s dismissal of her petition to find the university in contempt of court.

Appellate Court Holdings

On December 30, 1955, The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal for the Fifth Circuit ruled on the university’s appeal from the injunction of July 1, 1955. The court as a whole affirmed the district court’s order enjoining the university from denying admission to Lucy, Myers, or any other minority.

On the same day, the circuit court also ruled on Lucy’s appeal challenging the district court’s finding the university had not violated the injunction by denying Lucy registration for fall classes and dismissed her petition to find the university in contempt of court. Once again the circuit court as a whole found that the evidence supported the district court’s finding that the university did not violate the injunction.

The University of Alabama sought to appeal the circuit court’s opinion affirming the injunction and petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari. However, on May 14, 1956, the Supreme Court denied the university’s petition for writ of certiorari ending the long-fought legal battle.

Aftermath of the Legal Battle

Lucy Enrolls

Following the U.S. Supreme Court 1955 decision, Lucy enrolled at the University of Alabama on February 3, 1956, becoming the first African American student to ever attend. The University of Alabama allowed Lucy to attend spring semester classes, but prohibited her from eating or living on the campus. Lucy’s daily commute was no small distance, as she was forced to travel from Birmingham to Tuscaloosa in Alabama. Hundreds

of observers, journalists, and reporters gathered at the university's Tuscaloosa campus to witness her enrollment.

In 3 short but hectic days of attendance, a mob had assembled on the school grounds to violently protest Lucy's admission and presence on the campus. The angry demonstrators staged an anti-desegregation rally that included burning a cross, chanting racial slurs, and throwing eggs, bricks, and rocks at her as she walked to class. Threats to Lucy's life were screamed aloud and repetitiously made by the violent mob. She was locked in a classroom for 3 hours to avoid aggressive contact with the mob. The unruly scene escalated to such a level that police were forced to escort her off school grounds. Adams and other university officials held a meeting to address the mayhem and voted to suspend Lucy from attending because of the apparent threat to her safety.

Retaliation

Lucy's attorneys, Marshall and Shores, sued the University of Alabama, seeking to have a court mandate the institution to reinstate her. The filed complaint contained allegations that the university had encouraged and aided the mob in pursuing their objective of disrupting Lucy's education by failing to properly provide for her protection and safeguard her well-being. The allegations, lacking any evidentiary or factual support, could not be upheld. As a result, Lucy's attorney amended this portion of the complaint.

Nonetheless, the court instructed the university to reinstate her. The university president and other school officials utilized the lawsuit and its conspiratorial allegations as grounds to permanently expel her. The university reasoned the suggestive and slander-like comments reflected poorly on Lucy's fitness as a student at their institution. The university maintained they acted lawfully when expelling her and filed a motion on November 6, 1956, to vacate the court order requiring the institution to show cause to not be held in contempt of court. The university also expelled Leonard Wilson, a student who was the leader responsible for the anti-desegregation forces on campus.

After all of the turmoil Lucy had endured and the failed prospect of the precedent on segregation

set forth in *Brown* being applied in her case, it turned out she would be hindered from attempting to complete her educational aspirations. She made the decision not to press the lawsuit any further. The volatile social-political climate following the days of her expulsion caused Marshall to become concerned for Lucy's safety. He invited her to stay with him at his home in New York City until the excited climate settled.

Impact of Expulsion

Although no longer attending school, Lucy immersed herself in the civil rights movement for a few months after being denied her opportunity to study at the University of Alabama, but over time her active participation faded. Lucy felt the negative consequences and real-life repercussions of her publicity as she tried to find a job as a teacher, but was repeatedly turned down. In 1971, 15 years later, she was finally hired as a teacher by the Alabama public school system. Three months after the expulsion, Lucy married Hugh Foster, whom she had met while attending Miles College during her undergraduate studies.

Paving the Way for Educational Equality

The University of Alabama did not accept a single African American student for 7 consecutive years in the aftermath of her expulsion. In 1963, James Hood and Vivian Malone were the first African American students accepted since 1956. Hood and Malone were able to benefit from Lucy's strife of paving the way for such progress. The two represented the university's first sustained enrollment of African American students. Elsewhere in the nation during this period of desegregation, the NAACP aided African American students who were determined and courageous enough to enroll in all-White schools.

Malone was the first African American student to graduate from the University of Alabama in 1965. She transferred from the University of Alabama A&M, a historically Black college and university (HBCU), to study accounting at the University of Alabama. Malone and Hood gained widespread national attention on June 11, 1963, when they were escorted by a detail including the federal marshals and the U.S. Deputy Attorney

General, Nicholas Katzenbach, as they walked to register for classes. Alabama Governor George Wallace attempted to block the entrance of the school auditorium to prevent Malone and other African American students from entering. The governor then issued his infamous speech standing in the schoolhouse door in which he declared segregation had thrived and would continue to do so. This resulted in a face-to-face encounter with the federal troopers.

The governor's stand was symbolic of the deeply rooted sentiment against racial desegregation and the scene was amplified on a national scale. The governor stood down, and Malone was allowed to enroll. She graduated with a bachelor's of arts in business management and joined the U.S. Department of Justice civil rights division. In 2000, the University of Alabama bestowed her with the accolade of a doctorate of humane letters.

Hood faced similar discrimination as Malone when he attended. His movements around campus were chaperoned by the National Guard. The main concern for university officials 10 years later was to avoid a repeat of what happened in Lucy's case by keeping any displays of violent protest to a minimum. Hood enrolled the same day as Malone, but left after merely 2 months. He would return in 1995 for doctoral studies that he successfully completed in 1997.

Decades Later

Two professors at the university invited Lucy to speak about her experiences 30 years prior. In April of 1988, following her emotional account of the tumultuous events surrounding her admission and brief attendance, the university's board of regents revoked her expulsion, and she rematriculated in the university's graduate program. Her daughter, Grazia, was simultaneously attending the university as an undergraduate at the time. Lucy graduated on the same day as her daughter in 1992, receiving her master's of arts degree in elementary education as her daughter received her degree in corporate finance.

In November 2002, Lucy returned to the University of Alabama to give a speech titled "Braving the Uncertain Future With Certainty," to commemorate the 46th anniversary of the

university's desegregation that began with her progressive spirit and bravery. Reflecting on her experiences, Lucy (now with the married name of Foster) said,

Vision, education, [and] determination form the hallmarks of maneuvering through an uncertain future. History is marked by countless endeavors that did not begin as planned. We will all contribute something to history. The question is, what will it be? (Hicks, 2003)

Lucy expressed that her interpretation of the word *fear* was to push forward and do something regardless of one's subjective feelings about it.

In October 2006, the University of Alabama's African American Alumni Network honored Lucy for her role in desegregating the school and allowing for the admission of African American students. The honorary ceremony was called a "Tribute to the Trailblazer." During the ceremony, students from each decade that had passed since her landmark admission expressed the inspirational appeal and life-altering impact her resiliency and determination had had on their lives. A portrait of Lucy proudly hangs in the university's Ferguson Center.

Lucy helped lay the foundation for the University of Alabama's minority record enrollment rate. In the 2005 fall semester, 2,465 African American students attended the university. The 2005 entering freshman class included more than 300 African American students, which increased from 265 in 2002—an increase of 43%. The University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa currently has 21,081 students in its the student body, of which African Americans make up 11.15%. The University of Alabama was the state's flagship university and the state's first public college, founded in 1831. The university has had an outreach program in place to bolster the admission of minority students.

Conclusion

Lucy's unwavering determination to receive an education comparable to that of any White student from an all-White graduate school, which was notorious for its flagrant racial beliefs and practices, set a precedent far greater than any

court could ever render. Microscopically, her individual objective was to receive her master's degree for the purpose of being equipped to battle the social obstacles entailed in being African American and female during this era. However, her daily strife gained a significance far greater than just a diploma. In the greater social, economic, and cultural context, Lucy's educational and legal endeavors marked the early stages of a movement toward educational equality. She would later serve as a reminder to all future African American students of the struggle to have the inalienable right to be equal and educated recognized. Her life is the embodiment of personal courage, determination in the face of grand adversity, and the difference one person can make in effectuating change to a long-standing doctrine of thought.

*Gian C. Ratnapala and
Armando Gustavo Hernandez*

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Marshall, Thurgood; Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada; NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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M

MAINSTREAMING

In education circles, the term *mainstreaming* became widely circulated through the implementation of Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. Although there are several definitions of *mainstreaming*, two aspects seem to remain constant throughout: normalization and least restrictive environment (LRE). Normalization means that children with disabilities should have school experiences as close as possible to those of nondisabled individuals. The LRE refers to the educational placement of children with disabilities. It answers the question, “Where will the students receive educational services?” The intent of Pub. L. 94-142 was that children with disabilities should be educated in a setting that was closest to normal and still meet the special needs of the individual. Therefore, one definition of *mainstreaming* is the practice of placing handicapped students in educational settings that best meet their needs and that best approximate the experience of nonhandicapped students. To highlight mainstreaming as the intended vehicle for equal educational opportunities, this entry considers how special populations were treated in the United States, reviewing the examination of the events that led up to the federal law supporting mainstreaming. It then examines issues of race and class in special education identification and placement.

Historical Treatment of Special Populations

In the United States during the early 19th century, debates emerged about how and where to serve special populations. Whether the social need was to deal with troubled youth in reformatories or criminal adults in penal institutions or treat those with physical and mental illness in asylums, a primary emphasis was always on the location or setting in which the services would be provided. Though general attitudes toward those with handicaps were intolerant, the type of exceptionality often brought about specific reactions.

Depending on the era and geographic location, disabled persons were viewed as subhuman, insane, possessed by demons, or involved in the occult. Many thought that changing the location of those groups from an urban to rural environment would be the best plan of action. In colonial times, social services for those in need were concentrated in public institutions, such as local jails and almshouses. By the early 1800s, voluntary groups and the federal government began to provide more specialized, public services for particular populations in social institutions. Social reformers began to categorize the social problems by name, such as criminality, juvenile delinquency, mental illness, deafness, blindness, and mental retardation (then termed “idiotcy”) and separate institutions were built.

Several decades after the initiation of this residential-institutional plan, disturbing evidence began to surface. By the latter part of the 19th

century, social reformers sought to scale down large social institutions and transfer their duties to smaller settings, such as community-based care. Eventually, environmental beliefs about human nature and the necessity of social institutions caring for the less privileged gave way to Social Darwinism and beliefs that some people are born good while others are born evil. The premise emerged that how we are and what we are able to do is wired into our intrinsic nature, and nothing can be done to change that. This thinking supported the warehousing of special populations to specific places where little happened to improve the lives of the poor and the disadvantaged.

The Evolution of Mainstreaming

Toward the end of the 19th century, the National Education Association formed a Department of Special Education. This new department spurred the growth of local community institutions and special classes that serviced handicapped populations during the first half of the 20th century. Before its formation, most facilities resembled the earlier isolated residential models. New policies of compulsory school attendance and teacher preparation programs that focused on handicapped populations were developed as the demand for this type of expertise grew. For three quarters of the 20th century, public school opportunities for those designated as retarded or assigned a special group label such as deaf or blind were primarily in categorical, self-contained classes. Many of these classes closed due to their inability to meet the students' needs.

The condition of returning World War II and Korean War veterans indirectly led to the expansion of both the number and quality of services for children with disabilities. Public attitudes became more sensitive to the plight of the military veterans who returned home with visible physical as well as psychological disabilities. Rehabilitation programs became available, along with a spurt of research that addressed the needs of these "special" populations. Eventually, public schools and children with disabilities became the beneficiaries of this research and public opinion shifted.

Between 1945 and 1970, the number of students receiving public school exceptional children's

services increased by about 700%. In the 1950s, the departments of special education gained momentum in public schools, colleges, and universities. During this period, parents of children with disabilities formed interest groups that increased their lobbying power. Toward the end of the 1960s, special education programs began to flourish, with learning disabilities becoming both a catchall term for those students who did not fit into the other established categories and an additional category requiring special services or methods.

The mainstream movement came into being due to a variety of historical and political forces. Wars, litigation, legislation, economic landscape, and scientific advances led to public policies that championed the equal educational rights of all handicapped children. Perhaps, the movement that contributed most profoundly to this changed sentiment toward individuals with disabilities was the civil rights movement and the landmark school desegregation case, *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, in 1954. These litigations for civil and human rights paved the way for U.S. citizens to recognize and appreciate the isolation and neglect that certain segments of the U.S. population had experienced historically and were facing on a daily basis.

In 1975, Congress passed Pub. L. 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. It was amended in 1990 by Pub. L. 101-476 and became the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), as amended in 1997 by Pub. L. 105-17. The IDEA was again amended in 2004, by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004. It has been the hope of many that, through the federal laws that have their roots in Pub. L. 94-142, all students, but especially students with disabilities, would be guaranteed educational equity and deliverance from chronic exclusion. IDEA made provisions for extending to millions of children federal tax dollars for an appropriate public school education. First, the movement was called "mainstreaming," and later it became known as "inclusion." The concept of inclusion attempts to distinguish itself from mainstreaming by emphasizing that the LRE is not a place, but an attitude or belief system. Inclusive education moves toward the idea of creating learning communities whereby a constellation of services becomes available to students. For inclusion

to work, all involved must commit to the education of each student, regardless of his or her special needs. Unfortunately, there were unintended negative consequences of IDEA (Pub. L. 105–17). One was the redirection of financial resources from general to special education and the overrepresentation of students from underrepresented groups, primarily African American students, identified as having special needs.

Issues of Race and Class in Identification and Placement

According to the 26th Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of IDEA, African American students are about 3 times more likely than other students to be identified as mentally retarded, and more than twice as likely to be identified as emotionally disturbed. Poverty is a critical variable that influences the occurrence of disabilities. Poverty rates among African American children are more than twice those of their White counterparts. Poverty has been associated with factors such as increased childhood exposure to lead, increased prenatal exposure to toxins such as tobacco and alcohol, lack of prenatal care, and poor nutrition. These factors have been associated with increased disability rates. However, once socioeconomic differences are accounted for, disproportionality still remains significant. Beyond the effects of poverty, other variables, including educator and assessment bias, also are believed to be contributing factors to the overrepresentation of African Americans in special education.

There are no other racial or ethnic groups for whom disproportionate representation was shown to be as severe. The 26th Annual Report to Congress also included data based on the educational environments in which students with disabilities are served. These data reveal another interesting trend. Hispanic and African American students tend to receive services in special education placements that separate them from their nondisabled peers more often than is the case for other groups. For example, more than 52% of White students served under IDEA spend 80% or more of their school day in general education settings. Native American and Asian students also were close to this figure. Approximately 45% of

Hispanic students spend 80% or more of their school day in general education settings. However, only about 37% of African American students with disabilities were in general education settings for 80% or more of the school day.

Michele Jean Sims and Deborah L. Voltz

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Learning Disabilities; Special Education

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MALCOLM X ACADEMY (DETROIT, MICHIGAN)

The Malcolm X Academy in Detroit, Michigan, which admitted its first students in September 1991, was established in response to problems relating to the education of African American males in Detroit. Some of those problems included the high dropout, suspension, and expulsion rates and numerous acts of violence among African American males. Despite considerable controversy, and opposition to the school from both the National Organization for Women (NOW) and residents of the neighborhood at its site, the Malcolm X Academy has been successful in educating African American males. In 1992, the students at the Malcolm X Academy scored at or above the national mean on the California Achievement Test. The academy also had higher student attendance than comparable schools and the Detroit public schools. The Detroit Malcolm X academy has served as a model for the reeducation of African American males. This entry looks at the story of its beginnings.

Addressing a Problem

A community meeting served as the springboard for the Detroit Malcolm X Academy. It was called on a Saturday morning with below-freezing temperatures, and the organizers expected a small turnout. When the doors opened, organizers were surprised to find 500 people who were concerned with the plight of African American males in Detroit public schools. The theme of the meeting, "Improving Self Concept for At-Risk Black Students, with an Emphasis on Saving the Black Male," reflected the concerns of its participants.

The outpouring of community support led the Detroit public school system to form the Male Academy Task Force, which was guided by the work of Dr. Clifford Watson, who was familiar with academic programs for African American males. The board requested that the task force submit a proposal with implementation strategies for the male academy.

While some felt that naming the school after Malcolm X was a bit too radical, supporters of the name insisted that Malcolm X's life history could serve as an inspiration to African American males who had problems similar to those of Malcolm X. They argued that Malcolm had been involved in a life of crime, had dropped out of school at the eighth grade, and was imprisoned, but in spite of the negative circumstances that surrounded his life, he was able to become one of the greatest leaders in U.S. history.

In an effort to set up an academy that would truly be transformative, those drafting its curriculum started with the essential teaching of Malcolm X's teacher, Elijah Muhammad. Elijah Muhammad had espoused that one of the main handicaps facing African Americans was the lack of knowledge of self. This lack of self-knowledge was debilitating to African Americans in their efforts to truly become free. Muhammad had further espoused that a properly educated people would result in them being courteous, spiritual, and well mannered. This type of education would form the basis for producing a great civilization.

The knowledge of self stimulated the mind of Malcolm X, who as a student of Elijah Muhammad began to study and trace the historical points revealed by his teacher. Malcolm's studiousness was transformative, propelling him to become a

positive image for change, and proponents hoped that the academy could do the same thing for African American males in Detroit. As a result, it was decided that the proposed curriculum at Malcolm X academy would be African centered.

The initial controversy around naming the school Malcolm X was eased as a result of vocal outcry by the community. The community vehemently argued that the name Malcolm X would personify the school's mission of being transformative and life changing for African American males.

Opposition

The proposal for a male academy met with strong opposition from the National Organization for Women, which argued that the academy would result in segregation similar to what existed prior to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, case. They (NOW) insisted that a male academy was discriminatory. The issue was brought before Judge George E. Woods, who ruled in favor of NOW, deciding that having a males-only academy would amount to sexual discrimination. The Detroit public schools, in an effort to reach a compromise with the judge, decided to open the school to any student desirous of attending.

The first classes were held on the first floor of Woodward Elementary School, but the number of students requesting admittance soon outstripped the available space there. The Detroit public schools decided to move the school to an unused facility in the Warrendale community, which was a predominantly White community at the time. Its residents were angered that the academy would be placed there and argued that students might bring weapons to school or perhaps burglarize homes in the area.

In addition, Warrendale residents demanded that the school have metal detectors. When the school opened, law enforcement agencies were on heavy patrol in the event that some community residents might commit acts of violence. The school day ended without any major disturbances until the bus ride home, when some White males attacked the buses with eggs.

The Malcolm X Academy has withstood the controversy that surrounded its beginnings. It continues to operate—now with male and female students. As of 2007, the Malcolm X Academy in

Detroit (there are others, including those in San Francisco, California, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin) has consistently had around 500 students, with more than half of those male.

Abul Pitre

See also Academic Achievement; African-Centered Education; Black Male Academies; *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Dropouts; W. Deen Mohammed High School (Atlanta, Georgia)

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MARSHALL, THURGOOD (1908–1993)

Throughout his life, Thurgood Marshall was intimately and passionately involved with issues pertaining to equal rights for all men and women, regardless of race, ethnicity, or creed. Marshall's activism extended from his time at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (1932–1961) through his time as the first African American U.S. solicitor general (1965–1967). It can also be seen in the opinions and dissensions he issued on the country's highest court (1967–1991). His NAACP tenure was a pivotal time for the organization, when overturning racial segregation and investigating race riots were two of its primary mandates. As lead counsel, Marshall was involved not only in the litigation of discrimination and segregation cases but also with the investigation and cases associated with race riots. He is perhaps best remembered for his historic appointment as the first African American U.S. Supreme Court Justice and as attorney in the 1954 high court case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Topeka, Kansas*, which led to desegregated education.

Marshall's most direct and lasting contributions to the advancement of his race came in the years before the civil rights movement. As an activist and lawyer for the NAACP, Marshall laid

the groundwork for the movement and the attainment of civil rights for African Americans. As a direct result of efforts by Marshall and other civil rights leaders to uplift the race by overturning their subordinate legal status, African Americans have earned political influence and arguably a stronger sense of community. This entry looks at Marshall's life, his work with the NAACP, and his time on the Supreme Court.

Early Years

Marshall was born Thoroughgood Marshall (a name he shortened legally while in second grade) to Norma and William Marshall. He graduated from two historically Black universities, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania) in 1930 with a bachelor's degree and Howard University School of Law in 1933. Marshall attended Howard only after being denied admission, based on his race, to the University of Maryland Law School.

Early in his career, Marshall began to work on his first segregation case, *Murray v. Pearson* (1935), to open admission at the University of Maryland Law School to African Americans—the same institution that had denied him admittance only a few years earlier. The gains made by the *Murray* decision were small, for it opened only the law school; other graduate programs would be sued in the following decade. However, *Murray* was a significant step toward the larger educational accomplishments of Marshall and the NAACP. While most of his cases dealt with educational equality, the future Justice also fought for African Americans' right to vote in Texas primaries (*Smith v. Allwright*, 1944), the right to rent or buy any place of residence (*Shelley v. Kraemer*, 1948), and for equality of pay (*Alston et al. v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 1940).

Race Riots

As race riots were breaking out across the country, Marshall often found himself arriving at the center of the disturbance within hours of its beginning in order to help the African American community. He saw this portion of his job at the NAACP as publicizing the inequalities between African Americans and Whites and the role that police forces played in the violent uprisings. Three

of the best-known race riots in which Marshall represented the NAACP were in Detroit, Harlem, and Columbia, Tennessee.

The exact cause of the 1943 Detroit race riots is not known. There are both African American and White accounts as to why the violence began. Marshall found himself (along with Walter White, the NAACP executive secretary) responding to the official riot report that was submitted to the governor of Michigan by, among others, then-Detroit Police Commissioner John H. Witherspoon. The committee found that it was solely actions of the African American community that incited the riot. Marshall's rebuttal indicated that social inequalities in the long term and other violence and rumors in the short term were the reason for the escalation of violence. Marshall was critical of the police's role, or lack thereof, in the ending of the riot.

Marshall did advocate for use of "persuasion" as long as it was more evenly applied. For instance, he praised the actions of the New York City Police Department when he arrived at the Harlem race riots. Marshall and his team went in with loudspeakers and persuaded the people to remain calm and cool down.

While Marshall praised police work in New York City, he believed that the police in Columbia, Tennessee, planned to lynch him while he worked on his investigation into the race riot in that town. In 1946, at the conclusion of World War II, relations between African American veterans and Whites were tense. As a result, in Columbia, Tennessee, a riot led by White civilians and law enforcement officers destroyed the African American commercial district. More than 100 African American men were arrested, resulting in 27 being charged with rioting and attempted murder.

Marshall was the lead defense attorney. Fearing for their lives while in Columbia, Marshall and the other lawyers stayed in Nashville, nearly 75 miles away. Despite the circumstances, Marshall, along with Howard University law professor Leon Ransom, received acquittals for all but one of the defendants by an all-White jury.

The Fight Against Segregation

Beyond investigating race riots, Marshall challenged segregation in case after case for the NAACP. During the next two decades leading up

to *Brown*, which overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s (1896) separate-but-equal doctrine, Marshall's cases challenged the foundation of U.S. law itself. His goal was not merely to remind the nation to adhere to the Fourteenth Amendment—equal protection—but to demonstrate that the rules that he fought to overturn were themselves wrong.

Two such cases were *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950). Marshall argued both *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* in front of the Supreme Court. In *Sweatt*, like *Murray*, Marshall was arguing on behalf of an African American man who was denied admission to law school based on his race. The high court unanimously ruled that the University of Texas Law School must admit Sweatt to the school because the law school that Texas was creating for African Americans had quantitative differences in facilities, faculty, and library volumes. Additionally, for the first time the court held that intangibles, such as isolation from interaction with future lawyers, must be considered in "substantive equality."

The Supreme Court ruled in *McLaurin* that a university could not place restrictions on a student that would deny him or her the ability to interact with other students because of race. Prior to the Supreme Court ruling, the University of Oklahoma first admitted McLaurin to a graduate program under a U.S. district court order; however, the regents forced the newly admitted student to use a special row in his classes, a designated table in the lunch room, and a separate area in the library to study.

The Brown Case

In 1954, Marshall argued *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, in front of the U.S. Supreme Court. The *Brown* case encompassed five school segregation cases in Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware, Kansas, and Washington, D.C. After 17 years of success in opening postsecondary and graduate education through a series of court cases, Marshall, the Legal Defense Fund, and the NAACP were ready to take on educational segregation on a primary school level. Separate was clearly unequal. This inequality was apparent in Clarendon County, South Carolina; for example, per capita spending for White students was \$179 compared to spending

on African American students of \$43, and the student-to-teacher ratio in the White schools was 28:1, while in the African American school system it was nearly double, 47:1.

Topeka, Kansas, was different. The facilities were equal. Marshall's argument in *Brown* went further than the need for equal facilities; otherwise the Court could uphold *Plessy* and again rule that school segregation was permissible as long as facilities were equal. Marshall wanted educational integration. He focused on testimony presented by experts about the terrible effects of state-sponsored segregation upon African American children. The case was not easily won; it was nearly a year and a half after the Court began hearing the case that Chief Justice Earl Warren read the Court's unanimous decision: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The Supreme Court extended the *Brown* decision beyond education by expanding the principle to desegregate other public facilities. Through a series of signed and per curiam opinions, the Court ordered equal access to public parking lots, restaurants, cemeteries, hospitals, parks, golf courses, buses, beaches, and amphitheaters.

Marshall realized the impact of the *Brown* decision. He believed that *Brown* "probably did more than anything else to awaken the Negro from his apathy to demanding his right to equality" (Williams, 1990). The 1954 decision can be seen as part of the foundation for the civil rights movement; however, Marshall did not think *Brown* alone made the movement.

On the Supreme Court

Marshall's work in his early career, on behalf of the African American community during these race riots, was a precursor of a life committed to advancing the race. As the NAACP's lead attorney, Marshall appealed, advocated, and convinced the U.S. Supreme Court to reform constitutional law in order to treat all U.S. citizens equally, regardless of race. By the time Marshall joined the bench of the Supreme Court, he had argued 32 cases, mostly in the name of racial desegregation and other civil rights causes, before that body and won 29 of them. As a Supreme Court Justice, Marshall continued to further people's rights through rulings such as extending "double jeopardy" to

state prosecutions in *United States ex rel George Hetenyi v. Wilkins* (1966), giving women the right to choose and the right to privacy in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and extending defendant's rights through *Gideon v. Wainwright* and *Miranda v. Arizona* (1964). Toward the end of Marshall's time on the bench, he became known as the "great dissenter" within a conservative court, continuing to advocate for African Americans and for the poor through his dissenting opinions.

Perhaps the most famous education case to reach the U.S. Supreme Court, while Marshall was an Associate Justice, was *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978). In the case, Allan Bakke, a White applicant, contended that the University of California–Davis Medical School violated his rights under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the California Constitution, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by using quotas and a different admissions process for minority applicants. Bakke was rejected by the school 2 years in a row, although minority applicants who were accepted had significantly lower GPAs and entrance exam scores. Regarded as a landmark case on affirmative action, the Court in a narrow, 5 to 4 ruling found that the use of race in the admission of minority applicants for college and graduate school was constitutional; however, quota systems were unconstitutional.

Marshall stepped down as Associate Justice on June 28, 1991, after serving 24 years. He was succeeded by Clarence Thomas, the second African American justice. Justice Marshall died on January 24, 1993, of heart failure. His personal papers and notes are housed at the Library of Congress.

Noah D. Drezner

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*; Thurgood Marshall Scholarship College Fund

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MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN V. ANN ARBOR SCHOOL DISTRICT

Martin Luther King Jr. Elementary School Children et al. v. Ann Arbor School District (1979) involved a lawsuit brought on behalf of several African American students at the school who at home and

in their communities spoke a dialect referred to as “Black English.” It asserted that the school district and the teachers in the school were not taking this language background into account in their instruction in the school, in violation of the Equal Opportunity Education Act of 1974 (Section 1703(f) of Title 20, U.S. Code). The question was whether the Ebonics, Black English, Black vernacular, and Black dialect that African American children spoke at their homes and in their communities impeded their equal participation in the instruction programs of the school and whether the school had taken appropriate action to overcome this barrier. In a ruling issued on July 12, 1979, a U.S. district court required that the school identify children who spoke Black English and implement a plan to provide these students with more effective instruction in reading standard English.

This statute mandating equal educational opportunity was in effect the codification of *Lau v. Nichols*, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974, regarding school districts’ responsibilities toward limited-English-proficient children. In the *King* case, the court concluded that “Black English” had been shown “to be a distinct, definable version of English, different from standard English of the school and the general world of communications. It has definite language patterns, syntax, grammar, and history.” The court went on to observe the following:

“Black English” is not a language used by the mainstream of society—black or white. It is not an acceptable method of communication in the educational world, in the commercial community, in the community of the arts and science, or among professionals. It is largely a system that is used in casual and informal communication among the poor and lesser educated.

This entry reviews the legal context of the *King v. Ann Arbor* case, the Court’s finding, and the relevance of the decision to the quality of education for African American children in the United States today.

Legal Background

The pertinent statutory language of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (enacted 1974) involved in the *King* case read as follows:

No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex or national origin, by...the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs.

While this legislation was enacted by Congress, the act itself was predicated on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

When President Richard M. Nixon urged enactment of the law that became Section 1703, he indicated that the statute should set “standards for all school districts throughout the Nation, as the basic requirements for carrying out, in the field of public education, the Constitutional guarantee that each person shall have equal protection of the laws” (118 Cong. Rec. 8931 [1972]). This effort went far beyond requiring standards of equal education for formerly segregated dual systems of education. It was intended to embrace all school systems under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the authority granted in that amendment to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of the amendment.

The Court’s Decision

In his Memorandum Opinion and Order, Judge Charles W. Joiner emphasized the importance of developing children’s communication skills in standard English—“the language used by society”—so that they can participate fully in the activities of that society, including politics, business, science, the arts, and culture. Given the importance of communication in each child’s development, Joiner held that “a major goal of a school system is to teach reading, writing, speaking and understanding standard English.”

Judge Joiner further noted that the lawsuit represented an “a cry for judicial help in opening the doors to the establishment.” As he put it:

The plaintiffs have attempted to put before this court one of the most important and pervasive problems facing modern urban America—the problem of why “Johnnie Can’t Read” when

Johnnie is black and comes from a scatter low-income housing unit, set down in an upper middle class area of one of America’s most liberal and forward-looking cities.

The plaintiffs’ counsel described the case as an attempt to keep another generation from becoming functionally illiterate.

In *King*, the court concluded that the inability to read at grade level because of the exposure to, and immersion in, Black English or vernacular outside the school impedes children’s equal participation in the education program of the school. The school board’s failure to take appropriate action to address this barrier constituted a denial of equal educational opportunity on account of race, and thus the board had a duty to take appropriate action to overcome the language barrier. What is “appropriate action”? Judge Joiner concluded that “the courts are not the place to test the validity of educational programs and pedagogical methods.” Designing a program of education to meet the standard of “appropriate action” was the responsibility not of judges but of educators, linguists, and psychologists. Nevertheless, his opinion did provide some guidance:

School Boards and Teachers may not act blindly, callously and thoughtlessly, without care. They must have as their goal the congressional requirement, the elimination of existing language barriers, and the steps that they take must be rational and logical in light of the situation confronting them and the knowledge reasonably available to them.

Judge Joiner suggested that the defendant school board should provide leadership and help for its teachers in learning about the existence of “Black English” as a home and community language of many African American students and in finding ways and means of using that knowledge in teaching the African American children what he called “code switching skills in connection with reading standard English.”

Implications of *King v. Ann Arbor*

The issue of communication skills in standard English is of equal, if not greater, concern today,

given the high dropout rates of African American and Latino youth from schools in inner cities, where a majority of the school's students are African American and/or Latino poor youth. Several core concepts and principles of *King v. Ann Arbor* are highly relevant in the U.S. educational system of 2009.

First, today's educators are aware that black English, vernacular, or dialect is used in African American homes and racially segregated communities, where there are high rates of illiteracy and many may have limited contact and interaction with people of diverse backgrounds. African American language emerged during the period of their enslavement and continued through the Jim Crow era. Even after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, segregation has continued, in part as a result of continued poverty, diminished job opportunities, and segregated housing patterns. An underground economy that often involves criminal activity is related to a high incarceration rate for African American males. Illiteracy becomes a vital issue among young African American men when they sign statements they may not understand or be able to read later in court.

Although teachers may be unaware of what they are conveying to students, a negative attitude toward the home language of a child may cause the child to feel inferior and create a psychological barrier to learning. The student feels rejected and criticized and "turned off" to the learning process. This lowering of self-esteem causes the child to think, "Why bother? This teacher does not care about me. She feels she is wasting her time with me." As a result, as Judge Joiner recognized in his opinion, the child may withdraw, act out of frustration, and not even try to learn to read.

Another concern is the lack of parental or other home support for developing reading skills in standard English, including the absence of persons in the home who enjoy reading and benefit from it. Television may provide the passive entertainment and "babysitting" function for the child, and programs may not promote reading and comprehension of standard English. Lacking home support for developing reading skills in standard English, the child may just drift through school until reaching the eighth or ninth grade and then decide to drop out and never finish high school.

Involvement from either parents or members of the extended family who may be raising the child is crucial in broadening reading skills and comprehension of school activities. Inadequate time spent with children is detrimental to their progress. All of these challenges of poverty, lack of economic resources, and social concerns may provide a fertile environment for the continued use of the Black vernacular and dialect in the home and contribute to the absence of support for children in learning to employ standard English in their communications with others in school and in the world at large.

Linguistic experts have shown that children experience difficulty in hearing and making certain sounds used discriminatively in standard English when they are not exposed to these discriminative sounds in everyday lives at home and in their communities. Students may view input from teachers in this regard as criticism of their vernacular or speech style, suggesting that they are inferior. They may rebel against being forced to conform to the speaking style of standard English.

Placed in the context of today's schools, the *King v. Ann Arbor* ruling suggests that school-teachers convey a culturally sensitive approach to African American children and inspire them to want to expand their use of the English language. In addition to conveying an appreciative and caring and attitude toward language used in children's home environments, it is constructive for teachers to avoid criticizing or disciplining students for use of the Black vernacular or dialect. Rather, it is important that teachers encourage the efforts of children, of all backgrounds, to increase their proficiency in standard English, and reward them for achievements and accomplishments in this respect. Such an approach may reduce the number of children who perform below grade level and help them meet the standards implemented under the federal No Child Left Behind (2001) legislation.

Further, it is the responsibility of teachers to help children to appreciate the importance of proficiency in standard English in the development of literacy, mathematical, and technological skills needed for participation in the competitive world of the 21st century.

Arthur L. Burnett

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Jim Crow

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MATHEMATICS EDUCATION

Today, mathematics is the “gatekeeper” to students’ success in high school and beyond. Subjects like biology, psychology, government, and history require students to be competent in their mathematics abilities. All students need to be proficient in mathematics and to enroll in advanced mathematics courses to gain entry into college and many careers. Unfortunately, there are significant gaps in mathematics performance and participation among African American students and other racial groups. Standardized achievement tests and course-taking patterns are indicators of students’ progress in mathematics. Results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) suggest that while African American students are improving, they continue to score below the national norm on mathematics achievement tests. Moreover, White and Asian American students continue to outperform African American students, resulting in a persistent achievement gap. This entry examines the current status of African American students in mathematics, factors that contribute to their participation in mathematics, and strategies to maximize their mathematics learning and achievement.

Participation in Mathematics Education

Studies have shown that students who complete Algebra II experience more success in college and earn more. Similar reports suggest students

who take advanced mathematics courses, such as calculus, score higher on standardized tests. However, African American students are not enrolling in advanced high school mathematics classes at the same rate as their White and Asian American peers. In 2005, the NAEP reported that 5.5% of African American students took calculus in high school, compared to 15.3% and 29.8% of White and Asian American students, respectively.

Several factors contribute to the participation and achievement of African American students in mathematics education, including teacher competence, cultural incongruence between African American students and their teachers, and tracking students into low-level mathematics courses. Research suggests that teachers with strong mathematics backgrounds generally produce higher student achievement. The current shortage of mathematically proficient teachers is most problematic for African American students in high-poverty schools with underrepresented populations. In a 2006 report published by the Education Trust, nearly half of the high school teachers and more than 70% of middle school teachers in these schools lacked a minor in mathematics or a math-related field.

Cultural incongruence also contributes to the achievement of African American students. Students enter school with cultural and cognitive orientations. Research suggests that classrooms that value and incorporate students’ culture have a positive impact on student achievement and their willingness to learn. When teachers do not understand and value African American students’ cultures, this leads to disengagement and underachievement.

Tracking students into low-level mathematics courses has a negative effect on their achievement. African American students are disproportionately placed in low-level mathematics courses that teach more drill and practice, focus on basic computational skills, and expose students to less sophisticated mathematics. In contrast, White and Asian American students are more often placed in high-level mathematics classrooms where problem solving, analytical thinking, and college preparatory activities are emphasized. These placements can begin as early as elementary school and tend to follow students throughout their schooling careers. Teacher competence, cultural incongruence, and tracking exacerbate the achievement gaps in mathematics.

Strategies for Change

Several strategies—reforming mathematics curriculum and teaching, encouraging more culturally relevant teaching, and preparing future educators—are being implemented to improve the mathematics education of African American students. Leading the reform efforts, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) recommends that all students have opportunities to learn meaningful mathematics, have access to a coherent, challenging mathematics curriculum, and be taught by competent and well-supported teachers. An affiliate of NCTM, the Benjamin Banneker Association, aims to improve the education and development of African American children by making the vision of reform a reality in all schools.

Culturally relevant teaching or culturally responsive pedagogy is an approach that has shown promise in improving the education of African American students. This pedagogy empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge and skills. It encourages teachers to value and build upon the knowledge that students bring the school.

Teacher education programs are also taking steps to better prepare teachers for culturally diverse schools. Some programs are reassessing admissions procedures (that is, selecting more prospective teachers from underrepresented groups or students possessing certain experiences, knowledge and dispositions), incorporating cross-cultural immersion experiences, and restructuring methods courses. Other programs help White preservice teachers develop awareness, insights, and skills to effectively teach in multicultural settings and strive to recruit and retain African American teacher education scholars.

African American students have made great strides in mathematics education but still have a long way to go. Modifications in school policies and practices are needed for African American students to reach their true potential. Further research is needed in the areas of curriculum, assessment, tracking, and culturally relevant teaching to inform the current reform efforts.

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and Kanita Kimmons-Ducloux*

See also Academic Achievement; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Culture-Based Education

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MAYS, BENJAMIN E. (1894–1984)

Benjamin Elijah Mays was the consummate Renaissance man, in that he was proficient as an educator, scholar, preacher, philosopher, and advocate for social change. The longtime president of Morehouse College was born in 1894, two years before the historic *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, which established the concept of “separate but equal.”

Mays tirelessly worked to raise himself and his fellow citizens from a life of discrimination perpetuated by a White majority that embraced a concept of freedom that included only people who emanated from Western Europe. He believed that he had been placed on Earth to provide guidance and leadership for descendants of Africa who had been brought to this country as enslaved people to build it for free. Mays set a high standard for himself and expected others who came into his orbit to accept the same challenge for themselves.

Mays was a tall and distinguished man who always carried himself with class, grace, and dignity. He had such presence that people would change their behavior if they heard that he was approaching. It seemed that Mays was conscious that others, especially young African American men, were watching his actions; accordingly, he was always on stage. He received the prestigious Spingarn Medal and some 45 honorary doctorate degrees. The Spingarn Medal was created by and named after NAACP president Joel Elias Spingarn to annually honor African Americans whose acts represent distinguished achievement.

Professional Career

No one could have forecast that Mays would rise from his humble beginnings to become an internationally known educator, theologian, and philosopher of the movement to gain civil and human rights for African Americans during the latter half of the 20th century.

Mays attended South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and later received his BA degree from Bates College, in Maine, where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa with honors. He received his master's and PhD degrees from the University of Chicago. Dr. Mays held many important positions during his professional career, including stints with the YMCA and the National Urban League and as dean of the Howard University School of Religion in Washington, D.C. He also served as president of the Atlanta School Board.

However, his most important position was that of president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. He held this position for 27 years and was the "trainer of trainers" for aspiring young African American men during his tenure. His most famous student, of course, was Martin Luther

King Jr. Moreover, there were innumerable others who came under the influence of Mays while matriculating at Morehouse.

During Mays's tenure at Morehouse, his philosophy and leadership skills influenced thousands of young men who left the college with a mission not only to do well for themselves but also to make a contribution to uplifting the downtrodden African American. His philosophy was akin to that of W. E. B. Du Bois, who was a friend and comrade in the struggle for equal justice. Mays believed that men who graduated from Morehouse had a unique responsibility to provide leadership to the rest of the world and demonstrate that an African American man could perform any job as well as any White man. He once said, "Many of you will be physicians; others will acquire a PhD. Some will be educators, but if fate intervenes, and you become a ditch digger, then be the very best ditch digger that there has ever been. Do your job so well while here on Earth that only God almighty could do it better."

Morehouse Men

While Dr. Mays was at Morehouse, chapel was a daily requirement. He used the chapel as a forum for many prominent people to come and discuss contemporary issues of the day. On Tuesday mornings when he was in Atlanta, he spoke to the student body, and most of his messages were devoted to "brainwashing" the young and impressionable students. He often related that the story of freedom and democracy was incomplete, and that it was the responsibility of Morehouse Men to devote themselves to expanding the umbrella of freedom to include people from the continent of Africa. It is hard to measure the impact of these messages; however, he imbued in the Men of Morehouse that there was no job on Earth that a Morehouse man could not perform. And if you want a job well done, then get a Morehouse man to do it.

Armed with this philosophy, thousands of young men spread out throughout the world and carried this message forward. In many communities, they were known as "Morehouse Men." This designation meant something, and untold numbers of parents throughout the United States and many parts of Africa would send their bright young boys to Morehouse so that they could come under the

influence of the “Black Moses” named Benjamin Elijah Mays.

Another admonition that Mays exhorted to his students was never to “sacrifice a principle for peace.” Segregation was morally wrong and repugnant in the sight of God. Therefore, Morehouse Men must prepare themselves to meet this challenge. He added that a man should not pay for the privilege to be segregated. In other words, if you must engage in activities that perpetuate segregation, then do so only if you have no choice. Never, ever voluntarily pay for segregation. “If the buses are segregated, then walk. If the restaurant is segregated, then do not eat,” Mays exhorted. Dr. Mays practiced what he preached, and often walked to an appointment rather than ride the segregated buses of Atlanta, Georgia. These sermons at Morehouse, and throughout the world, made Mays a civil and human rights philosopher and catalyst for confrontation with White racism in the United States.

Writing Career

Benjamin Elijah Mays was the author or coauthor of several books, including *The Negro’s Church*, a sociological study of 609 urban churches in 12 northern and southern cities and 185 rural churches in four southern counties; and *The Negro’s God as Reflected in His Literature*. In his highly acclaimed autobiography, *Born to Rebel*, he used empirical data to contextualize his quest to be looked upon first as a human being and to trace his life journey through various venues throughout the world. A second autobiography is titled *Lord, the People Have Driven Me On*.

In addition to dozens of scholarly articles on racial, educational, and religious issues, Mays also wrote a weekly column in the *Pittsburg Courier* titled “My View,” which he used to reach a national audience. Using this medium, he was able to carry on a conversation regarding his rationale for educational advancement and equality for African Americans. Moreover, he was able to expound on his intense distaste for the duality of Whites who preached liberty, justice, and freedom for all yet enslaved and segregated millions of Africans in order to buttress their quest for global economic and political domination of the world.

Lonnie King Jr. and Joyce E. King

See also Desegregation; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Howard University; Morehouse College; National Urban League; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA)

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McDANIEL V. BARRESI

McDaniel v. Barresi (1971) was a challenge to a school board plan in Clarke County, Georgia, where African American students were reassigned to schools away from their neighborhood to achieve greater racial balance. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it was constitutional for school officials to consider race when assigning elementary school children to specified schools, with the goal of implementing a desegregation order.

In 1877, the State of Georgia’s Constitution stated that separate but equal schools shall be provided for “white and colored children.” The clause was again restated in the State Constitution of 1945. As in every state with separate school systems, the funding over the years was anything but equal. Rather, in the dual system, everything—textbooks, facilities, and teacher’s salaries—was unequal. The African American school system received the least. In *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, the U.S. Supreme Court intended to end this disparity and unify the school system. The *Brown* case was decided in 1954; however, not

until the U.S. Supreme Court heard the case of *McDaniel v. Barresi* was integration achieved.

The first school in Clarke County to desegregate was the University of Georgia. In 1961, a federal court ordered the admission of two African American students to the university. This event had no impact on the public schools. In 1963, led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Clarke County Board of Education approved the enrollment of five African American girls at previously all-White schools.

A freedom of choice plan had been instituted in 1959 to allow parents to choose any school in their districts; however, these five students were the first students to desegregate the public schools. The move was prompted by the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which changed the way the government enforced the *Brown* decision. The act directly tied federal school funds to a school system's progress on desegregation. It imposed an affirmative duty on the Clarke County Board of Education to dismantle its dual system of public schools. Before the passing of this act, the only relief available to African Americans was through the courts. Now, before receiving federal funds to operate, the plans for desegregation had to be approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

In 1968, Clarke County was still using the "freedom of choice" plan. Eight-hundred African American students had enrolled in previously all-White schools. Not only did this bring overcrowding in the school system, but five of the system's schools were either all African American or all White. This was not acceptable to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The desegregation plan for the 1968–1969 school year was desegregation based on geographical location. The school board required students in the suburban areas to attend designated schools, while the inner city would have freedom of choice. The freedom of choice plan was applied to the junior high schools and the two senior high schools. This in essence left Athens High School desegregated and Burney-Harris High School all African American.

In 1969, the Clarke County School Board completed a redistricting plan in which no school would have its enrollment restricted to one race.

The geographical districting plan (plan A) would have as many elementary school students walking to school as possible. The two high schools were divided so that each school's racial breakdown was 50% African American and 50% White. Plan A was taken to Washington, D.C., for the Health, Education and Welfare Department's approval on May 1, 1969. On July 2, 1969, after some indecision, the department rejected plan A and submitted a second plan (plan B). This plan B called for the elementary schools to be reorganized. Schools were separated by grades, and every school would have 20% to 40% African American students. There would be no majority African American schools. The elementary schools' reorganization required departure from traditional elementary school grade ranges of Grades 1 to 6. Under the reorganization plan, some schools would house Grades 1–4 and some schools would house students in Grades 5–6.

The school board, after a heated session, voted to reject HEW's plan B and to stick with plan A with some modifications. The biggest concession was the busing of both African American and White students. The compromise plan used a feature called pocket busing. Pocket busing involved, in this case, busing or having African American students walk to White schools and in a reverse process, busing or having White student replacements walk from those same schools to the African American schools those African Americans left. As a consequence, the geographical areas where these students resided bore the brunt of the burden for the compromise plan because a double disruption occurred in each neighborhood: local students bused out and other race replacements bused in.

On August 13, 1969, the school board met to reconsider the compromise plan. Parents, both African American and White, obtained attorneys to petition the board to reconsider the compromise plan. The parents were not pleased with the plan, which required their children to be bused longer distances to school, bypassing neighborhood schools. The parents also argued that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not require busing to achieve integration. Despite the parents' concern, the school board voted to keep the compromise plan.

A group of both African American and White parents filed a petition in the Clarke County

Superior Court for injunctive relief. If granted, the injunction would stop the board from implementing the compromise plan. The superior court ruled that the board had an affirmative duty to achieve desegregation. The board had an obligation to end the dual system of education, and therefore the court denied the parents' request.

The parents appealed to the Georgia Supreme Court, which granted the parents' request for an injunction. The Georgia Supreme Court in its decision stated that the board of education had violated the equal protection clause because students were treated differently because of their race. The court also ruled that busing to achieve racial balance was not permitted under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The Clarke County Board of Education sought a writ of certiorari review from the U.S. Supreme Court, and review was granted. The Court ruled that school systems that had historically participated in dual school systems are clearly charged with an affirmative duty to take whatever steps necessary to end this dual system. Racial discrimination should be eliminated in its entirety. The board was to take whatever steps necessary to meet this goal. The U.S. Supreme Court reversed the State of Georgia Supreme Court's decision to enjoin the Clarke County School Board from implementing its plan of busing to achieve desegregation.

Throughout the legal appeal process, the board continued the implementation of its plan. Schools opened on September 2, 1970, without incidents or protest. The school board achieved a racial mix of 30% African American and 70% White for all the elementary and junior high schools. Burney-Harris remained the only all-African American high school in the system.

In the spring of 1970, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was pressing the board to desegregate the high schools. A new high school was proposed; however, the site had not been determined. Burney-Harris was not only historically African American, but it held a significant role in the African American community's development. Since 1868, the school had served as the center for the African American community.

The school board set in place a plan to desegregate Burney-Harris. Starting in 1970, there would no longer be a majority African American school. Once the African American students at Athens

High School and Burney-Harris High School realized what had been decided, they became angry about not having a say in their future. A month-long protest ensued. Despite the warnings of the school superintendent, April's absenteeism lasted through May. Since the African American students' complaints revolved around losing the Black school's identity, the board found it difficult to address these complaints. Belatedly, the board put together a committee of students from the two merging high schools to work on problems that were facing the desegregated school. The students made recommendations concerning school personnel and policy, and after several meetings with the board changes were made.

Sixteen years after the *Brown* case in 1970, Clarke County schools were finally desegregated. Over the years, the school system has lost White students and has become more diverse. Many programs have been undertaken to improve educational achievement, but nothing has seemed to work.

Michael L. Spotts

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); White Flight

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McKISSICK, FLOYD (1922–1991)

Floyd B. McKissick, the first African American to study law at the University of North Carolina,

used his skills on behalf of desegregation and civil rights over a lifetime. An early member and the second national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), he later became an advocate of Black power.

McKissick was born March 9, 1922, in Asheville, North Carolina, to college-educated parents who instilled in him a critical need for education. With his strong family grounding, McKissick's earliest involvement with the civil rights movement began as an early teen, as he became an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) youth division.

McKissick attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, and became involved on campus and around the community of Atlanta in the struggle for desegregation. After receiving a law degree from the University of North Carolina, he practiced law in the Durham, North Carolina, area. McKissick continued to fight Jim Crow by helping to desegregate a previously all-White public school in which he would represent his own daughter.

McKissick's most notable efforts as a lawyer would be used for the benefit of a segregated African American local in the Tobacco Workers International, an AFL-CIO member. McKissick pressed to have African American workers admitted to the skilled scale without loss of their seniority rating.

McKissick served in the U.S. Army and earned the rank of sergeant. After World War II, he began working with the Fellowship of Reconciliation organization, out of which CORE would evolve. McKissick worked with both African American and White liberals in the cause of desegregation of social institutions as a member of CORE.

As college youth began the courageous "sit-in" movement with the historic actions of the four North Carolina A&T students at the Woolworth's lunch counter, McKissick acted as a mentor and adult adviser to the NAACP Youth Council for college students who were motivated to participate in the sit-ins. The movement would also involve the collaborative participation of CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) organizations. The efforts involved sit-ins at various public facilities such as parks, hotels, and bus stations. By 1959, CORE affiliates sponsored sit-ins in Charleston, West Virginia; Lexington,

Kentucky; and Miami, Florida, and even began sit-ins in South Carolina.

In early 1966, McKissick would take the leadership of CORE from James Farmer, to become the second national director of CORE. This change of organizational leadership for CORE marked the beginning of an ideological shift from the "integrationist" approach of the civil rights movement. Under McKissick, CORE began to espouse Black nationalism within the organization's aims and objectives.

In June 1966, the monumental "March Against Fear" came to signify the restlessness of African American youth in the emergence of a separate ideation in the call for "Black Power" by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). McKissick's evolution from "social integrationist" to Black Power advocate reached the point of maturation during the march; he expressed support with Carmichael that the Black struggle needed a new rallying cry and Black Power was the same kind of group power that had been sought by other ethnic groups, such as Indians, Irish, and Ghanaians.

Later that year, McKissick would criticize civil rights leaders such as Bayard Rustin, A. Phillip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Dorothy Height for attacking the slogan of "Black Power" and for denouncing the organizations and younger leadership that began to mobilize in the spirit of Black Power. McKissick felt that the more "appropriated" civil rights leadership aided in propagating the consensus belief of "violence" that was being attached to the then-emerging Black Power movement.

McKissick became an outspoken advocate for Black Power, and he provided an explicit definition of Black Power, with critical points that included self-determination, political power, and economic improvement under Black capitalism.

McKissick eventually left CORE with plans to start a new community, "Soul City," in Warren County, North Carolina, on a vast amount of farmland. McKissick received financial backing from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and First Pennsylvania Bank for development of the project. The project encountered difficulties, however, causing McKissick to abort his original plans for the community that was to be erected in the spirit of Black self-determination

and Black Power. The project of Soul City eventually was taken over by the federal government in 1980. McKissick later became a pastor and worked for Soul City's First Baptist Church until his death on April 28, 1991.

Richard D. Benson II

See also Desegregation; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

McLAURIN V. OKLAHOMA STATE REGENTS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education (1950) was one of the last legal cases in a long line of lawsuits that blazed the trail for the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, which eradicated the legality of racial segregation in public education and pointed toward a new era of racial equality in public arenas. Prior to the *Brown* case, numerous lawsuits, mainly in higher education, had begun to dismantle the Jim Crow laws and legalized segregation of the South. *McLaurin* and several other legal cases that preceded it were orchestrated and litigated by a masterful legal team composed of Charles Hamilton Houston and future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. This entry looks at the background of the case, its passage through the courts, and its long-term impact.

Historical Context

In 1933, Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), appointed Charles Hamilton Houston, the dean of Howard University Law School, as special counsel to the NAACP. Charles Hamilton Houston immediately coordinated a litigation plan to fight against racial segregation. Houston implemented a three-pronged strategy, which included (1) solidifying a nationwide network of African American lawyers to file "test case" litigation against segregation practices; (2) building the support of precedents for a direct constitutional attack against segregation through

carefully targeted litigation; and (3) organizing local African American communities in broad, unified support of legal, political, and social action against ongoing discriminatory practices.

Houston believed that lawsuits related to graduate and professional education programs would create the legal path to end segregation. The advantage of bringing segregation lawsuits against graduate and professional programs was that they would effectively advance the goals of community mobilization and precedent building without making waves. Houston predicted correctly; southern Whites did not protest to protect the racial integrity of graduate programs, as they later would to protect their children from the perceived threat of educational integration in public schools.

Throughout the mid-1930s and 1940s, Houston, along with his former law student, Thurgood Marshall, built organizational support in the South and motivated people to bring lawsuits against segregated colleges and universities. Several plaintiffs, who were interested in pursuing graduate and law school degrees but were discriminated against because of the color of their skin, brought their stories to the courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court. Graduate and professional educational programs became the hotbed for the constitutional fight against Jim Crow segregation.

Facts of the Case

George W. McLaurin was a 68-year-old African American man with a master's degree and a strong desire to earn a doctorate in education. Mr. McLaurin applied to the University of Oklahoma to pursue graduate studies, but he was denied access solely on the basis of his race, in accordance with Oklahoma statutes that made it illegal for both Whites and African Americans to attend the same school. Mr. McLaurin filed a complaint in an Oklahoma district court alleging that the University of Oklahoma's actions and the Oklahoma statutes were unconstitutional and deprived him equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The district court held that the state of Oklahoma had a constitutional duty to provide McLaurin with an education as was provided to other groups. Additionally, if Oklahoma statutes denied

McLaurin's admission into the University of Oklahoma because of his race, the statutes would be unconstitutional and void. In response to the district court's opinion, the state amended the statutes to allow the admission of African American students into institutions of higher education attended by White students in cases where courses were not offered at African American institutions, as long as instruction occurred on a segregated basis.

Accordingly, the University of Oklahoma admitted McLaurin into the graduate college to pursue a doctorate in education. Given the newly amended state statutes, McLaurin was not permitted to sit in the classroom with the White students; he was assigned to an adjoining classroom separated by a rail and specifically designated for African American students with a sign reading "Reserved for Colored." He was also assigned to a special table in a secluded part of the library, and he had to eat at a different time than his White classmates in the cafeteria.

McLaurin filed a motion with the district court requesting to have the previous order modified to remove the restrictive conditions. The court denied the motion because it determined that the university's treatment of McLaurin did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. Therefore, McLaurin filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court. Prior to the Supreme Court's hearing of the case, the University of Oklahoma relaxed some of the restrictions on McLaurin. The university permitted McLaurin to sit in a designated row within the classroom. He was also allowed to eat at the same time as his classmates in the cafeteria at a special table and to study at a table in the main floor of the library with the other students. Despite the university's slight modifications, the Supreme Court addressed the specific legal question of whether a state may, after admitting a student to graduate instruction in its state university, afford him different treatment from other students solely because of his race.

The Supreme Court reversed the lower court's decision and found that the conditions deprived McLaurin of his right to the equal protection of the law. The Court noted that the state-imposed restrictions deprived McLaurin the opportunity to intellectually come in contact with and to be accepted by his fellow students. Furthermore, the Court found the unequal treatment would hamper McLaurin's

development as an educational leader and trainer of others, which could have a detrimental effect on those students who might later come under McLaurin's guidance and training. Thus, the state-imposed restrictions would perpetuate inequalities. Given these circumstances, the Supreme Court held that the University of Oklahoma violated the Fourteenth Amendment by treating George W. McLaurin differently based on his race.

Impact of the Ruling

Concurrently with the *McLaurin* case, the Supreme Court decided a similar discrimination case in higher education, *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). That case involved the University of Texas Law School's refusal to admit an African American man because of his race. The U.S. Supreme Court concluded that under the equal protection clause, the African American man was entitled to a legal education equivalent to that offered to White students; the separate law school created for African Americans was not equal.

The law school for African Americans had five full-time professors, 23 students, a library of 16,500 volumes, which, according to the Supreme Court, did not compare to the University of Texas Law School's 16 full-time and 3 part-time professors, 850 law students, a library of 65,000 volumes, and access to many distinguished alumni. The Court acknowledged that the law, similar to education, is a highly learned profession, and a legal education requires the interplay of ideas that cannot occur in an academic vacuum or in isolation from other individuals.

In spite of the Supreme Court's 1950 decisions in *McLaurin* and *Sweatt*, the Supreme Court did not reexamine the constitutionality of the separate-but-equal doctrine held in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). The opinions were carefully written by Chief Justice Frederick M. Vinson, who welcomed revisions from his Court colleagues, such as Justices Stanley Reed and Felix Frankfurter, to get the wording just right, so as to not offend or overturn the longstanding separate-but-equal doctrine. A unanimous decision was reached, and separate but equal remained intact.

Four years later, however, the U.S. Supreme Court recognized the injurious effects of racial segregation, particularly on young children.

Consequently, in the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that “in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” With mounting resistance abounding in school districts across the South, the Supreme Court followed up with a second *Brown* decision in 1955, requiring defiant schools and school districts to desegregate with all deliberate speed.

Desegregation was a painstakingly slow process. Therefore, in 1961, President John F. Kennedy stepped in and exerted his power with Executive Order 10952. In short, the executive order stipulated that all institutions, organizations, and projects receiving federal money could not discriminate on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin. President Kennedy stressed that the issue was not merely eradicating discrimination, but eradicating as well the oppressive economic and social burdens imposed on African Americans by racial discrimination; thus, the expansion of educational opportunities was necessary.

Following the enactment of Executive Order 10952 in 1961, the court ordered the University of Georgia to admit African American students, after more than 175 years of racial discrimination; the university admitted only two students. President Kennedy wanted more action than the University of Georgia and other universities and agencies were willing to take. The president then proposed legislation to implement a civil rights act to ensure appropriate measures would be taken to guarantee that the right to equal opportunities would prevail.

In 1963, five days after President Kennedy’s death, President Lyndon Johnson and some members of Congress arduously worked to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Prior to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, several southern senators opposed the act, claiming that the federal government was overstepping its authority by denying U.S. citizens their basic economic, personal, and property rights for the sole benefit of the African American population. In spite of this opposition, Congress voted to enact the Civil Rights Act.

Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 permits the U.S. attorney general to investigate school districts and university systems that may be engaging in racial segregation. Additionally, Title VI of the

Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically prohibits discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in any program, activity, or institution receiving federal financial assistance (42 USCS 2000d et seq., 1964). Title VI is applicable to all public schools and colleges and most private educational institutions.

Dana Thompson Dorsey

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; Jim Crow; Marshall, Thurgood; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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MEDIA LITERACY

Media literacy is the ability to understand and critique messages via radio, film, television, the

print media, and the Internet. On average, people in the United States spend one third of their lives immersed in media, whether this takes the form of watching television, film, or videos; listening to music; reading print magazines and books; or surfing on the Internet. Given this media saturation, it is important to explore the tools needed to effectively navigate these media—all the more important when considering that corporate-sponsored and government-controlled media have historically been used to spread propaganda, to generate bias, and to create a culture of consumerism.

Media literacy is particularly important for African Americans, considering the various ways that mainstream media have portrayed (or entirely excluded) African Americans. In addition, it is important to understand the various ways that African Americans have used the media as a form of resistance through their innovative work in film, television, music, and increasingly cyberspace.

Media literacy is closely tied to education, where the necessary skills of such literacy are often developed. There are several important reasons to focus on media literacy education in K–12 settings, but three stand out as primary. First, as the nature of communications technologies changes rapidly, the nature of what it means to be literate also changes. Citizens of the 21st century must be equipped to process and produce information in the new media age for their own social, economic, and political welfare. Second, as targeted consumers and as victims of bias and ideological oppression, young people need to be able to separate themselves from the often-problematic representations they encounter when they engage mainstream media. Third, with the changing nature of media production, consumers are exerting more control over new media information as they acquire the power to program Internet content and even to produce film and music. This entry describes media literacy, discusses its importance to African Americans, and touches on teaching strategies.

Defining the Term

Traditionally, *literacy* has been defined as possessing the ability to read and write. Historians of literacy, however, have revealed that the term has always been associated with the most recent advances in communications technologies. Prior to

the invention of the Gutenberg printing press in the 15th century, the most “literate” citizens in communities were often the bards, or oral historians. In West African cultures, *griots* served as poets and musicians who operated largely in the oral tradition. Classic Greek philosophers such as Socrates and Aristotle championed the skill of oral arguments (rhetoric), though the former was initially skeptical of written language.

It is important to historicize a term such as *literacy*, to situate it clearly within a particular moment and within a set of social and cultural arrangements, as we now consider expanding and transforming this term to include the navigation of new media content. The 20th and 21st centuries have witnessed a massive transformation in the ways that information is created, processed, and shared, rivaled only by the Gutenberg press in its impact on social arrangements. This transformation has yielded important modes of information exchange such as radio, film, television, and the Internet. As we are bombarded with these new media, we are also confronted with the changing nature of literacy and literate behavior. Recently, the term *media literacies* has arisen to account for these changing representations and to suggest possible implications of these changes for traditional literacy education.

Media and African Americans

The media have represented interesting sites of contestation for the African American community, existing simultaneously as a site of problematic representations and as a site of resistance against racism and structural oppression. Media literacy for African Americans must consist of developing the critical tools necessary to read messages that are sent via the media. It must also consist of the development of the tools to produce critical media content.

Critical Reading

Problematic representations of African Americans via the media are as old as electronic media themselves. The first full-length movie, D. W. Griffith’s 1915 film *Birth of a Nation*, depicts African Americans (played by Whites in blackface) as uncontrollable mobs that needed to

be held in check by the Ku Klux Klan. Despite its overtly racist themes, the movie, one of the largest-grossing films in history, was and continues to be hailed as a classic.

Such problematic representations have continued throughout the history of film and television. African American males have been frequently portrayed as criminals and hustlers, and African American women have been cast as either maternal caretakers (Aunt Jemimas) or as oversexed vixens (Jezebels). The overt stereotyping of African Americans in the Hollywood film industry is humorously critiqued in Robert Townsend's 1987 film *Hollywood Shuffle*, where the lead character (played by Townsend) confronts the challenges facing African American actors.

Developing media literacy means developing the language and tools necessary to make sense of these images. As literacy itself expands to encompass signs and images, African American media literacy must expand to critically read these new texts, to decipher hidden meanings, to ask larger questions about the metanarratives that the corporate media creates to foster a system of beliefs that perpetuates class, race, and gender hierarchies. Those who have been traditionally alienated in this hierarchy must be skeptical of all information they receive via sanctioned avenues of information exchange. The media represent only a small portion of these outlets, though they are very powerful ones. It is important to consistently ask, How are African Americans portrayed via this outlet? Who is making the decisions? What are their interests? Where are African Americans absent in the media? Where are they overrepresented?

Making Media

Of course, African Americans have not been merely passive recipients of media. Groups and individuals have consistently manipulated the media to expose racism and prejudice and to celebrate African American culture. African American men and women, for instance, have been directing Hollywood films for more than 80 years. In 1919, writer and motion picture director Oscar Micheaux made *The Homesteader*, the first full-length film directed by an African American. The film, based on Micheaux's own novel, depicts the adventures of a self-made African American settler in the U.S.

West. Tressie Souders directed the first film by an African American woman (*A Woman's Error*) in 1922.

Ivan Dixon's groundbreaking 1973 film *The Spook Who Sat by the Door* advocates the use of armed militant resistance against racist oppression. Acclaimed filmmaker Spike Lee has produced 20 feature-length films during the 20-year period from 1986 to 2006. These films include fictional biographies of famous leaders (*Malcolm X*), explorations of race and racial relations (*School Daze*, *Do the Right Thing*, *Jungle Fever*, *Bamboozled*), and documentaries of significant events in African American history (*When We Were Kings*, *When the Levees Broke*). In television, the creation of the cable network Black Entertainment Television (BET) in 1980 significantly increased the amount of programming featuring African Americans on both sides of the camera.

Although always prominent in U.S. music as singers and players of musical instruments, African Americans are heavily involved in the production of music as producers and studio engineers who use new media literacies to manipulate sophisticated equipment to create tracks that define the contemporary urban music sound that is also currently the popular music around the world. Entrepreneurs such as Jay-Z, Doctor Dre, Jermaine Dupri, P. Diddy, and Jimmy Jam and Terry Lewis oversee multiple aspects of songwriting and music production that encompass these new media literacies.

Teaching Strategies

As educators consider strategies to incorporate media literacies into the traditional school curricula, it will be important to consider how to help young students to critically read mainstream media texts and to acknowledge and create spaces for students to learn the various media literacies that are needed to produce films, television shows, music CDs, and Internet sites. Of particular concern, however, are the digital divide and the fact that schools with high numbers of urban and rural poor underrepresented populations have far fewer of the technological resources that are needed to foster these new media literacies. As new media continue to contend with print media as the dominant avenues of information exchange, the issue of inequitable technological resource distribution

across U.S. classrooms (often defined by race and class) will only loom larger.

Ernest Morrell

See also Academic Achievement

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MEDICAL EDUCATION

Historically, U.S. medicine has been a profession dominated by White males. Extraordinary barriers to medical education for people from underrepresented groups have been overcome in pursuit of academic and professional excellence. Yet, despite years of effort at increasing diverse representation, African Americans remain significantly underrepresented in the field of medicine. While making up 13% of the total population, African Americans currently account for less than 4% of the total physician workforce in the United States. This gap symbolizes an issue of equity in educational opportunity, and it also has broader public health implications. The scarcity of African American physicians in this country threatens health care access and the delivery of quality health care for many communities.

Solid secondary school and college-level preparation is necessary for African American students to be competitive in the medical school admissions process. Comprehensive and specific undergraduate academic advising is critical in preparing students for the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT). Additional obstacles include the costs of the application process and the years required for medical education and training. To explore the current status of African Americans in medical

education, this entry examines the historical context, including the impact of the social, political, and economic climate of the country.

Some Firsts

The first African American to receive the coveted MD degree was James McCune Smith in 1837. Refused admission to medical schools in the United States on the basis of race, he earned his degree from the University of Glasgow in Scotland. The first African American student to graduate from a U.S. medical school was David J. Peck in 1847, from Rush Medical College (Illinois). By 1860, only nine northern medical schools had admitted one or more African American students to their lectures. These included Bowdoin Medical College (Maine), Medical School of the University of New York, Castleton Medical School (Vermont), Berkshire Medical School (Massachusetts), Rush Medical College (Illinois), Eclectic Medical School (Pennsylvania), Homeopathic College of Cleveland (Ohio), the American Medical College (Missouri), and the Harvard University School of Medicine (Massachusetts). Rebecca Lee Crumpler, the first African American woman to graduate from a U.S. medical college, received her degree from the New England Female Medical College in 1864. During the Civil War (1861–1865), the Army Medical Corps appointed eight African American physicians. This reflected both the shortage of African American practitioners and the reluctance of the government to commission them in the military.

In 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was established to help emancipated Africans adjust to freedom. During the 4-plus years that it existed, the bureau was responsible for opening more than 100 hospitals and dispensaries (including the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, D.C.) for African Americans. During the revolutionary fervor of the Reconstruction years, many White doctors joined with their African American colleagues to advance the cause of equal rights by establishing schools for medical education and hospitals for internship and residency training, as well as facilitating the appointments of African American doctors to hospital staffs and admission to medical societies.

In 1868, Howard University College of Medicine was established for the education of both White

and African American students. Meharry Medical College was established in 1875, solely for the instruction of African American doctors. During the next three decades, a number of other medical schools, either church-related missionary institutions or proprietary operations, were founded to supplement these efforts.

In 1895, there were just 385 African American physicians in the United States; 7% of them were graduates from White medical schools. The role of the historically Black colleges and universities in educating large numbers of African American physicians was critical during this era. By 1905, the number had risen appreciably to 1,465 African American physicians; 14.5% had attended White medical institutions.

A New Century

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching commissioned a review of U.S. medical education in 1910. All 155 medical schools operating in the United States and Canada were evaluated for educational entrance requirements, the size and training of faculty, the size of the school endowment and tuition, the quality of laboratories, and the availability and quality of clinical teaching facilities and staff. The resultant Flexner Report (1910) set forth standards for accreditation that changed the face of U.S. medical education, particularly for African Americans. In addition to other recommendations, the report proposed decreasing the number of medical schools and medical graduates in the United States.

By 1935, fewer than half of all U.S. medical degree-granting institutions remained (66 total), most of them affiliated with a university. The schools that closed included five of the seven historically Black medical schools that still existed at the time of the report; only Howard University College of Medicine and Meharry Medical College survived.

A complete listing of African American medical schools in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries includes Howard University, Lincoln University, Straight University Medical Department, Meharry Medical College, Leonard Medical School/Shaw University, Knoxville College Medical Department, Knoxville Medical College, State University Medical Department,

Chattanooga National Medical College, University of West Tennessee College of Physicians and Surgeons, Medico-Chirurgical and Theological College of Christ's Institution, New Orleans University Medical College, Louisville National Medical College, and Hannibal Medical College.

Despite a largely segregated educational system, no additional provisions or institutions for educating African American physicians were explored in the Flexner Report. In the years that followed, the number of African American physicians decreased, and it was more than 50 years before another African American medical school was founded.

Civil Rights Gains

In 1965, 11 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision calling for an end to racial segregation in public schools, barely 2% of U.S. medical students were African American. Most of these African American medical students (75%) attended one of the two African American institutions, Howard University College of Medicine or Meharry Medical College. At predominantly White medical schools, the numbers of African American students were small, and those admitted often faced an unwelcoming and unsupportive institutional climate.

Additionally, there remained U.S. medical schools (primarily private institutions) that would still not admit African Americans. Duke University School of Medicine (1966) and Wake Forest University School of Medicine (previously Bowman Gray School of Medicine) were among the last schools in the South to admit an African American student.

By the late 1960s, African Americans accounted for only about 3% of the total U.S. physician workforce. Based on the premise of equity and access to educational opportunity and bolstered by sweeping civil rights legislation, hundreds of initiatives were started to increase the number of previously excluded African American students entering careers in science and medicine. The American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC) and other groups encouraged member institutions to improve outreach efforts, and specific programs were targeted at students from minority groups. In affiliation with the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), School of Medicine, the Charles

R. Drew University of Medicine and Science was incorporated in 1966 and became the first African American medical school founded since the Flexner Report. It was named in honor of Dr. Charles Drew, an African American physician famous for his pioneering work in blood preservation.

Private philanthropic groups (that is, the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation, Pew Charitable Trust, the Commonwealth Fund) and government-sponsored agencies founded programs focused on providing academic enrichment for undergraduate and post-baccalaureate students, financial assistance, and support services. By the mid-1970s, there were more than 50 summer academic enrichment programs for students from minority groups at medical and undergraduate schools across the country. For example, the MEdREP program at Tulane University School of Medicine and the Health Career Summer Program at Harvard University offered students an opportunity to enhance the prospect for admission to medical school through intensive academic experience and exposure to professional work.

The U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS) through the Bureau of Health Professions funded the Health Career Opportunity Program (HCOP), which provided millions of dollars to medical schools for minority student support services, recruitment, and enrichment programs. The USPHS also provided research opportunities administered through the National Institutes of Health and unique programs to provide students with financing for medical education.

At the same time, there was a major increase in the number of accredited medical schools in the United States and an increase in the acceptance rate of students from minority groups. As a result, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of African American students enrolled in and graduating from U.S. medical schools. Those numbers went from 188 in the 1970s to 785 in the 1980s.

By 1974, 10% of all students entering U.S. medical schools were from underrepresented minority groups. This included 5% who were African American and most of whom now attended White or majority institutions. In 1975, Morehouse School of Medicine (Atlanta, Georgia) was founded to further address the shortage of African American doctors in Georgia and throughout the nation.

Presently, there are 125 accredited MD-granting medical schools in the United States, including four that specifically target African American students. The list of current historically African American medical schools includes Howard University, Meharry Medical College, Charles Drew Medical School, and Morehouse School of Medicine.

Retrenchment

The U.S. Supreme Court's *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* decision in 1978 ruled it unconstitutional to use fixed quotas for minority group applicants to professional schools in order to maintain diverse enrollment. The case centered on the admission policy at the University of California, Davis, medical school, which required a certain number of students from minority groups and had twice denied entrance to an otherwise qualified White candidate. The quota program was outlawed because it violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The ruling allowed for the use of race as a factor in making admission decisions. Nonetheless, the *Bakke* case marked the beginning of a period of legal attacks on affirmative action across the country.

An initiative in 1990, the AAMC's "Project 3000 by 2000" resulted in increased numbers of medical school matriculants from minority groups. Between 1990 and 1994, the number of students from underrepresented minority groups entering medical school increased by 36.3% to 2,014 students, or 12.4% of the total. This included African American students, who represented 8% of total medical students in 1994. Beginning in 1995, however, a disturbing shift occurred. An increase in the acceptance rate of nonminority compared to minority medical school applicants resulted in a decline in the percentage of students from minority groups entering medical school. Possible explanations included a less competitive minority applicant pool and/or a change in how admissions committees evaluated minority applicants.

In 1996, the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals found in the case of *Hopwood v. Texas* that any consideration of race in admission to professional school, even as one factor among many, was unconstitutional. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the decision, and it effectively ended all

affirmative action admission policies to public universities in Texas. The decision also affected admissions procedures in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi. The same year, California Regents decided to ban race- or gender-based preferences in their admissions process.

In 1997, passage of the California Civil Rights Initiative—Proposition 209 and Initiative 200 in Washington State resulted in many institutions of higher education abandoning the consideration of race and gender in the admissions process. These policy decisions had a traumatic influence on the hard-earned gains in medical school diversity of the preceding decades. Public medical schools in California, Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi accounted for nearly half (44%) of the decrease in enrollment of students from underrepresented minority groups that followed. More modest declines were observed in private medical schools and in other states across the country. For example, the incoming class at state-funded Medical College of Georgia (in a state where 30% of citizens are African American) included only 1 African American student out of 180 in 1997. In 2000, the “One Florida” initiative aimed at ending affirmative action in the state of Florida was approved.

Three years later, *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) proved to be one of the most significant affirmative action decisions in 25 years. In *Grutter*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the University of Michigan Law School policy, ruling that race can be one of many factors considered in the admissions process. However, the Court also ruled that a more formulaic approach, used by the Michigan undergraduate program, had to be modified to provide more “individualized consideration” of applicants. Nonetheless, it modified a shadow of ambiguity that had beleaguered affirmative action in institutions of higher education since the *Bakke* decision.

The Current Situation

African Americans have made remarkable achievements in the fields of science and medicine during the 20th century. Yet despite extraordinary efforts to enhance diversity, African Americans remain underrepresented, accounting for fewer than 5% of practicing physicians in the United States. Of 15,925 total graduates of U.S. medical schools in 2006, 7% were African American (1,122 African

American graduates). Consistent with recent trends, in 2006, even fewer entering medical students (only 6% or 1,155) were African American, the majority of whom were women.

In sharp contrast to the 1960s, most African American medical students (more than 85%) currently attend predominantly White medical institutions. In addition to teaching responsibilities, faculty and administration at medical schools are key in creating a supportive and nurturing environment for all students. They also serve as role models and mentors and enhance persistence to graduation. While the number of medical faculty from minority groups in the United States in total has tripled over the past two decades, only 3% of the total faculty are African American. The rising costs of medical education and financial debt create an additional concern for students from lower- and middle-socioeconomic families.

In summary, equity and equal educational opportunity are largely assumed at U.S. institutions of higher education. Current strategies to improve participation of African Americans in medical education include continued emphasis on academic preparation and enhanced competitiveness of the applicant pool. Presently, renewed focus is on the value of a diverse physician workforce to address the health care needs of an increasingly diverse U.S. population and to eliminate racial and ethnic disparities in health care and health outcomes.

Kristy F. Woods

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Dental Education; *Grutter v. Bollinger*; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Howard University; Meharry Medical College; *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*

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MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE

Meharry Medical College, in Nashville, Tennessee, has played a prominent role in promoting access for African Americans to careers in the health fields. The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) has accredited the medical school since 1972; the American Association of Medical Colleges and the American Dental Association also accredit it. Meharry offers the doctor of medicine (MD), doctor of dental surgery (DDS), master of science in public health (MSPH), master of science (MS), and doctor of philosophy (PhD) degrees.

The medical school has about 202 full-time faculty and 723 students. Meharry has long-term partnerships with the Metropolitan Nashville General Hospital and Vanderbilt University

Medical Center. The school has graduated approximately 15% of all African American physicians and dentists working in the United States, 70% of whom work in underserved areas of the country. Since 1970, Meharry has graduated 10% of African American PhDs in biomedical sciences. At present, Meharry consists of schools in medicine, dentistry, and graduate studies. This entry looks at its history and accomplishments.

Early Years

Meharry Medical College was founded in Nashville in 1876 as the medical division of Central Tennessee College. The Meharry brothers—Samuel, Hughes, David, Jesse, and Alexander—the Methodist Episcopal Church, John F. Slater Fund, and the Freeman's Aid Society contributed toward the school's establishment. Initially, the school was called the Medical Department of Central Tennessee. Subsequently, the school's name was changed to Meharry Medical Department.

The impetus for establishing Meharry was to train caregivers to provide services to newly emancipated African Americans and others deprived of and needing medical attention. The formerly enslaved or descendants of the enslaved were among Meharry's first students. After graduating, many practiced in the post–Civil War South, where disease and poverty ravished the cities and countryside. Some of these alumni were at the frontiers of prevention, diagnosis, and therapeutics.

Dr. William Joseph Sneed (1891–1976), a Confederate surgeon, and Dr. George Whipple Hubbard (1841–1924), a member of the Union Army's Christian commission, started a school that would train African Americans in nursing and other health subjects. Hubbard's vision was launched when the Meharry brothers collectively donated \$15,000 for the school's establishment after one brother, Samuel Meharry, was rescued by African Americans following a road accident. Dr. Hubbard, a native of New Hampshire, completed his medical training at the Medical Department of Vanderbilt University and the University of Nashville. Similarly, Dr. Sneed, a native of Tennessee, received his medical training at the University of Nashville, where he graduated with high honors. Dr. Hubbard performed many duties at the newly formed medical school—he was dean, professor of chemistry

and therapeutics, and the school's first president, serving for 45 years. Dr. Sneed was also heavily involved at Meharry as a faculty member, specifically as a professor of surgery and surgical anatomy in Meharry's early years.

Growth and Evolution

During the first decade of Meharry's existence, lectures, recitations, and quizzes were the primary teaching methods. By the mid-1880s, students were engaging in laboratory work in chemistry, which included qualitative analysis, urinalysis, and toxicology. By 1900, as medicine became increasingly complex and specialized, there were significant curricular reforms at Meharry. The medical school also began to make entrance requirements more difficult, urging prospective students to complete college before applying to the school.

The changes in Meharry's curricula reflected the curricular reforms undertaken throughout the nation, prompted by the rise of proprietary medical colleges, which admitted everyone with the ability to pay tuition and graduated quasi-trained physicians. By the end of the century, Meharry adopted the admission requirements of the American Medical Association. Consequently, students had to pass an arduous examination in English, arithmetic, algebra, physics, and Latin before being admitted.

Meharry's dental and pharmaceutical departments were established in 1886 and 1889, respectively. While Dr. Hubbard obtained money and laboratory equipment for the dental school at conventions, early students were asked to bring their own tools, if they had any. The pharmacy school graduated its first class in 1890. The school obtained its highest enrollment in 1929, with 159 students. As the Great Depression severely crippled the nation's economy, the pharmacy school's enrollment rapidly declined. As a result, the school closed in 1938.

During the life of the program, more than 600 pharmacists were trained. While many were employed in drugstores, a large number opened their own businesses. In 1912, construction began on the George W. Hubbard Hospital. Andrew Carnegie, Julius Rosenwald, Robert Fulton Boyd, as well as other individuals,

churches, and corporate gifts provided money for the hospital's construction.

In 1910, the School of Nursing of Mercy Hospital was transferred to Meharry when the George W. Hubbard Hospital opened. By the mid-1930s, more than 200 women had graduated in nursing from Meharry's Hubbard Hospital. Many were employed in hospital administration, on faculties of nursing schools, and in public health centers.

In June 1910, Abraham Flexner published *The Flexner Report on Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*. This book, popularly known as the Flexner Report, recommended reforms to medical school curricula. Specifically, Flexner strongly advocated that students have a college background in chemistry, biology, and physics before being admitted to medical school. He also recommended the closure of medical schools with inadequate facilities and methods of instructions.

Among the seven Black medical schools, Flexner recommended the closure of five and the continuation of two. He recommended that Howard Medical School in Washington, D.C., and Meharry be enhanced and preserved. Influential groups—the American Medical Association and various foundations headed by wealthy men such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, George Eastman, and Edward Harkness—endorsed the report and urged medical schools to adopt the reforms. The American Medical Association Council on Medical Education devised a system of accreditation based on the Flexner Report. Meharry obtained an A rating when the council first awarded accreditation.

New Challenges

On September 30, 1915, leaders from medicine, religion, and education applied and received approval for a charter of incorporation in the name of Meharry Medical College, giving it independence from Central Tennessee College, which had changed its name to Walden University in 1900. On February 1, 1921, John James Mullowney, a 1908 graduate of the Medical Department at University of Pennsylvania and a former faculty member of Girard College in Philadelphia, became the second president of Meharry Medical College.

Prior to Dr. Mullowney's assuming the presidency, Meharry was in crisis. Its buildings were dilapidated; the school's library and medical supplies for students were inadequate. Faculty members were overworked and underpaid. At Hubbard Hospital, patients were neglected, and surgeries were often conducted with inappropriate equipment and in unsanitary settings. These conditions cost the Medical School its A rating when the American Medical Association revisited the nation's medical schools.

Under Dr. Mullowney's stewardship, admission requirements were raised; the number of faculty increased; research and hospital facilities expanded exponentially. The bed capacity in Hubbard Hospital increased to 140; outpatient clinics were restructured according to specialty and were fully staffed, enabling doctors to treat a multitude of people; and a hospital superintendent, who oversaw the daily functions of the Hubbard Hospital, was hired. As a result of these changes, Meharry regained its A rating by the American Medical Association in 1923.

During its early years, Meharry was located in the southern section of Nashville and was housed in several small buildings that were adequate for its needs during that period. As Meharry continued to expand, its early plants and facilities became outdated, making it necessary for the college to erect new facilities. However, by the 1920s, with the assistance of the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, George Eastman, the Harkness Foundation, the City of Nashville, and Meharry alumni, Meharry moved to one street west of Fisk University in North Nashville, its present location. Because of the proximity of the schools, Fisk and Meharry formed a mutually beneficial relationship. By the 1930s, many aspiring physicians obtained their undergraduate education at Fisk before attending Meharry to obtain their medical degrees.

In 1937, the American Medical Association placed Meharry Medical College on probation after an evaluation by its Council on Medical Education and Hospitals. The council found deficiencies in Meharry's organization and administration and took note of the lack of teachers with postgraduate training. The following year, Dr. Mullowney retired due to health reasons. Meharry's Board of Trustees appointed Edward L. Turner to

succeed Dr. Mullowney as the school's president and dean of the School of Medicine. Turner, a native of Illinois, received his medical training at the University of Pennsylvania.

Under Turner's tenure as president, African American faculty became more visible in leadership roles at the medical college. Furthermore, Dr. Turner changed the school's curricula, stressing the importance of a more scientific approach and emphasizing the importance of proper clinical procedures. During Turner's presidency, Meharry began to experience financial difficulties, which troubled the institution throughout the 1940s. In 1944, Dr. Turner resigned as president; the Meharry Board of Trustees appointed Dr. Mation Don Clawson to serve as president in 1945. His presidency was short lived, as he resigned in 1950.

Modern Leadership

Between 1950 and 1952, an interim committee directed the school's affairs until Harold D. West, the first African American president of Meharry, began his term in 1952. Dr. West, a native of New Jersey and a graduate of University of Illinois with a master of science and doctorate of philosophy degree in biochemistry, worked untiringly to bring positive change to Meharry. Under his tenure as president, the school launched a \$20 million capital campaign, purchased land close to the campus, and expanded the Hubbard Hospital.

Furthermore, during Dr. West's presidency, the school redefined its purpose, terminating the School of Nursing and the Division of Dental Technology. Drastic enhancements were made to the curricula and facilities in the schools of medicine and dentistry. The task of keeping Meharry Medical College solvent and accredited took its toll on Dr. West's health. In May 1965, he asked the board of trustees to allow him to retire.

From 1966 to 1968, for the second time in Meharry's history, the school was governed by an interim committee until the former dean of the medical school, Lloyd Charles Elam, was appointed president. Dr. Elam, a native of Arkansas, was the second-youngest president in Meharry's history. He did his medical training at the University of Washington at Seattle. As president, Dr. Elam launched an ambitious fund-raising campaign, working to secure money for physical facilities.

Moreover, under his leadership, Meharry established a graduate school that offered the PhD degree in basic sciences and the School of Allied Health Profession in tandem with Tennessee State and Fisk universities. New facilities were constructed for the schools of medicine, dentistry, and a new hospital was constructed in the 1970s. Elam served as president for 13 years and subsequently continued his service to the school as a distinguished member of the teaching faculty.

In 1981, Dr. Richard Lester, a member of Meharry's Board of Trustees and chairman of the Department of Radiology of the University of Texas Science Center, became the medical college's interim president for one year. David Satcher became the third African American man to become president of Meharry. He was president from 1982 until 1993; he was appointed director of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta in 1993 and was nominated by President Bill Clinton to the position of surgeon general of the United States in 1997.

In 1994, Dr. John E. Maupin Jr. became Meharry's ninth president. A graduate of Meharry's School of Dentistry in 1972, he was charged with orchestrating the construction and renovation of facilities, merging the clinical staffs, and helping to generate momentum in the community around the continued relevancy of Meharry Medical School. In January 2007, Wayne J. Riley became president of Meharry. Dr. Riley succeeded Dr. Anna Cherrie Epps, who was Meharry's interim president from June 2006 until December 2006. Dr. Riley, a native of New Orleans, earned four degrees. He completed his medical training from Morehouse School of Medicine.

Robert T. Palmer

See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Medical Education; Rosenwald Fund

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MENDEZ V. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL DISTRICT OF ORANGE COUNTY

Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County (1947) joined lawsuits against four districts in California, all charged with segregating presumably Spanish-speaking children. The Education Code of California requires children to attend the school designated by their district according to residential location. In the four districts of this case, the school board placed children of Mexican descent in schools designated exclusively for children who were not proficient in the English language, regardless of where they lived and without an accurate evaluation of the children's proficiency in the English language. The federal district court ruled in 1946 that segregation in schools violated the constitutional right that grants students equal protection under the law. The school district appealed, and on April 14, 1947, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld the decision that schools could not segregate based on national origin. This case set a legal precedent for the eventual abolishment of the "separate-but-equal" doctrine in 1954 in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*. Though this case was only at the state level, it essentially overruled *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) by upholding Mexican American students' right to desegregated education in California public schools. This entry focuses on the facts of the *Mendez* case and its impact.

Facts of the Case

African American children have consistently struggled with the issue of segregation in U.S. schools. Segregated schools sent the message to African American children that they were inferior to Whites. This feeling of inferiority affected students' confidence to succeed academically. Children of Mexican

descent had similar confrontations with segregation and equal opportunity in the public school system. While African Americans suffered discrimination because of the color of their skin, Mexican Americans suffered discrimination because of their language or the Mexican origin of their names.

The public school system receives its funding from the state, but the local school districts function independently, as long as they abide by the equal protection provisions prescribed in the state's constitution. In California, the constitution supports the furtherance of equal education to all children pursuant to the Fourteenth Amendment. The constitution provides for the special treatment of children with handicaps such as language deficiency, but such a conclusion is drawn after examining the children and classifying them based solely on their language abilities and not on their ethnicity or ancestry.

In the Southern California district of El Modeno, Lincoln School was designated exclusively for children of Mexican descent, and Roosevelt School enrolled predominantly English-speaking students, with less than a quarter of the students being Spanish speakers. Although the two schools administered the same standardized tests and followed the same curricula, treating students separate but equal is a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The students at Lincoln School tested as mentally superior to those in Roosevelt School, but many of the exceptional students remained in Lincoln School instead of graduating to Roosevelt School, based on their levels of command of the English language. Parents protested regarding the school district's segregation policies, but the school board did not make any changes to its policies.

The Garden Grove Elementary School District segregated Spanish-speaking children through the fifth grade, but set the standard that it was unreasonable to segregate children past fifth grade.

In the Westminster School District, children of Mexican descent attended Hoover School, and the English-speaking (with 14 Spanish-speaking students) attended Westminster School, even if they lived in the Hoover elementary division. The residents protested the obvious and irrational segregation, but segregation policies remained similar to those in the district of El Modeno.

In the Santa Ana City School District, the language-determinative tests gave inaccurate

results, so children were placed in the Spanish-speaking school based only on the Mexican origin of their names. In this district, the Spanish-speaking students attended Fremont School, while Franklin School was composed of predominantly English-speaking students. The school board allowed 26 children of Mexican descent living in the Fremont district to attend Franklin School and 35 children not of Mexican descent living in the Fremont district to attend Franklin School. The parents of several Spanish-speaking children protested because their children attended Fremont School instead of Franklin School. The board of education responded by requiring those 26 children of Mexican descent attending Franklin School and living in the Fremont district to attend Fremont beginning the following fall. The school board did not require the English-speaking children attending Franklin and living in the Fremont zone to move to their respective zone. The school board clearly intended to affect only the children of Mexican descent with its decision.

Responding to lawsuits by the parents, Federal District Judge Paul J. McCormick ruled on February 18, 1946, that segregation in these schools was a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision was upheld by the Ninth Circuit Court on April 14, 1947, after the school district appealed and the court ruled that segregation based on nationality was unconstitutional. While the immediate decision affected Mexican Americans, 2 months later a statute was repealed that allowed segregation in schools for Asians. Not only did this case create a foundation for equality in California, but the brief written for the *Mendez* case was used as a model for the arguments used in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, which abolished the "separate-but-equal" doctrine and made segregation illegal across the United States.

Impact of the Ruling

Children may be discouraged from competing against other children who have a strong command of language. Children with a disadvantage, such as a language barrier, are segregated after extensive testing that records the disadvantage of the child as so pronounced that a separate environment would be most beneficial to the child.

Such children become more confident in their abilities and are better able to compete with English-speaking children once they are more comfortable with the language. Segregation policies and practices like these came about to help children learn English, but this does not justify the continuous segregation occurring in these school districts in California. Even though facilities had the same books, courses, and curricula, children of Mexican descent were singled out based on their ethnicity, a clear violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Continuous segregation not only affects those who are segregated but also has an impact on those from whom the children are segregated. Spanish-speaking children who are isolated are hindered by their lack of exposure to the English language. The separation of the students creates two distinct groups, which may promote hostility between them. Interpersonal relationships affect students in academics as well as in their long-term interactions. Continuous segregation beyond fifth grade has an adverse effect on both groups of students. Segregation of children based solely on language proficiency perpetuates a hierarchy that more than likely will affect long-term interactions.

The ruling in the *Mendez* case set a more clear-cut standard for segregation in schools. The Fourteenth Amendment provides that every public school student have rights based on the equal protection provision. To avoid discrimination against any racial or ethnic group, it is important to implement ideals focusing on the furtherance of equality and justice for all.

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See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Desegregation

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MENTORING PROGRAMS

Mentoring may be described as a positive relationship between two individuals in which one individual teaches or guides the other and both benefit. Mentoring has been reflected in myriad relationships throughout human existence, including relationships between fathers and sons, older male family members (grandfathers, uncles, cousins) and younger male family members, mothers and daughters, older female family members and younger female family members, laborers and their apprentices, church elders and their communicant class, teachers and students, and coaches and players.

Mentoring has always represented a vital component of the African American educational experience but has seen significant changes since desegregation. This entry on mentoring explores the causes of those changes as well as their impact on mentoring as a component of the African American educational experience.

Historical Background

Before segregation, African American children were surrounded by mentors in their families, schools, churches, and communities. The extended family represented a vital component of the mentoring process because of its direct involvement with the schools, churches, and businesses in the community; a sense of responsibility for any young person was prevalent, and thus mentoring was essentially a way of life. The richness of oral tradition resulted in the passing of wisdom from one generation to the next over family meals, Sunday school classrooms, or checker games on front porches. Financial poverty may have been a

reality for most African American families at this time, but wealth existed in the quality of their relationships.

After desegregation, political, social, and economic factors contributed to the dissolution of this rich tradition. African American communities dissolved when members of extended families moved out and away from each other. Unfortunately, most African American children were no longer surrounded by a sea of mentors because the faces seen in their schools, businesses, and communities were predominantly White. Moreover, institutional and social racism prevented or hindered the development of positive relationships between African American children and many of the White adults who now surrounded them.

As a result of their alienation in schools and communities, many African American children chose to “drop out” either academically or socially. Alarming statistics confirming this phenomenon resulted in the development of mentoring programs for African American students that sought to help their participants regain either a positive academic identity, a positive social identity, or a combination of both. Some programs operate on a national level, while others are more regional. Table 1 provides a limited review of mentoring programs that currently operate to promote the academic and social well-being of their participants:

Key Components of Mentoring Programs

Depending on their focus, mentoring programs utilize a variety of activities to provide opportunities for academic and social growth. For social growth, rites of passage programs (for example, the Bridge Builders, Coming of Age) have been instrumental in effecting positive change for African American children and adolescents by reconnecting powerful relationships within the African American community. Rites of passage programs give credence to the awkward transition from childhood to adulthood; too often in our current society, adolescence represents a turbulent period, and if adolescents are not given the option of participating in a positive program that helps them explore the myriad of questions this transition naturally evokes, the likelihood of them making negative choices greatly increases. Rites of passage programs provide a safe environment for African American adolescents to explore their heritage, to reconnect to the past, to plan and implement community service projects that connect to the present, and to explore career opportunities in envisioning their future.

As a mentoring program, rites of passage programs provide positive role models for African American adolescents. Through planned events, program participants and adult mentors work

Table 1 Programs With Mentoring Components

<i>Mentoring Program</i>	<i>Relative Size</i>	<i>Dominant Focus</i>
Big Brothers/Big Sisters	National	Social
Boys & Girls Clubs of America	National	Social
Friends of the Children	National	Academic/Social
Inroads	National	Academic
TRIO Programs: Upward Bound	National	Academic
CLAAY Program	Regional	Academic/Social
Debutantes for Christ	Regional	Social
Empowered Youth Programs	Regional	Academic/Social
Young Leaders Academy	Regional	Academic/Social
Young Lions	Regional	Social

through sessions that help the participant gain a vision of who he or she is and his or her purpose in the community. This vision is cemented in African philosophy and an African-centered paradigm that provides the foundation for the rites of passage. The rich interaction between participants and their mentors made possible by discussions and activities centered on adolescent transition to adulthood helps participants form an image of themselves that crosses over into adulthood and, with it, adult responsibilities. To mark this crossing over, rites of passage programs culminate with initiation ceremonies in which participants step forward within their communities to assume their new responsibilities as defined by the program.

What once represented a scattered grassroots movement, rites of passage programs now have a national connection through the National Rites of Passage Institute, founded and directed by Paul Hill Jr.; in its mission statement, the National Rites of Passage Institute explains that its purpose is to “provide the Training, Programming, Evaluation, International Field Trips, and Dissemination of Information to develop a critical mass and community of servant leaders.” Dedicated to its purpose, the institute represents a wealthy resource for communities and organizations wanting to start a rites of passage program that reflects both the strengths and needs of a given community.

Other mentoring programs promote social growth through a wide array of activities depending on the program’s focus. These activities include summer leadership academies, educational field trips, and college tours. Such programs may use curriculum that covers goal setting, career planning, etiquette training, and community service. Usually the program concludes with a special event such as a graduation ceremony or a special trip. In faith-based mentoring programs, the curriculum focuses on one particular study; for example, *Debutantes for Christ* acts as a rites of passage program that partners older Christian women with young African American women. The curriculum focuses on gender issues, spirituality, and cultural background from a biblical perspective. Recently, the Book of Esther has been the focus of their Bible studies; young and old review the story and how

it could apply to their lives today. The study culminates with a cotillion in which the “new Esthers” are presented to society.

For academic growth, mentoring programs employ academic monitoring, after-school tutoring, Saturday academies, Exam Lock-Ins, or a combination of these activities. Academic monitoring affords the mentor the opportunity to help parents make contact with the school. By asking teachers of the child or adolescent to complete weekly or biweekly progress reports, the mentor can help parents be aware of missing assignments or upcoming assignments as well as help the mentor detect any academic weaknesses that can be addressed during tutoring sessions.

The mentor may be able to make suggestions to help the parents find ways to support their children academically. Some programs are more intentional about helping parents and guardians by holding monthly meetings or seminars on topics related to the academic well-being of their children or adolescents. Topics may include the importance of parent–teacher conferences, understanding standardized testing, helpful Web sites, and practical suggestions for helping the child or adolescent enjoy reading and studying.

Saturday Academies allow program participants to receive additional academic support in subjects such as reading comprehension and math that represent traditional achievement gaps. One program mentioned in Table 1, Empowered Youth Programs (EYP), employs the Saturday Academy as a way to bridge achievement gaps for program participants. The academy is held on a college campus from 8:30 a.m. until 1:00 p.m. During that time, program participants are involved in academic rotations on key areas, including reading comprehension, vocabulary, math, and science. The program allows mentors to access student work to ensure continuous communication between academic mentors and program participants.

Each Saturday, program participants receive reports from their mentors that show their progress; academic mentors offer specific praise for areas successfully completed by the participant as well as encouragement to redo areas that show a lack of improvement. Immediate feedback represents a critical factor for positive academic development and can help the mentor provide the necessary encouragement and support.

An Exam Lock-In represents an intensive exam preparation held over the course of a weekend; academic mentors and participants “camp out” in a local high school working through one-on-one tutoring, individual preparation, and group study sessions as participants prepare for final exams or state end-of-course tests representing final exams. Academic mentors are instrumental in showing participants how to study, how to organize information, and how to process it to make it accessible during the exam.

Commonalities Among Mentoring Programs

In successful mentoring programs, several common factors exist that sustain the mentoring relationship, keep it positive, and allow it to operate as a survival strategy. These factors include the program’s commitment to (a) a set of well-defined goals with expected outcomes, (b) positive growth for the younger member of the relationship, and (c) quality time spent together to ensure the development of the younger member.

Relative to goals and outcomes, successful mentoring programs determine these before the beginning of any mentoring relationships. Effective program administrators review the data concerning the group they wish to serve, determine the child’s or adolescent’s needs based on data rather than ill-informed preconceived notions, set goals with expected outcomes, and plan the activities that will foster those outcomes as a result of the mentoring relationship.

To help programs be more effective in their support of children and adolescents, the Search Institute has published 40 developmental assets for children, as well as 40 developmental assets for adolescents; the assets are divided into two categories, external and internal. External assets include support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, and constructive use of time, while the internal assets help the child or adolescent develop a commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies, and a positive identity.

Each asset is subdivided into five to seven specific examples of how the asset could be developed to encourage healthy development for the participants. For example, under the external asset of support, the Search Institute lists family support,

positive family communication, other adult relationships, caring neighborhood, caring school climate, and parent involvement in schooling as possible areas of work for mentoring programs. Effective mentoring programs use such information along with the data concerning their participants either to develop or to compare the goals for their programs.

If a mentoring program wanted to evaluate its overall plan before initiating the mentoring relationships, the Friends of Children Web site contains a list of 10 essential elements of a Friends of Children Program as well as a Theory of Change. The 10 essential elements mirror several of the developmental assets proposed by the research of the Search Institute that represent their goals, while the Theory of Change shows a well-developed action plan. This action plan includes five key elements: (1) needed resources for (2) activities and services that will build (3) chapters of Friends of Children with elements that will help with (4) the implementation of certain strategies that will (5) produce expected outcomes for program participants. To better serve their participants, an effective mentoring program develops an action plan similar to the one described to help program leaders develop a clear vision of the program before the first mentoring relationship begins. Careful planning results in a better experience for program participants, and the attainment of expected outcomes are more likely. The Internet provides easy access to such plans, and program planners can search according to the program’s intended focus: academic or social.

Positive growth for the younger member of the relationship should be documented in two ways: one for the younger member and one for the mentoring program; for both, the documentation acts as a self-assessment. For the younger member of the mentoring relationship, concrete evidence of growth in targeted areas provides encouragement and support; in addition, the ability of a young person to employ self-assessment can become a valuable survival strategy. Many mentoring programs initiate this process by presenting the goals and expected outcomes to the child or adolescent and their parent or guardian; then, periodically, the mentor and mentee review the mentee’s achievement relative to the goals and expected outcomes.

A brief discussion that allows the younger member to express why they believe there have been gains with guided input from the mentor models goal setting and self-assessment.

Monitoring growth for the younger member of the relationship also provides a twofold self-assessment for the mentoring program. First, if the mentors use the same activities to engage the younger member of the relationship, measuring growth relative to the program's goals and expected outcomes will determine whether the activities are effective or require modification or replacement. Second, the mentoring program has a responsibility to the younger member of the relationship about the quality of the mentor; measuring growth can be a reflection of the mentor and his or her effectiveness. This information could be helpful in defining the training program for mentors before they begin a mentoring relationship.

Another commonality among mentoring programs for African American children and adolescents involves the amount of quality time spent in the mentoring relationship. This element remains the critical factor to the success of the mentoring relationship. As a result, many mentoring programs have a minimum time requirement that mentors spend with program participants. As the African American community is restructured and the number of single-parent households increases, the mentors become partners with parents and extended family members as they work for the healthy academic and/or social development of the child or adolescent.

Characteristics of an Effective Mentor

The quality of any mentoring program depends on the mentors; mentors should be selected based on the goals and expected outcomes established by the program. First and foremost, the mentors must be able to make a time commitment to the young person. Effective mentoring relationships are not built on one activity but are the result of a sustained relationship. The mentor must be committed to working with the young person on a regular basis.

Effective mentors must be able to set and maintain boundaries, uphold the parent's discipline actions when appropriate, and employ active listening skills to encourage the young person to

engage in discussions. Effective mentors should be able to recognize developmental characteristics so that their responses to the young person's behavior will be appropriate.

Mentoring Programs as Agents of Change

Mentoring programs can operate as agents of change and spread their sphere of influence when the program is effective in its beginning stages. The Minority Achievement Committee (MAC) was originated 12 years ago by some of the senior African American male students of Shaker Heights High School in Ohio. After seeing the dramatic statistics concerning African American males in their school district, this group decided to start their own mentoring program for African American male underclassmen.

Initially, the program met once a month in the auditorium and was led by the senior members; the seniors decided on a plan of action and then delivered a "talk" series to and with the underclassmen. Because of the success of that original program, females wanted to start their own version of the program. Now, the program has five additional components that reach throughout the school district. They include the following:

1. *Early Intervention:* A program focusing on kindergarten students
2. *Extended Learning Time:* After-school and Saturday tutoring sessions for underclassmen who require additional academic support
3. *Focus on Study Skills*
4. *Parent Involvement:* A group for parents to help them understand the educational system and how they can better support their children
5. *Study Groups:* Study circles initiated and supported by the school.

The success of this mentoring program shows what is possible when adults and adolescents are committed to supporting and encouraging positive development for young people.

Deryl F. Bailey

See also African-Centered Education; Desegregation

MEREDITH V. FAIR

Meredith v. Fair (1962) was one in a series of lawsuits that sought to desegregate the South's formerly all-White or all-Black universities. While this case and the appellate ruling ordering desegregation of the University of Mississippi were relatively straightforward, the arrival of James Meredith on the Ole Miss campus triggered rioting in which two people were killed. Meredith, nevertheless, went on to graduate and later wrote a book about his experiences.

Historical Context

In 1950, the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged that in the context of higher education, segregation was discriminatory, in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment, because the separation created inequality by "[impairing] and [inhibiting] a student's] ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students." The Supreme Court's pronouncements in *McLaurin* and its companion case, *Sweatt v. Painter*, along with its parallel denunciation of segregation in the K-12 sector, were met by fierce resistance in Mississippi.

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission was charged by the Mississippi legislature in March 1956 to "protect the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi" from "encroachment thereon by the Federal Government." Ex officio members of the commission included the president of the Senate, attorney general, speaker of the house, and the governor. This concentration of political power created a nearly insurmountable barrier to higher education desegregation.

With the help of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, several African American men attempted to break through this barrier over the course of the mid- to late 1950s. Their applications to the University of Mississippi were thwarted by changes in admissions policies, admissions requirements that included recommendations from alumni, physical intimidation, imprisonment, and in one case a death. These efforts continued into the 1960s.

Upon leaving the U. S. Air Force in 1960, James A. Meredith took to the pursuit of higher education,

using the GI Bill to enroll in Jackson State University, a historically Black university. In January 1961, Meredith requested application materials from the University of Mississippi, which were received by Meredith within one week. Hendrickson (2003) attributes this quick turnaround to an assumption on the part of the registrar, Robert B. Ellis, that Meredith was White. Meredith formally applied for admission to the University of Mississippi on January 31, 1961. His application contained a formal photograph of himself and a note stating the following:

I sincerely hope that your attitude toward me as a potential member of your student body reflects the attitude of the school and that it will not change upon learning that I am not a white applicant. I am an American-Mississippian-Negro citizen.

His application was denied on February 4. That May, James A. Meredith decided to challenge the Ole Miss decision and with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund sued to compel admission to the University of Mississippi.

Facts of the Case

At the federal district court, Judge Sidney J. Mize, an Ole Miss law alumni, declared, "The proof shows on this trial, and I find as a fact, that there is no custom or policy now, nor was there any at the time Plaintiff's application was rejected, which excluded qualified Negroes from entering the University." Attorneys for the state argued that Meredith's application was denied because he was a "troublemaker who was lacking in moral fiber." Meredith's claim was dismissed, and he appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Here, the court made some specific findings of fact regarding the dual system of higher education in Mississippi: No African American students attended any of Mississippi's historically White colleges, and no White students attended any of Mississippi's historically Black colleges. Additionally, the court acknowledged documentation of official state action enforcing the system's segregated status. The court ruled that Meredith's application was denied on the basis of his race and overturned the decision of the district court. The

University of Mississippi was ordered to admit Meredith. The state appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which declined to review the case. As such, the judgment of the Fifth Circuit stood.

While the court proceedings ended in time for Meredith to begin his studies with the start of the Fall 1962 semester, entry to Ole Miss was delayed as state and federal officials jockeyed from September 15 to September 30 to allow Governor Ross Barnett to appease segregationist supporters. During this time, the state found Meredith ineligible for enrollment under the recently passed Senate Bill 1501. Meredith was falsely charged with a criminally defective driver's license—charges that Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, as head of the Justice Department, ordered dropped.

During this period, racial tensions throughout Mississippi swelled, and President John F. Kennedy dispatched 31,000 federal troops around the state to maintain peace. Two thousand seven hundred troops were stationed in the college town of Oxford, Mississippi. Due to the fear of violence, Meredith was escorted by 500 U.S. marshals to a campus dormitory at 6 p.m. on Sunday, September 30. The idea was to have Meredith registered and begin classes on Monday morning. As Meredith settled into the dorm, mob violence ensued. Two persons, French journalist Paul Guihard and Walter Ray Gunter, a bystander, were killed that night. It is estimated that 2,500 to 3,000 Mississippians were involved in the rioting, resulting in 370 military and civilian casualties and 300 arrests; a small fraction of these were students.

Meredith began his studies on Monday, October 1, and graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1963. He pursued graduate education at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria and received an LLB from Columbia University in 1968. Meredith became a minor player in Mississippi politics as a conservative activist and supporter of Jessie Helms and David Duke. His memoirs of his time at the University of Mississippi are captured in his 1966 autobiography, titled *Three Years in Mississippi*.

Impact of the Ruling

One year after Meredith's graduation from the University of Mississippi, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, pursuant to which

the state of Mississippi was indicted in 1969 for its maintenance of a dual system of higher education. Meredith's case provided the foundation for the *Ayers v. Fordice* litigation, which brought finality to court-supervised higher-education desegregation in Mississippi.

Crystal R. Gafford Muhammad

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Sweatt v. Painter*

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MILLIKEN V. BRADLEY

Milliken v. Bradley (1974) is one of the most significant school desegregation cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court since its landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), which outlawed legal segregation in public education. The case involved a challenge to a court-ordered desegregation plan in Detroit, Michigan, that included the outlying suburban school districts as part of the remedy. The lower courts held that a Detroit-only desegregation plan would not effectively desegregate the school system because it was already 65% African American; an effective desegregation remedy required the inclusion of the surrounding suburbs. Representatives for the suburban districts objected, arguing that an interdistrict remedy exceeded the remedial power of the federal courts because there had not been any finding of liability on the part of the outlying districts. By a 5–4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court sided with the suburban districts, agreeing with them that an interdistrict remedy exceeded the equitable powers of the federal courts. By rebuffing the district court’s interdistrict desegregation remedy, the *Milliken* ruling significantly limited the scope of remedial options available to federal courts in fashioning desegregation decrees within a climate characterized by “White flight” to the suburbs. This entry explores the background, the facts, and the impact of *Milliken v. Bradley*.

Background

Milliken v. Bradley originated in 1970, with a class action suit brought by the Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and individual parents. They charged that the Detroit Board of Education, in concert with state officials, had intentionally operated a racially segregated public school system in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the mandate in *Brown*. After ruling for the plaintiffs, the district court, after considering several remedial options, ordered an interdistrict remedy that included Detroit’s overwhelmingly White suburban school districts. The court reasoned that a Detroit-only remedy

held no promise of substantially desegregating the city’s public schools. This action was taken even though the outlying districts were not parties to the case and there were no claims of constitutional violations against them. Subsequently, suburban districts were allowed to intervene, but they were prohibited from making any claims or offering any defenses to issues already adjudicated in the case. Instead, the court restricted their participation to giving advice on the propriety of a metropolitan desegregation plan and submitting objections, modifications, and alternatives to any such plan. The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the district court’s decision in part, concluding the following:

Any Detroit only segregation plan will lead directly to a single segregated Detroit school district overwhelmingly black in all of its schools, surrounded by a ring of suburbs and suburban school districts overwhelmingly white in composition in a State in which the racial composition is 87 percent white and 13 percent black.

Consequently, the court of appeals held that including the outlying suburbs represented the only feasible means to effect meaningful desegregation of the Detroit public schools. But the court of appeals remanded the case to the district court so that all the suburban districts that might be affected could be made parties to the case and have a voice in the construction and implementation of a remedial plan.

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling

A deeply divided U.S. Supreme Court, by a 5–4 vote, sided with the suburban districts and set aside the rulings of the lower courts. The Court held that the federal courts had exceeded their equitable powers by ordering a cross-district remedy in the absence of a finding of constitutional violations by the suburban districts. According to the majority, the boundaries of separate and autonomous school districts cannot be set aside for purposes of fashioning a desegregation remedy unless it can be shown “that there has been a constitutional violation within one district that produces a significant segregative effect in another district.”

The *Milliken* ruling triggered a number of pointed dissenting opinions from the justices who voted in the minority. Justice Byron White, in an opinion joined by Justices William Brennan, William Douglas, and Thurgood Marshall, lamented the majority's holding. White decried the fact that despite a court finding of unconstitutional conduct by the Detroit Board of Education, no remedy, in his view, adequate for the scope of the violation would be implemented. This was occurring, he opined, not because a remedy could not be found but because "an effective remedy would cause what the Court considers to be an undue administrative inconvenience to the State." Writing separately, Justice Douglas noted that the effect of the Court's decision in *Milliken* would be to "freeze in place" the funding inequities between the mostly Black and poor Detroit public schools and the mostly White, affluent suburban school districts. Justice Marshall, who had been the lead attorney for the NAACP during the *Brown* cases, viewed the Court's decision as a great step backward in the struggle to achieve equal educational opportunity for all children, regardless of race:

The rights at issue in this case are too fundamental to be abridged on grounds as superficial as those relied on by the majority today. We deal here with the right of all of our children, whatever their race, to an equal start in life and to an equal opportunity to reach their full potential as citizens....Our Nation, I fear, will be ill-served by the Court's refusal to remedy separate and unequal education, for unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together.

Impact of *Milliken*

The Supreme Court's ruling in *Milliken* severely restricted the power of federal courts to order city-suburban desegregation plans at the very moment when "White flight" to the suburbs was rendering solutions to racial separation in public schools impractical. Since the end of World War II, Whites had been increasingly moving to the growing suburbs throughout the nation, taking economic opportunity and urban tax bases with them. To add insult to injury, the *Milliken* ruling came on

the heels of the Supreme Court's ruling in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, in which a 6–3 majority held that funding inequities between affluent and poor school districts do not offend the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. As a consequence, the rejection of the lower courts' chosen remedy in *Milliken*, especially in northern and western metropolitan urban areas without a history of de jure discrimination, would place the starkest racial and economic disparities within public schools beyond the scope of effective remedies. In interpreting *Milliken*, Gary Orfield writes as follows:

Milliken viewed desegregation as unfairly punishing the suburbs. The Court ruled that unless it could be shown that either suburban communities or discriminatory state action created the pattern of all-white suburbs and heavily black city schools, Detroit would have to desegregate by mixing its dwindling white enrollment with its huge and rapidly growing black majority. . . . Since the minority population in the industrial North is much more heavily concentrated in a few big cities than it is in the South, this decision guaranteed that desegregation would be limited and temporary in much of the North.

The *Milliken* decision significantly reduced the effectiveness of court-ordered busing as a desegregation tool in northern and western metropolitan areas. It also coincided with strong public opposition to busing. This backlash had intensified as federal courts made it clear that desegregation did not simply apply to southern school systems with a history of segregation by law; rather, northern and western school districts without a history of de jure segregation could also be found in noncompliance with *Brown*. Surveys indicated that close to 90% of Whites preferred neighborhood schools over mandatory busing. These same surveys also indicated, to the chagrin of many civil rights advocates, that busing was also unpopular within a sizable segment of the African American community. Therefore, the Supreme Court's decision appeared to be a capitulation to the intense public opposition to busing that permeated the political environment of the 1970s. By placing most suburbs beyond the reach of the federal courts, the Supreme

Court's ruling in *Milliken* foreshadowed its subsequent determinations in the late 1980s and 1990s that school districts under long-standing desegregation orders should be declared unitary and relieved of federal supervision, despite evidence of continuing racial segregation in the schools.

Albert L. Samuels

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Busing; Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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MILLS V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County (1939) was the second of two cases in which African American teachers in Maryland sought to obtain the same pay for their work as White teachers. Supported in both cases by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the teachers lost their first lawsuit against the state but won the second suit against the local board. Even so, it was some

time before equal pay became the rule and longer still before separate schools for Whites and African Americans were declared unconstitutional. This entry explores the background, the facts, and the significance of the *Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County* case.

Historical Context

The educational system for African Americans in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, at the beginning of the 20th century was in many respects similar to the systems in the southern United States. Maryland provided segregated educational facilities for African American children. Situated south of the Mason-Dixon line, between the North and the South, and on the mid-Atlantic seaboard, Maryland was an enslaving state but one that remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War. Though it operated under martial law for much of the war because of widespread sympathy with the secessionist states, it nevertheless was one of the first states to abolish enslavement through its Constitution of 1864.

Maryland took the first steps toward provision of free public education as early as 1825. Its 1867 Constitution, still in effect, mandates an efficient system of free public schools. By the turn of the century, each county and Baltimore City had a local board of education, often called “school commissioners,” that was authorized by statute to provide and maintain the schools. The city and counties provided for schools through local property taxes, and the state supplemented these funds through taxes levied specifically for education. In addition, in 1922, the state established an Equalization Fund meant to equalize the provision of education across the various counties regardless of wealth by providing supplemental funds to poorer counties that had difficulty meeting school costs. These costs included minimal salaries for teachers that were established by statute.

Separate Schools

The state school board superintendent recommended that the state provide separate (free) education for “colored children” in 1866. In 1869, Anne Arundel County allotted some \$83.31 for the purpose of maintaining separate schools for African Americans, apparently allotting money

for the first time. In 1872, there were 10 such schools in the county, with an enrollment of 307 children. The first of these schools had been built on land donated by African American parents and built with funds from the Freedman's Bureau. Because Maryland schools were already segregated, little changed in 1896 when the U.S. Supreme Court decided and later applied *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), establishing the "separate-but-equal" doctrine as the law of the land. Though Maryland schools were segregated, they were never equal.

Anne Arundel County is one of 23 counties in addition to Baltimore City constituting the governmental subdivisions of Maryland; it includes Annapolis, the state capital. Now largely a suburban community in part bordering Baltimore, Anne Arundel County historically was viewed as part of Maryland's eastern shore and southern tier, an area more culturally similar to the southern states at the beginning of the 20th century. While Maryland's population and economy were diverse, as was its geography, the population in the southern tier, including Anne Arundel County, consisted primarily of English and African Americans who were mainly engaged in tobacco growing and other kinds of farming, as well as harvesting fish, oysters, and crab from the Chesapeake Bay, on which the county sits. In 1940, African Americans represented 29% of the total population in the southern tier and eastern shore, and by 1980 they were 21% of the population.

Anne Arundel County received not only state funding for educational purposes but also monies from the Equalization Fund. For the most part, the county sought to follow state law as to the minimum educational program. In 1916, legislation established a minimum program requiring that all employed teachers be qualified teachers, that minimum salaries graduated for experience be paid to all teachers who met the state teaching requirements; that schools for White youth remain in session at least 180 days each year, and that public schools for African American youth remain in session at least 140 days each year; among other things.

Although the state had enacted legislation establishing state-approved teacher training schools for African American teachers in 1908, some time thereafter the state requirements for the certification

of both White and African American teachers became uniform. Maryland passed in 1904 the first schedule that set a minimum salary for White teachers. The first schedule that set a minimum salary for African American teachers was not passed until 1918. It set the salary at \$280 per year for African American teachers, while the minimum for White teachers that year was \$600 per year.

Acting Against Inequality

Activism around educational inequality gained momentum around this time. For instance, in 1918 the State Colored Teachers Association of Maryland, which had been organized two years earlier, listed as its two principal goals the equalization of teachers' salaries and the equalization of the school term. In 1923, citizens brought an unsuccessful suit, based on the ordinance of estimates, seeking to require the Baltimore City School Board to equalize the pay between White and African American teachers. Baltimore City later voluntarily equalized these salaries. Further, in the late 1920s, the association introduced bills to end the dual salary scale in each session of the legislature to no avail.

Finally, the NAACP entered the movement against discriminatory teachers' salaries in Maryland in 1936, after having first unsuccessfully brought similar suits in North Carolina and Virginia. These salary cases were part of the initial steps in the NAACP's long-term campaign to undermine and eventually challenge the separate-but-equal doctrine. Thurgood Marshall, a native of Baltimore who later became a U.S. Supreme Court Justice, was the special assistant to the NAACP. He became the attorney for suits in Montgomery County, Maryland, in 1936 (*Wm B. Gibbs, Jr. v. Bromme*) and in Calvert County, Maryland, in 1937 (*Elizabeth Brown v. Board of Education of Calvert County*). Both suits for mandamus were settled out of court with plans to equalize teachers' salaries over time.

The African American teachers of Anne Arundel County followed these cases with a great deal of interest. Having established the Colored Teachers Association of Anne Arundel County in 1932, and also having periodically petitioned the county board for the equalization of salaries, the association decided to make a final appeal to the board of

education before instituting a suit. Phillip Brown was the African American teachers' spokesperson at the meeting held January 5, 1938, with the Board of Education of Anne Arundel County. The teachers argued that they should receive the same remuneration as other teachers in the county.

The Board of Anne Arundel County went on record as favoring a revision of the State Equalization Law, presumably so that it would apply to teachers' salaries and provide equal pay for equal work in addition to equalizing the provision of education between poor and rich counties. But, according to the board, there were no funds with which to raise the African American teachers' pay. The board then took up the issue again on October 4, November 2, and November 23, 1938. At the November 23 meeting, the board decided to increase African American teachers' pay by 10%. But because it became clear to the teachers that any equalization of their salaries would take several years, the teachers decided to proceed with their suit. Walter Mills, an African American teacher in Anne Arundel County, indicated that he would willingly serve as plaintiff in such a suit.

An Earlier Case

Walter Mills, with Thurgood Marshall as one of the attorneys, filed a suit against the Maryland State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Education, and the Treasurer and Comptroller of the State, the object of which was the equalization of salaries, in *Mills v. Lowndes* (1938). They calculated that successfully suing state officials would render it unnecessary for them to file separate suits in every county of the state that maintained a dual salary scale because the decision would apply to the entire state.

The suit maintained that the dual salary laws violated the Fourteenth Amendment, either on their face or in practice, and alleged that only White teachers were employed to teach in schools for White children and only African American teachers in the schools for African American children. It also alleged that most of the counties paid the African American teachers materially less than the salaries paid to White teachers. The suit then pointed to the separate statutes that set one minimum-salary scale for "White teachers" and another, lower minimum-salary scale for "teachers in

colored schools." Further, it sought an injunction against the state officials prohibiting them from distributing the equalization funds, funds which, it maintained, aided in the perpetuation of discriminatory salaries.

The court dismissed the case, finding that the relief sought was not proper, and not proper as against these general state officers. The court reasoned that only the county government had the power to enforce the statute in making contracts with teachers, and the county had to be afforded an opportunity to be heard as a party to the case before state funds could be properly withheld from it. The court explained that while the state authorities had the power to enforce the statutes where teachers were paid less than the minimum, they were powerless to restrict the counties from paying teachers more than the minimum or equalizing teacher salaries.

Further, the court held that prohibiting the distribution of the equalization fund was improper because it would be futile to the plaintiff's ultimate goal and it would harm counties that had in fact equalized teachers' salaries but were beneficiaries of the fund, among other things.

Though the case was dismissed, the court framed the central issue for the later case as whether the minimum salary statutes for teachers, although not discriminatory on their face, were administered in many counties in a way that constituted discrimination against "colored teachers solely on account of race and color," a violation of the equal protection of the law.

Facts of the Case

Mills, the African American teacher employed by the Anne Arundel County Board of Education in 1939, when he instituted the suit, *Mills v. Lowndes*, became a principal with four teacher assistants at Parole Elementary School, a so-called colored school. Mills had attended Bowie State Normal School, a school for training "colored teachers" and held a first grade teacher's certificate and a principal's certificate issued by the Maryland State Board of Education. He was now in his eleventh year of teaching.

Mills, with Thurgood Marshall, Leon Ransom, and William Hastie as his attorneys, instituted a second lawsuit in the same federal district court in which the earlier case had been filed. This time,

however, they instituted the suit against Anne Arundel County Board of Education and its superintendent on behalf of Mills and other African American teachers in Anne Arundel County. The suit again called attention to the Maryland statutes setting different minimum salary standards for White teachers and those teaching in colored schools and alleged as a practical manner that only Whites taught in White schools and only African American teachers taught in African American schools. The latter, the suit claimed, were paid less in Anne Arundel County than White teachers, solely on account of their race or color, an unconstitutional discrimination prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment.

This time, Mills sought to enjoin the board from making a distinction solely on the ground of race or color in the fixing of salaries and from paying him or other African American teachers less than the amount paid to Whites. Further, he sought a decree declaring that the board's policy as maintained and enforced, whether or not pursuant to controlling statutes, violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court Speaks

The federal district court held that Anne Arundel County School Board had discriminated against Mills in the practice of his profession solely on account of his race. It first noted that Maryland enacted legislation in 1937, effective September 1, 1939, that made the school term for African American children the same as the school term for White children. It explained that there was also legislation in 1939 establishing a new and slightly different state minimum-salary schedule graduated for experience and qualifications for White teachers. This statute raised the salaries paid to White teachers and set a minimum of \$1,250 for a teacher with a first-grade rating and nine years or more of experience. There was no change in the separate minimum-salary schedule for teachers in African American schools. The minimum salary for these teachers with a first-grade rating and nine years or more experience was \$765.

The court then rejected in part the argument that the statute was discriminatory on its face, reasoning that the statutes set minimum salaries, not maximums; that the counties were the final arbiters

of salaries and could pay higher and equal salaries, and noted that some did. Further, the court reasoned that the statute made a distinction between White teachers and teachers in African American schools. Theoretically, a White teacher teaching in an African American school would presumably be paid according to the lower minimum-salary scale for teaching in an African American school. Thus, the court noted that while the statutes permitted discrimination by the counties, it did not necessarily require it. It then declared the controlling question as "not whether the statutes were unconstitutional on their face," but whether in their practical application they constituted discrimination on account of race or color that was unconstitutional.

Observing that there was a state minimum-salary schedule for White principals serving at elementary schools that listed a minimum salary of \$1,550 when a principal had qualifications and staff comparable to those of Mr. Mills, the court noted that there was no minimum salary schedule for principals of African American elementary schools. However, Anne Arundel County had minimum-salary scales for both African American and White principals. It listed the salary for White principals with comparable qualifications and assistants serving in an elementary school consistent with the state minimum salary at \$1,550 and listed the minimum salary for similarly skilled and staffed principals at African American elementary schools at \$955.

The court explained that Anne Arundel County for several years had paid higher salaries than the minimum requirements. Mr. Mills's actual salary was \$1,058, while three other similarly qualified White principals earned \$1,800 that year. Though the defendants argued that the White principals had superior professional attainments and efficiencies than Mr. Mills, the court reasoned that the difference in the amounts paid to these particular individuals could not explain the fact that the minimum county scale would require that any White person receive a minimum salary of \$1,550, a sum higher than that paid to Mr. Mills. In other words, the court commented, if Mills had been White, the county would have had to pay him \$1,550.

Furthermore, recognizing that the case was filed on behalf of other African American teachers in Anne Arundel County, the court observed that the

salary scales contained a host of differentials between teachers and principals and between elementary school and high school teachers. But the court found that of the 243 White teachers in Anne Arundel County and the 91 African American teachers, not one of the African American teachers received as much salary as any White teacher of similar qualifications.

Finding Discrimination

The court thus held that Anne Arundel County School Board in discriminating between White and African American teachers had discriminated against Mills, an African American teacher in the practice of his profession solely on account of his race or color in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. It held that Mills was thus entitled to injunctive relief against the continuation of the discrimination to the extent that it was based solely on grounds of race or color; and that he was entitled to a decree that impermissible discrimination did exist.

However, the court refused to grant that part of Mills's injunction that appeared to remove all discretion from the county regarding salaries. Instead, the court suggested that the county should pay both African American and White teachers the same minimum salary established for Whites but that they were free to pay individuals more than the minimum based on individual merit. Further, with both sides acknowledging that the board faced financial difficulties in raising African American teachers' pay, the court delayed the effective date of the injunction until the next budget cycle.

Impact of the Ruling

In light of the decision in *Mills v. Board of Education of Anne Arundel County*, the board, with the consent of African American teachers, agreed to raise African American teachers' salaries as of January 1941 retroactive to the beginning of the school year in September 1940. However, in the decision's immediate aftermath, the county seemed poised for resistance.

In the spring of 1940, the assistant superintendent for the county visited each school in the county. Later, all teachers received two sets of

letters, ranking them as either first- or second-class teachers and informing them that they would not receive salary raises based on experience if they ranked second class, in accordance with new legislation passed in 1939 and presumably based on the assistant superintendent's visit as an evaluation. The new law prohibited county superintendents from providing incremental increases in salary based on experience for those teachers whose certificates they rated as second class.

Not surprisingly, most of the African American teachers received letters ranking their certificates as second class. This effort appeared to exploit the language in the *Mills* case allowing for higher salaries to individuals based on merit. But real resistance and possible retaliation did not materialize. Most African American teachers were later reclassified as ranking in the first class, and the Maryland legislature in 1941 established a single salary schedule for all teachers.

The *Mills* cases, therefore, were not only beneficial to African American teachers in Anne Arundel County but also to those throughout Maryland. In addition, the *Mills* cases spurred the NAACP in its campaign to equalize teachers' salaries in other states. The NAACP and other local groups attacked discriminatory teachers pay in 11 other southern states of the United States, most resulting in the equalization of pay.

Further, the NAACP had some limited success in challenging and demonstrating a pattern and practice of discriminatory pay even in cases in which school boards sought to exploit the "merit" language in *Mills* in order to perpetuate discrimination (*Davis v. Cook*, 1948), and some early success in suggesting that county boards were administrative arms of the state subject to the Fourteenth Amendment (*McDaniel v. Board of Public Instruction for Escambia County, Florida*, 1941).

Though the goal of the NAACP campaign, of which salary equalization was a part, was to undermine segregation by making it too expensive for the states to maintain, states' commitments to segregation proved tenacious. So, for instance, in Anne Arundel County overall, schools remained segregated and decidedly unequal. This would continue to be the case as a matter of law until the NAACP altered its strategy to attack segregation

per se and won its landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). Even then, and after the implementation of a school choice program, it would be 1966 before Anne Arundel County would nominally be desegregated.

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See also Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Desegregation; Marshall, Thurgood; *McDaniel v. Barresi*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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MISSOURI EX REL. GAINES V. CANADA

Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, et al. (1938) represents the first case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ordered

an all-White university to accept an African American applicant. Because the applicant left the scene, that order was never implemented. It set a precedent, however, for later cases seeking to open universities to African Americans and, in time, for the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, ruling (1954). This entry looks at the background, the facts, and the impact of the *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* case.

Historical Context

Racial segregation in all areas of public accommodation, including in public education, was pervasive in the United States in the 19th century. This practice occurred during what was commonly known as the “Jim Crow Era,” in which segregation was essentially the law of the land and was sanctioned by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which established the “separate-but-equal” doctrine. African Americans could be kept separate from Whites so long as the facilities to which African Americans were confined were equal to those provided to Whites.

In the 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began its legal campaign to end segregation, especially in the education arena. However, by this time, the races had been separated legally for such a long time that the separate-but-equal doctrine had become firmly entrenched in the United States. Thus, the NAACP recognized that, more than likely, a direct challenge to the doctrine and to *Plessy v. Ferguson* would fail. Therefore, the NAACP sought to compel the courts to enforce the “equal” prong of the separate-but-equal doctrine. In other words, rather than attack segregation itself, the NAACP elected to challenge the relative poor quality of African American education, compared to the education provided to White students, by alleging that the Black institutions were not physically or otherwise equivalent to their all-White counterparts. The rationale behind this “equalization strategy” was that it would be so expensive for states to maintain truly equal education for African Americans that the states would voluntarily desegregate its schools.

In advancing its newly created legal strategy, the NAACP elected to focus its efforts on higher

education in southern and border states as opposed to public elementary and secondary schools. The organization chose this route because there were virtually no graduate or professional schools for African Americans in these areas, and African Americans were not typically allowed to go to school with Whites in those parts of the country. Armed with this strategy, the NAACP began to selectively file lawsuits to end segregation in education.

In 1935, Lloyd Gaines, an African American male who had recently graduated with honors from Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, applied for admission to the School of Law at the University of Missouri. Lincoln University, which did not have a law school, was a liberal arts college maintained by the State of Missouri specifically for African American students. Gaines was not only an honors student, having received a bachelor's degree in history, but also a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, and he was president of his graduating class. Prior to attending Lincoln University, Gaines had graduated as valedictorian of his high school in St. Louis, and he had taken courses at Harris Stowe State College, a Black teachers college in the city. The School of Law at the University of Missouri was an all-White institution. Mr. Gaines's application for admission was denied because he was African American.

The *Gaines* case was the perfect vehicle to advance the NAACP's strategy of ending segregation in schools by attacking the "equality" prong of the separate-but-equal doctrine. Therefore, the NAACP on behalf of Mr. Gaines filed a lawsuit in the Missouri courts seeking to compel Gaines's admission to the University of Missouri Law School. Gaines asserted that the refusal to admit him to the law school constituted a denial of equal protection in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Facts of the Case

The University of Missouri, an institution for Whites only, operated the only law school in the state of Missouri. The parallel Black university in Missouri, Lincoln University, did not operate a law school. However, a Missouri statute, § 9622 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri (1929), allowed for

any African American resident of the state of Missouri to apply for attendance "at the university in any adjacent state" for any course offered at the State University of Missouri that was not taught at Lincoln University. Pursuant to this statute, the State of Missouri would pay the reasonable tuition rates and fees for such attendance when no Black in-state facility was available.

As mentioned, Lloyd Gaines, an African American student, applied for admission to the University of Missouri School of Law in 1935. The registrar at the University of Missouri advised Gaines to communicate with the president of Lincoln University, who in turn referred him to the Missouri statute previously referenced. Rejecting the suggestion that he apply to law school in a neighboring state, Gaines continued in his quest to attend the law school at the University of Missouri.

The University of Missouri acknowledged that Gaines's "work and credits at the Lincoln University would qualify him for admission" to the School of Law. However, asserting that it was "contrary to the constitution, laws and public policy of the State to admit a Negro as a student in the University of Missouri," Gaines's request for admission was denied. Gaines maintained that the University of Missouri violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution when it refused to admit him. Therefore, with legal assistance from the State of Missouri and from the NAACP, he filed a petition for mandamus seeking to compel the University of Missouri to admit him to its law school.

Court Rulings

Maintaining that Gaines should have applied for admission to law school in an adjacent state, as permitted by § 9622, the trial court denied relief. The trial court's decision was affirmed by the Missouri Supreme Court. In a 6–2 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed, stating:

By the operation of the laws of Missouri, a privilege has been created for white law students which is denied to Negroes by reason of their race. The white resident is afforded legal education within the State; the Negro resident having the same qualifications is refused it there, and must go outside of the State to obtain it.

That is a denial of equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege which the State has set up, and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another State does not remove the discrimination.

[Nor], can we regard the fact that there is but a limited demand in Missouri for the legal education of Negroes as excusing the discrimination in favor of whites. [P]etitioner's right was a personal one. It was as an individual that he was entitled to the equal protection of the laws, and the State was bound to furnish him within its borders facilities for legal education *substantially equal* to those which the State there afforded for persons of the white race, whether or not other Negroes sought the same opportunity. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337, 349–351 (1938). (emphasis added)

The Supreme Court went on to state that Gaines “was entitled to be admitted to the law school of the [University of Missouri] in the absence of other and proper provision for his legal training within the State” (305 U.S. 337, 352). Thus, the matter was reversed and remanded to the trial court.

Impact of the Ruling

Lloyd Gaines never attended the University of Missouri Law School, or any other law school. Even after the Supreme Court's decision, the State of Missouri was not willing to admit Lloyd Gaines to the all-White University of Missouri Law School. Therefore, the Missouri legislature introduced a bill to provide Lincoln University with money to establish a law school. The bill was signed into law in May of that year, and the newly completed law school opened its doors in September 1939.

The NAACP believed that this hastily created Black law school was blatantly unequal to the University of Missouri Law School. Unfortunately, however, the NAACP could not seek legal redress in the courts because Lloyd Gaines had suddenly and mysteriously disappeared without a trace. After a diligent search, Mr. Gaines could not be located. Eventually, therefore, the NAACP did not oppose the state of Missouri's motion to dismiss the *Gaines* lawsuit.

The Supreme Court's rulings in *Gaines* were not carried out because of Gaines's disappearance; thus the NAACP's argument that the hurriedly created Black law school was not in fact equal could not be tested in the courts. A decade passed before another *Gaines*-type case would present itself before the highest court in the land. In that regard, 10 years after *Gaines* was dismissed, the Supreme Court heard three cases that ultimately furthered the path toward ending “separate-but-equal” education in public schools: *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma* (1948), *Sweatt v. Painter* (1936), and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1936).

In *Sipuel*, an African American female applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma Law School, the only taxpayer-funded law school in the state. She was denied admission because of her race, and the trial court upheld the board of regents' decision not to admit her. She then made application for a writ of mandamus in the District Court of Cleveland County, Oklahoma. The writ of mandamus was refused, and the Oklahoma Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the district court. On appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, the Court, in a unanimous, four-paragraph per curiam opinion, reaffirmed *Gaines* and held that the State of Oklahoma was constitutionally obligated to provide Sipuel with an equal education. In that regard, on remand, the trial court gave the state the choice of either admitting Sipuel to the law school, or establishing a separate Black law school.

In *Sweatt v. Painter*, Sweatt, an African American mailman, was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School solely because of his race. At that time, pursuant to a state statute, the University of Texas Law School was restricted to White students only. After the initial filing of the lawsuit, but before the Supreme Court ruled, the State of Texas created a law school for African Americans. Reversing the trial court's finding that the education offered to African American students at the newly created law school was “substantially equivalent” to the education provided at the University of Texas School of Law, a unanimous Supreme Court held that the separate schools did not provide “substantial equality in . . . educational opportunities.” As a result, the Supreme Court held that Sweatt could not be denied admission to

the University of Texas Law School, and the Court struck down the Texas statute that restricted the school to Whites only.

On the same day that the Supreme Court decided *Sweatt*, it issued a unanimous opinion in *McLaurin*. In *McLaurin*, the State of Oklahoma admitted McLaurin, an African American doctoral student, to pursue his education at the previously all-White University of Oklahoma under the threat of legal action. However, pursuant to an Oklahoma statute that mandated that African Americans and Whites be taught “upon a segregated basis,” McLaurin was forced to sit at an assigned seat in the classroom specified for African Americans only; he was given a special table in the library; and, although he could eat in the cafeteria at the same time as White students, he was assigned to a special table. The Supreme Court unanimously struck down the Oklahoma statute and held that once African American students are admitted into a state-supported graduate school, they must be treated equally.

Thus, *Gaines*, the NAACP’s first Supreme Court victory in a school desegregation case, united with *Sipuel*, *Sweatt*, and *McLaurin*, three unanimous decisions, cast serious doubt on the viability of the separate-but-equal doctrine. These cases laid the groundwork for the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, (1954), in which the Supreme Court declared that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” and held that “in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place.”

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See also *Brown v. Board of Education*, Topeka, Kansas (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Jim Crow; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*; *Sweatt v. Painter*

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MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

Morehouse College is a private, 4-year men’s historically Black liberal arts college located in the West End neighborhood of Atlanta, Georgia. It is one of only four 4-year men’s colleges in the United States, and the only historically Black college that is a men’s college. The mission of Morehouse College is “to develop men with disciplined minds who will lead lives of leadership and service.” The school’s motto is *Et facta est lux*, Latin for “And then there was light,” a reference to Genesis 1:3, which harkens back to Morehouse’s connection to the Baptist church and spirituality that is a hallmark of the institution.

Martin Luther King Jr. is perhaps the most notable in a long and distinguished list of Morehouse alumni in many fields of endeavor: in academia, former college presidents Mordecai Wyatt Johnson

(Howard), James Nabrit Jr. (Howard), and Michael Lomax (Dillard); in the fields of politics and civil rights, former Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson, former National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chairman Julian Bond, and New York Congressman Major Owens; in the fields of sports, entertainment, and the arts, actor Samuel L. Jackson, Olympian Edwin Moses, and filmmaker Spike Lee; in the fields of the military and business, U.S. Army Lieutenant General James Hall, former associate publisher of *Jet* magazine Robert E. Johnson, and Nathaniel Bronner, founder of Bronner Bros. cosmetics; and clergymen such as theologian Howard Thurman, former chairman of the Morehouse College Board of Trustees, the Reverend Otis Moss Jr., pastor of Olivet Institutional Baptist Church in Cleveland, and the Reverend Calvin Butts, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York.

This entry discusses Morehouse College's history, its academic programs, alumni, campus facilities and holdings, and student life and athletic programs.

Historical Background

Morehouse College started as the Augusta Institute, founded in 1867 under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, a society dedicated to educating African Americans in the post-bellum South. Three men were involved in the founding and initial operation of the Institute: the Reverend William Jefferson White, a clergyman and furniture maker; the Reverend Edmund Turney, a founder of the National Theological Institute in Washington, D.C., an institution established for the education of freed African Americans; and Augusta native Richard C. Coulter, a former enslaved African and National Theological Institute graduate.

Early Years

The institution first operated out of the Springfield Baptist Church, the oldest African American church in the United States. Twelve years later, in 1879, the Reverend Frank Quarles led a movement to move the institution closer to the center of the state in Atlanta. The institute was relocated to the state capital and renamed the

Atlanta Baptist Seminary, where the first seminary classes were hosted by Rev. Quarles in the basement of the Friendship Baptist Church. The seminary was located in several locations in Atlanta until 1885, when the institution finally broke ground on a 14-acre site in Atlanta's West End, where Morehouse stands today. By 1897, the charter of the seminary was amended to grant the institution full college powers, and it was again renamed, as Atlanta Baptist College.

By 1899, the college faced a crisis, as African American Baptist leaders expressed a desire for greater governance over affairs at both the Atlanta Baptist College and the neighboring Spelman Seminary, resulting in a power-sharing governance cooperative structure between the Home Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Georgia Baptist Convention, and the Negro Baptist Education Society.

Under the leadership of Dr. John Hope, the institution's first African American president and a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Brown University, Atlanta Baptist College became Morehouse College in 1913. The college is named in honor of Henry Lyman Morehouse, who served as the first secretary of the board of trustees for the Atlanta Baptist Seminary. Following Hope's presidency, which spanned the years from 1906 to 1931, Dr. Samuel H. Archer was named president and led Morehouse from 1931 to 1937, successfully maintaining the institution during the Great Depression. After Archer's resignation, Dr. Charles D. Hubert served as interim president from 1937 to 1940.

The Mays Presidency

In 1940, Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays, Morehouse's most renowned leader, took office. Born in South Carolina and educated at Virginia Union University, Bates College, and the University of Chicago, Mays assumed the presidency just 5 years after completing his doctorate in religion, though he had previously taught and served as dean at Howard University. Among Mays's many accomplishments as president of Morehouse are the strengthening of the Atlanta University System, which evolved into the Atlanta University Center (AUC); improving the faculty through a 17-fold increase in the number of faculty members with

terminal degrees from his appointment between 1940 and 1967; presiding over a substantial increase in the size and quality of the campus physical plant, through the construction of classrooms, laboratories, and dormitories; and the establishment of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at Morehouse in 1968.

Alongside these administrative accomplishments, Mays also assisted in the development of many Morehouse students who went on to become prominent leaders in their respective fields. Among the students that Mays mentored are Dr. Charles V. Willie, professor emeritus at Harvard University; Dr. Samuel Dubois Cook, president emeritus of Dillard University; Lerone Bennett, writer and historian; Dr. Louis Sullivan, former secretary of Health and Human Services, and Dr. Walter Massey, former president of Morehouse College and former director of the Nation Science Foundation. Mays's best protégé was the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who wrote of Mays's influence as a counselor and mentor in his autobiographical account of the Montgomery bus boycott, *Stride Toward Freedom*. Mays delivered the eulogy at King's funeral in 1968, one year after stepping down from the presidency at Morehouse.

Mays is also credited with advancing the philosophy at the college termed the "Morehouse Mystique," a spiritual and intellectual sense of leadership, brotherhood, and service rooted in the pursuits of Mays's life—intellectual discovery, religious examination, and service in the name of improving the lives of African Americans.

Subsequent Leaders

Morehouse's first alumnus leader, Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, served as president from 1967 to 1987. Gloster's notable accomplishments included increasing the college's endowment to \$29 million and overseeing the construction of a dozen new campus buildings, including the Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel. Gloster also presided during the founding of the Morehouse School of Medicine in 1975, which became independent of Morehouse College in 1981.

In 1987, the presidency was turned over to Dr. Leroy Keith, another Morehouse alumnus, who increased the institution's endowment to \$60 million and presided at the time when Nima Warfield was

named the first Rhodes Scholar from Morehouse (and the first from a historically Black college). Dr. Wiley A. Perdue served as interim president from 1994 to 1995, when alumnus Dr. Walter E. Massey was named president.

Under the Massey administration, Morehouse articulated the goal of becoming one of the U.S.'s finest liberal arts colleges. During this period, Morehouse College undertook Massey's charge to become an "academic village," linking intellectual and scholarly pursuits with communal, unifying values. This effort coincided with the largest fundraising campaign in Morehouse's history, which raised \$105.7 million by June 2006.

After Massey announced his resignation from the presidency in 2007, Morehouse announced the appointment of its 10th president, Dr. Robert M. Franklin, effective July 2, 2007. Like every president appointed after 1967, Franklin is a Morehouse alumnus.

The University Today

During the 2003–2004 academic year, 2,736 full-time and 148 part-time students from 42 states and 12 foreign nations were enrolled at Morehouse College, which is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). Morehouse College aspires to be among the finest liberal arts colleges in the United States, with such attributes as a 15:1 student/faculty ratio, being one of 262 colleges in the United States with a Phi Beta Kappa chapter, an endowment of \$118 million, and producing three Rhodes, five Fulbright, five Marshall, and five Luce scholars. Morehouse is a member institution of the Atlanta University Center (AUC), the world's largest consortium of historically Black colleges and universities, including Spelman College, Clark Atlanta University, the Interdenominational Theological Center, and the Morehouse School of Medicine.

Curriculum

Morehouse grants the bachelor of arts and bachelor of science degrees in 26 majors in three divisions: Business Administration and Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences, and Science and Mathematics. To earn a degree from Morehouse College, students must successfully complete 120

semester hours of courses, complete the college's core curriculum, complete at least 60 semester hours of coursework in residence at Morehouse, and present a cumulative grade point average (GPA) of 2.00 or greater. The core curriculum consists of 53 credit hours in the humanities, mathematics, natural sciences, and social sciences, which are intended to emphasize learning outcomes in the following domains: critical thinking, analytic and problem-solving skills, citizenship in an international and cross-cultural perspective, communication, ethical behavior and leadership, knowledge of the natural sciences, an understanding of social institutions and aesthetics, philosophy and religion, and the African American experience.

Academic achievement is a core principle of the mission of Morehouse College. The college provides a 4-year academic honors program, which provides outstanding students with the opportunity to enroll in small courses with exemplary faculty. Students are admitted to the honors program as entering freshmen or may elect to apply as second-semester freshmen or first-semester sophomores with recommendations from professors and a GPA of 3.25 or better. Upon matriculation, approximately 10% of Morehouse College graduates go on to medical school, 9% to law school, another 9% to MBA programs, 7% to engineering graduate programs, and 10% into other graduate areas of study.

As a member of the Atlanta University Center, Morehouse students are able to take courses at member institutions. In addition, Morehouse has exchange programs with the 16 member institutions of the Associated Colleges of the South, and the following colleges and universities: Claremont-McKenna, Dartmouth, Davidson, New York University, Pitzer, St. John's, Stanford, the University of California, San Diego, and Vassar. For students who wish to major in subjects that Morehouse does not offer, the college maintains articulation agreements that allow their students to study in these majors at Atlanta Metropolitan College, Georgia Tech, and Lansing Community College, and Morehouse is affiliated with the National Articulation and Transfer Network (NATN).

Facilities and Archives

The Morehouse campus covers 61 acres and consists of 40 buildings, including 10 academic

buildings and 12 residence halls. Morehouse College is the home of the Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel, a center dedicated to the development of global communities of hope through reconciliation, nonviolence, science, and spirituality. Academic centers at Morehouse College include the Leadership Center, a training center that examines contemporary ethical and social concerns of relevance to African American life and culture; the Corella and Bertram F. Bonner Office of Community Service, which promotes volunteerism and public service stewardship among the Morehouse student body; and the Andrew Young Center for International Affairs, which pursues the globalization of Morehouse's academic programs, curricula, and activities to prepare students to serve the international community.

Morehouse College's academic library is the Robert Woodruff Library; it is shared with the other member institutions of the Atlanta University Center. The library contains more than 1 million items, comprising print volumes, electronic books, microforms, government documents, dissertations and theses, periodicals, compact discs, and databases. The Woodruff Library is also the home of historical documents and papers detailing the history of historically Black colleges and universities in the Atlanta area, including the John Henrik Clarke Africana Collection, the Henry P. Slaughter Collection, and the Countee Cullen/Harold Jackman Memorial Collection of visual and performing arts.

Morehouse College is the future home of the King Collection, a 10,000-piece collection of notes and unpublished speeches written by alumnus Martin Luther King Jr. The collection was very nearly auctioned, but the auction was averted by a June 23, 2006, deal engineered by a consortium of Atlanta businesses and individuals led by Mayor Shirley Franklin, which paid \$32 million to King's estate. While the permanent home of the papers is unknown at this time, it has been suggested that the papers will be stored in the short term at the Atlanta History Center, the University of Georgia, or the Woodruff Library.

Campus Life

All freshmen are required to live on the Morehouse College campus in one of the 12 residence halls, and

returning students are allowed to continue to live in the halls. Morehouse College students have access to more than 50 clubs and organizations on campus, including the Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, Omega Psi Phi, Phi Beta Sigma, and Iota Phi Theta fraternities. The performing arts are highly esteemed at Morehouse College, with the Concert Band, Jazz Ensemble, Maroon Marching Machine Band, and the world-famous Morehouse College Glee Club. The glee club received international recognition when the group performed the national anthem with Natalie Cole during Super Bowl XXVIII in 1993 and were featured at the opening and closing ceremonies of the 1996 Centennial Olympic Games in Atlanta. Reflecting the college's spiritual legacy, Morehouse College students have access to the William Danforth Chapel and the Martin Luther King Jr. International Chapel. Morehouse College students are represented by the Student Government Association, which is responsible for sponsoring new student orientation, homecoming, the Miss Maroon & White Pageant, and many campus events. Morehouse College's student newspaper, the *Maroon Tiger*, has been recognized for excellence by the Associated College Press.

The Morehouse College mascot is the Maroon Tiger, and the college competes in the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (SIAC) in Division II of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) in the following sports: basketball, baseball, cross country, football, golf, tennis, and track and field. Perhaps the most famous Morehouse College athlete was track and field star Edwin Moses, two-time gold medal Olympian. Donn Clendenon, MVP of the 1969 World Series as a member of the New York Mets, played collegiate baseball at Morehouse College. Morehouse College has the most enduring college football rivalry among historically Black colleges and universities with Tuskegee University: the two schools have played each other for 97 years, since 1902.

Morehouse College shares a special relationship with Spelman College, a historically Black women's college adjacent to the college campus. Spelman College shares a similar history and mission to Morehouse College and has been affiliated with Morehouse College and Atlanta University as charter members of the Atlanta University Center since 1929. There are many shared traditions

between Morehouse College and Spelman College, including the annual Spelman-Morehouse Christmas Carol Concert.

Richard J. Reddick

See also American Baptist Home Mission Society; Bennett College for Women; Clarke, John Henrik; Greek Letter Organizations; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Mays, Benjamin E.; Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; Spelman College

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MORGAN V. O'BRYANT

The case of *Morgan v. O'Bryant* (1991) was one of the many cases that followed the historic *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) ruling that declared segregated schools unconstitutional. More than a decade after that ruling, many states had not yet eradicated the remnants of segregation in their school systems. The *Morgan* case involved an order by the Boston School Committee approving the layoffs of several hundred teachers. The federal circuit court ordered that teachers at one city high school would be protected from the layoffs in order to maintain the school's desegregation efforts. The court felt that keeping the present teachers on the faculty was necessary to eliminate some of the effects of past segregation and to protect the progress made toward desegregation of the high school. This entry addresses the background, the facts, and the aftermath of the *Morgan v. O'Bryant* case.

Historical Context

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas* (1954) to abolish segregation in the school system left loose ends. In *Brown*, legally mandated discrimination (de jure segregation) had been eliminated in student placement; however, the courts still had to examine every aspect of school functions, including faculty, administration, activities, transportation, and facilities. Desegregation was not instantaneous, and its installment spurred a flood of school-related discrimination proceedings in the court system.

As the Supreme Court turned its attention away from schools in the South to those in the North, the justices soon recognized that achieving desegregation in northern schools would require different methods than those used in southern schools. In the South, African Americans and Whites lived within close proximity of each other, and desegregation was achieved simply by assigning students to schools closest to their homes. This arrangement would not function as efficiently in the northern states because of segregated living arrangements.

Slow improvement was accomplished by some states, including North Carolina in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), which delineated requirements to improve desegregation in North Carolina's school system by increasing bus transportation for African American students and new construction of schools near African American neighborhoods.

More than a decade after *Brown*, the Supreme Court held in the 1970s that faculty desegregation was a requisite component in the desegregation of schools, after district judges found that school boards had engaged in racially discriminatory hiring practices. These courts issued orders confirming the constitutional rights of students from minority groups to attend desegregated schools and school systems. Student educational rights were reiterated in *Hazelwood School District v. United States* (1977).

In the case of Boston, its period of desegregation began in the 1970s with *Morgan v. Hennigan* (1974), when parents of African American students brought a suit charging that the dual school system was unequal. The lawsuit held that Boston public school authorities had knowingly engaged

in a policy of racial discrimination. Further, the case revealed that the school system had intentionally maintained a segregated dual school system. In his 1974 ruling, Judge W. Arthur Garrity acknowledged the unconstitutionality of Boston school authorities' actions and required the parties to submit a plan for desegregating the school system. However, in the plan submitted, fewer than half of the students in the Boston School District were included, and those who were subject to the plan were painfully and unfairly affected.

Facts of the Case

After a finding that faculty and staff placements were also discriminatory, the First Circuit Court in Boston in *Morgan v. O'Bryant* (1982) ordered that African American and White teachers should be hired on a one-for-one basis until the percentage of African American faculty reached the 20% that reflected the direct proportion of the African American population in Massachusetts. This plan was to remain in effect until the school system achieved a 25% Black faculty total. A similar order was also applied to the school system's administration. The order imposed permanent faculty positions for African Americans in order to accomplish the desegregation goal. And, the permanent African American faculty numbers were proportionately tied to the general population of the area near an assigned school.

The *Morgan* order went further than many other desegregation rulings and set the stage for judicial review of the nature and scope of permissible desegregation remedies. Many other circuit courts had addressed these matters without creating permanent percentages of African American teachers and administrators. The First Circuit in Boston forthrightly defended its teacher percentages and preferential layoffs as necessary to ensure the rights of all students to a desegregated school system. In Boston, during 1971–1973, only 5.4% of the permanent teachers and 3.5% of the administrators were African American. The resulting court decisions and orders that followed were designed to eliminate desegregation in Boston by requiring certain percentages of African Americans throughout the school system.

As in other cities, numerous private organizations resisted the court's various orders designed to

compensate victims of a long history of pervasive discriminatory hiring in an assiduously maintained segregated school system. Therefore, the court consolidated all of its appeals to forever settle the issue of discriminatory hiring of faculty, staff, and administrators in the Boston school system. Since the school district had failed to comply with the recruitment percentage in 1978, the court then modified its orders to require that the percentage of African American teachers increase annually by at least one and one-half percentage points until the 20% goal was attained.

By early 1981, continued progress in desegregating the Boston school system was threatened by a budget crisis that triggered decreased funding for the school system. The Boston School Committee's effort to comply with its reduced budget focused on massive layoffs of teachers and administrators by reverse seniority. These layoffs under reverse seniority would drastically reduce the percentage of African American teachers and administrators hired in the previous few years, which, in turn, would violate the district court's desegregation orders. The school committee compromised by proposing that the layoffs of teachers be changed to ensure the current percentage of African American teachers was maintained—but insisted that layoffs of administrators must occur by reverse seniority.

After filing of motions, the district court decided to grant the motion maintaining the correct percentage of African American teachers with certain conditions but denied the motion requesting administrators be laid off in order of reverse seniority, since this would be a violation of court desegregation orders. Although the court did not mandate the layoffs, it did determine in what manner layoffs should be made. Consequently, layoffs took place in accordance with the priorities established in the court orders. Information provided by the Boston Association of School Administrators and Supervisors (BASAS) demonstrated that if seniority had been followed, 13.8% of African American administrators would remain. The Boston Teachers Union (BTU) brought an appeal asserting that the seniority approach should have been utilized and, although BTU did not do so related to the faculty percentage positions, it did argue against the need for any layoffs at all and against starting the layoff procedure while trying to increase the percentage of African American faculty in the school system.

The plaintiff class, the Boston school committee, the state board of education, and interveners *El Comité de Padres Pro Defensa de la Educación Bilingüe* and Concerned Black Educators of Boston (CBEB) participated as parties in the case but argued that the court's orders failed to go far enough to remedy past discrimination in the school system. The court used an analysis of *Milliken v. Bradley* (1977) (*Milliken II*) that established the standards for equitable remedies in school desegregation cases. In its decision, the court did not argue that the Boston School Committee's proposal for laying off teachers was unconstitutional discrimination, nor did the school committee request an evidentiary hearing. Also, BASAS made no argument that the district court's maintenance approach was unconstitutional with respect to the administrators. Finally, CBEB actually had filed no motions until after the district court's subsequent order was entered. There was no procedural reason for the court to reexamine the issue at all; however, because the case was so important and it would have such strong human impact, the court preferred to return to the merits of the controversy to which it had applied the *Milliken* standards.

The first *Milliken* requirement is that the remedy to desegregation be determined by the scope and relation of the constitutional violation. Here, the court found that the order was really directed at preserving a percentage of African American teachers and administrators. This presentation of a percentage of African American teachers and administrators was a critical ingredient in desegregating the school system and was directly related to the unconstitutional conditions of discriminatory hiring found to exist by the district court. The court had to rectify the prior violations in the constitutional rights of students, faculty, staff, and administration. Accordingly, it had produced orders for the school system that would work toward eradicating segregation in the school system. The district court stated that its policy intended to desegregate the faculty and administrative staff was but one step in the process of eradicating segregation in the Boston school system. BTU had never argued against this policy or the seniority layoffs that would occur as a result, but it did assert that desegregation had been accomplished and that the district court's powers in determining how layoffs were managed was overreaching. First,

there was no indication BTU had ever moved for the court to withdraw its control because the school system had obtained unitary status. Nor was there any proof that Boston's dual school system had been dismantled. Therefore, the district court retained authority and power to order policies and procedures correcting unconstitutional conditions.

The second *Milliken* requirement states that the court's order must be designed to be the most appropriate method in compensating the victims by placing them in the same position they would have been in had they not been discriminated against. BTU and BASAS contended the orders did not satisfy this requirement because they benefited African American teachers and administrators who had never been proven to be victims of hiring discrimination and therefore the district court lacked the legal authority to order compensation for African American teachers. The court rejected this argument by reiterating the argument it made when the 20% goal was originally decided and further opined that the crux of the case was the constitutional violation to Boston's public school children and not mainly discrimination against African American teachers.

Constitutionally, Boston's public school children had the right to learn in a school system free of discrimination against its employees. And the effects of a fully desegregated school system could not be accomplished unless discriminatory hiring processes were completely eliminated. The court emphasized the broader importance of African American students and their families fully participating in the community. It also acknowledged the value of African American teachers and administrators establishing role models for African American students that would encourage them to aspire to the highest ideals and positions. Thus the court, in its review, found its orders were properly curative and were designed with the intention to strengthen Boston public school children's rights and to enable them to become important functioning members of the community. The future of the children within the Boston school system was the real target of the school system reform effort.

Appellants reluctantly accepted the court's policy as sufficient but argued further that, even if these orders were merely curative, they constituted forbidden racial hiring preferences and were

therefore unconstitutional. The court promptly rejected that argument too, by reiterating that any remedy necessary to abolish intentional discrimination is a constitutionally valid means of curing the current effects of the past discrimination.

The court noted that it was limited in providing a remedy such that any remedy must be a reasonable process that clearly moved forward the desegregation of the school system. In reviewing its previous rulings made during this case, the district court found them sufficiently reasonable in safely ensuring a measured progression to total desegregation; ordering instantaneous desegregation without court supervision would likely have had catastrophic consequences. The court went on to say that its current order affecting faculty and administrative percentages during budget cuts was more lenient than the previous hiring goal of 25%. And the substantial costs associated with the layoffs were, in the district court's view, a product of the layoffs themselves, not of its orders.

Next, in applying the last prong of the *Milliken* test, the court took into account the interests of state and local authorities in managing their own affairs against what level of court interference was constitutionally permissible when local school authorities fail to fulfill their obligations to the community. The order under review was not one that resulted from heavy-handed and impermissible judicial action aimed at a local administrative body resisting court orders. Rather, the current crisis facing the school system was caused mainly by budget cuts. Therefore, the court saw no reason to reverse its decision, which continued to be constitutionally valid but simply required the school system to continue to comply with its previous order. BTU's final argument, contending the court erred in failing to hold an evidentiary hearing before granting the school committee's motion, was found to be without merit because BTU had not requested a hearing and the evidence that would have been presented was not new.

Impact of the Ruling

Nearly two decades after the Massachusetts district court ruled that the Boston public schools had racially discriminated against African Americans and maintained a dual school system in the initial

1974 *Morgan* case, the court addressed the layoff problem concerning teacher seniority again in *Morgan v. Burke* (1991). In this instance, the BTU appealed a 1990 final judgment of the district court, arguing this time that because the 10% hiring goal for other minorities had been met, the school system had reached a level of "maximum practical desegregation" even though the African American faculty and staff 25% goal had not been met. The partial desegregation achieved for minorities required, the BTU asserted, the court to do a fact-intensive examination. The examination results would be reversible only if the district court's findings were clearly erroneous.

In its review this time, the district court dealt with the specifics of (a) whether unitary status had been achieved in the hiring of faculty and administrative staff, despite the school system not achieving its goals; (b) whether the district court's involvement in the school board's hiring of faculty and staff needed to be a permanent one; and (c) whether the desegregation order, having achieved partial success (or partially unitary), was significant enough without having achieved desegregation for African Americans.

After careful analysis, the court reiterated that its orders would stand and were to be followed so that the reform lawfully demanded two decades earlier could be accomplished. No excuse or other rationalization would be acceptable to the court. Indeed, the court noted that not insisting that its orders to desegregate the school system be followed would be reneging on its 20-year-old obligation to carry out its prior decision to remove segregation from every facet of the school system. This order, like its earlier ones, faced continued resistance by some members of the Boston community. The court orders, then and now, were viewed by the White community as a court-imposed social construct rather than ensuring that those students served by the Boston school system receive the kind of public education to which they were constitutionally entitled.

Studies and data have found that court-ordered school desegregation achieved significant positive changes in the Boston public schools: in racial balance, in educational opportunity, and in the school environment. Although the first decade following the desegregation orders was characterized by some uncertainty and instability, subsequent

decades reveal the school system has evolved into one with a higher level of order, balance, and quality education. Court-ordered school desegregation ended up serving as a necessary means of ensuring the continued evolution of the Boston public schools.

New studies conducted by the Boston School System have introduced additional methods for improving the quality of education while still maintaining the city's diverse social milieu. In 2009, the Boston public schools exist in a different climate and are composed largely of minority groups. A recent census showed Boston's White population is slightly larger than that of its African American and other minorities. This means that most families who left the public school system sent their children to private schools. Consequently, the Boston public schools have changed their mission from one of serving underrepresented students to one of targeting low-income, disadvantaged groups who cannot afford private education, regardless of race or ethnicity.

During the past 15 years, courts outside of Boston have lifted desegregation orders in more than 100 school districts from Alabama to California. These courts have made their decisions after school districts convinced the courts they were making a good-faith effort—whether successful or not—to attain racial desegregation. In 2006, federal courts sided 36 times with districts seeking to remove their systems from judicial oversight. Federal courts stepping back from monitoring desegregation is due in part to employment issues in the cities where school districts argue they must address general job losses in their area instead of seeking to address past discrimination against underrepresented minorities.

Stephanie Marie Villavicencio

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Desegregation

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural education is defined by James A. Banks as an idea or concept, a process, and an educational reform movement that assumes that all students—regardless of their gender, social class, and their racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds—should have an equal opportunity to learn in school. U.S. schools are increasingly more diverse than they were before the *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Topeka, Kansas*, U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954. African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian American, and Native American students make up 42% of the national public school population. African American students constitute a majority of the school population in several of the 20 largest urban school districts in the country.

Yet school children from diverse racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds continue to experience unequal educational opportunities. The racial achievement gap between White students and African American students has remained stagnant. The average 12th-grade, low-income student from

an underrepresented group reads at the same level as the average eighth-grade, middle-class White student. African American scholars, educators, and parents have called for educational opportunities that are multicultural and equitable and incorporate culturally responsive curriculum and instructional methods, equitable assessment practices, and organizational structures that promote interaction across racial and ethnic lines and facilitate academic achievement for all students. This entry looks at how that idea evolved, how multicultural education works, what its critics have to say, and how it may develop in coming years.

Historical Development

When several urban school districts enacted policies to promote racial and ethnic diversity in the years before, during, and immediately after World War II, their efforts were known as “intercultural education.” Intercultural advocates in New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Detroit produced curriculum materials on African American history and race relations and designed professional development programs and college courses to promote cultural pluralism and improve human relations.

In some city neighborhoods, such as Harlem, New York, and the Hill District in Pittsburgh, intercultural education was also linked with activism by African American parents and community organizations to hire more African American teachers, promote African American history and culture, and improve race relations through radio programs, films, art exhibits, and children’s literature. Characterized as “educating for democracy” during the war years, intercultural efforts contrasted the stated democratic ideals in the U.S. of freedom and equality of opportunity with the historical reality of ongoing discrimination for marginalized groups. These curriculum and staff development efforts were largely halted during the Cold War era, when intercultural courses were criticized as “subversive and un-American,” and several teacher union leaders who promoted intercultural education were subject to “Red-baiting.”

By the late 1960s, African American Studies programs sprang up in colleges and universities, and African American literature and African American history courses were instituted in selected high schools across the country. Community and

parent activists from Los Angeles to Brooklyn demanded more control over the content of the curriculum, more African American and Latino teachers and administrators, and more decision-making powers on local school boards.

Models and Approaches to Multicultural Education

By the 1970s, African American scholars such as James A. Banks, Carl Grant, and Geneva Gay began to develop sophisticated models to explain how multicultural education might transform K–12 school systems. Banks's conceptual model of multicultural education includes five interrelated dimensions:

1. *Content integration* refers to the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts in their subject area or discipline.
2. The *knowledge construction process* examines how teachers help students understand and investigate the implicit cultural assumptions, perspectives, and biases within a discipline and how the knowledge created reflects the positionality and lived reality of those who construct it.
3. *Prejudice reduction* describes the characteristics of students' racial and ethnic attitudes and strategies that can be used to reduce prejudice and develop more democratic attitudes.
4. An *equity pedagogy* examines how teachers modify their teaching in order to facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, and social class groups.
5. An *empowering school culture and social structure* examines grouping and labeling practices, participation in extracurricular activities, disproportionality in achievement, and the interaction of the staff and students across ethnic and racial lines to create a school culture that empowers students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.

Carl Grant and Christine Sleeter's model identifies five different approaches that address human diversity in the schools:

1. *Teaching the exceptional and culturally different* aims to assimilate students of color into the cultural mainstream and existing social structure, equipping people of color with the knowledge and skills to achieve in schools and society.
2. A *human relations approach* aims to promote tolerance and acceptance, reduce stereotyping, and promote students' self-concepts.
3. *Single group studies* focus on the experiences, contributions, and concerns of distinct cultural, ethnic, gender, and social class groups to promote structural equality and recognition of the identified group (for example, African Americans and women).
4. *Multicultural education* promotes equal opportunity in schools, cultural pluralism, respect for diverse peoples, and support for power equity among groups.
5. *Multicultural social justice education*, which is rooted in social reconstructionism, aims to eliminate the oppression of one group by another, involve students in democratic decision making, and teach social action and empowerment skills.

Sonia Nieto's model, developed in the 1990s, defines *multicultural education* as comprehensive school reform that challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and affirms the pluralism that students, their communities, and teachers reflect. Nieto advocates for multicultural education that is antiracist; is pervasive; provides a basic education; focuses on social justice in education; and incorporates critical pedagogy. Her model includes five levels that exhibit increasing awareness and commitment by educators that range from support of the status quo at the lowest level to the gradual inclusion of the histories and perspectives of a broader range of people and students' increasing involvement in the community. In Nieto's fifth and highest level of multicultural education, all students learn to speak a second language, everyone takes responsibility for challenging racism and discrimination, and the curriculum and instructional techniques are based on an understanding of social justice as central to education. While multiculturalists have developed

comprehensive theoretical models, Geneva Gay notes that a gap continues to exist between the theory and practice of multicultural education in U.S. schools.

From Theory to Practice

In practice, schools often adopt a “contributions” or “heroes and holidays” approach to multicultural education that adds some cultural content but fails to challenge the underlying mainstream cultural assumptions of the curriculum or address systematic societal inequities. For instance, high school English teachers might include a novel by Toni Morrison or middle school social studies teachers might add a unit on the civil rights movement. As Sonia Nieto suggests, however, multicultural education requires a deep commitment to social justice and equal access to resources—it is much more than just including some ethnic content and cultural sensitivity. One approach advocated by multiculturalists to create more equitable classrooms and schools is the implementation of pedagogy and leadership that is “culturally relevant” or “culturally appropriate.”

Gloria Ladson-Billings coined the term *culturally relevant pedagogy* in *The Dreamkeepers*, her now classic 1994 study of eight exemplary teachers of African American students. Most approaches to culturally relevant or culturally appropriate instruction described in the multicultural education literature not only utilize students’ cultures as a vehicle for learning, but also involve the development of a critical consciousness among students and faculty to challenge inequities in the larger society.

Critiques of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has not been without its critics. Conservative critics have argued that multicultural education is divisive, lacks intellectual rigor, and does not address the real causes of underachievement by racial and ethnic groups. Sleeter notes that many of the conservative criticisms ignore the research and theory that multicultural education builds on, particularly anthropological and sociological work on cultural dissonance and knowledge construction conducted by scholars from underrepresented groups and

feminist and critical scholars. She concludes that conservative criticisms of multicultural education arise from the unease Whites in the United States feel about the future and reflect the efforts of the mainstream to pin its fears and anxieties on the threat of “diversity.”

Radical critics fault multicultural education for embracing individual mobility rather than collective advancement and structural equality. They argue that multicultural education reifies the cultural characteristics, symbols, perspectives, and affiliations of individuals from particular racial and ethnic groups and fails to acknowledge multiple and “hybrid” identities that can result when race, gender, and sexual orientation intersect. Radical critics contend that when multicultural education is framed around learning about other cultures and dispelling stereotypes, the larger issues of structural inequality are ignored. Multiculturalists have responded to these critiques by acknowledging the growing complexities of racial and cultural identity development and by developing a more explicit focus on critical theories that analyze how race and racism systematically structure inequalities in schools and society.

Future Trends and New Theoretical Approaches

Racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity in the United States is projected to increase and become more varied in the foreseeable future. Our growing Latino population is no longer concentrated in Florida and the Southwest but is distributed throughout the United States in northeastern states like Massachusetts, midwestern cities like Chicago and Milwaukee, and southern states like South Carolina.

In addition, there are a growing number of mixed-race students throughout the country who claim a bicultural or multicultural identity and challenge our current understanding of racial categories. The 2000 census instruction to “mark one or more” races created the possibility of 63 racial categories and began to reveal the growth of this population.

Despite the continued diversity of the school-aged population, there has been an overwhelming trend in recent years toward school district resegregation, particularly in states in the Northeast

and Midwest. In 2006, roughly 3 in 10 (31%) African American and Hispanic students attended schools that were nearly all students from underrepresented groups. Researchers at University of California, Los Angeles's Civil Rights Project/*Proyecto Derechos Civiles* note that intensely segregated schools for African Americans and Latinos have particularly negative consequences, as these schools often have high concentrations of poverty and are linked to unequal resources and educational outcomes. The 2007 U.S. Supreme Court decision that struck down voluntary public school desegregation integration plans in Seattle and Louisville narrows the strategies that public schools can use to achieve or maintain racial diversity. The resegregation of U.S. schools affects all students, as research confirms that classroom diversity and informal interaction across racial and ethnic groups can positively influence all students' learning and civic outcomes and improve intergroup relations and mutual understanding.

As multicultural education has come of age as a field of study, scholars continue to develop and apply new theoretical approaches to analyze inequalities in schools such as critical race theory (CRT). CRT developed in critical legal studies in the 1980s in response to the inability of traditional civil rights legislation to uncover racial inequity and legal injustice. CRT acknowledges that racism is a normal, not aberrant or rare, fact of daily life in U.S. society, and that historically the interests of African Americans in gaining racial equality have been accommodated only when they have converged with the interests of powerful Whites (known as "interest convergence"). CRT scholars often use storytelling, narrative, and autobiography as a way to expose and challenge social constructions of race and make visible the distinctive experiences of people from underrepresented groups in order to create counternarratives to the dominant mainstream narratives.

Other researchers investigate and theorize approaches to multicultural education in global contexts. In the *Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*, James Banks and his colleagues from Canada, Britain, South Africa, Brazil, Israel, Palestine, Russia, Japan, India, Peru, China, and other countries push the boundaries of multicultural education beyond the "politics of recognition" in particular nation states to a global

conversation about justice and equality in a transnational arena. Case studies discuss how theory and research on curriculum reform, immigration and citizenship, and the education of ethnic and cultural groups are enacted in particular national contexts and the importance of all students developing cultural, national, and global identifications. Conceptions of multicultural education will continue to expand in the future as multiculturalists investigate and incorporate a broader set of equity concerns worldwide.

Many of the concerns debated in urban school districts 70 years ago remain on the multicultural agenda, including the need for more teachers from underrepresented groups, increased parent and community engagement in decision making, culturally responsive and appropriate curriculum that reflects the history, values, and cultural knowledge of students from diverse backgrounds, and preparation programs that would enable all educators to "teach and lead for diversity." With a current U.S. teaching force that is 87% White and middle class, the ongoing challenge remains: how to make the promise of multicultural education "real" in order to provide an education for all students that, as Carl Grant and Gloria Ladson-Billings advocate, promotes structural equality, affirms societal diversity, and achieves academic excellence for all students while preparing them to become active members of a democratic society.

Lauri Johnson

See also Academic Achievement; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Resegregation; Urban Education

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N

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

The National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF), was founded in 1940. Since its inception, the LDF has used advocacy and litigation in the context of education, voter protection, economic justice, and criminal justice to fight against racial inequalities, with the goal of helping to reinforce the preamble of the Declaration of Independence: “All men [and women] are created equal.”

Under the stewardship of Thurgood Marshall, the LDF’s first director-counsel, the LDF received a favorable decision from the U.S. Supreme Court, which struck down “separate but equal,” a doctrine stemming from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), in elementary and secondary schools, in the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). This entry looks at the organization and the lawsuits it has conducted in the area of school desegregation and other civil rights issues.

Education-Related Lawsuits

Marshall, who was appointed chief counsel for the NAACP, and other lawyers successfully litigated cases such as *Gaines v. University of Missouri Law School* (1938), *Sipuel v. Board of Regents* (1948), *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), and *McLaurin v. University of Oklahoma* (1950). Their legal emphasis in these

cases was not to undermine the “separate-but-equal” clause resulting from the *Plessy v. Ferguson* but to force states to live up to the clause. The NAACP’s legal defense team turned its attention to attacking “separate but equal” in primary and secondary education in the 1950s, resulting in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the decision that prompted racial integration of primary and secondary schools.

With the Supreme Court’s ruling challenging the legality of “separate but equal,” the LDF continued to use litigation and advocacy to fight injustices in the context of education. For example, the LDF successfully impugned the majority-to-minority transfer program, a tool employed to promote school desegregation and racial diversification, in a Georgia school desegregation case, *Adams v. Bibb County Board of Education*. The LDF was able to keep the core element of this program intact.

As the dynamics of school systems and governance changed, the LDF used creative measures to ensure justice in the context of primary and secondary education. For example, when a school district in Lafayette Parish in Louisiana sought a declaration to end court supervision to ensure school desegregation in 2004, the LDF, working in tandem with local attorneys, convinced the court that ending judicial oversight would not be pragmatic. Instead, the court ordered the school to increase promulgation of school choice and transfer programs and to address disparities in the maintenance and infrastructure of predominantly African American schools. The LDF has also worked

collectively with other civil rights organizations to ensure that the pathway to equality for underrepresented groups—affirmative action—remained operable.

Other Causes of Action

The LDF has also used litigation and advocacy to fight racial injustices and inequalities in the criminal justice system, voter registration and housing processes, and employment discrimination. For example, the LDF won a new trial for Zachary Wilson, an African American sentenced to life in prison. In 1997, when it was revealed that the prosecutor in Wilson's case made a videotape urging prosecutors to eliminate potential African American jurors, the federal courts granted Wilson a new trial because of discrimination in the jury selection process.

Similarly, the LDF filed an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit to support Mumia Abu-Jamal's claim of racial discrimination in the selection of jurors of his 1982 trial for the shooting death of a police officer. The LDF's involvement in the criminal justice system transcends the cases of Wilson and Abu-Jamal. Their central goal is to ensure that underrepresented groups have a voice in decisions that critically affect the lives of other people in the criminal justice system.

The LDF has worked to renew the Voting Rights Act (VRA), which was enacted in 1965 to establish protection for African Americans and other underrepresented voters who were deliberately disenfranchised. In 2007, key provisions of this act were scheduled to expire. The LDF worked indefatigably to ensure that those essential provisions remained intact. The LDF also has worked to provide voter protection for citizens through litigation and grassroots movements.

The LDF has worked collectively with other legal organizations to ensure a sense of fairness and justice in public housing. Specifically, the LDF, along with the American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland and the law firm of Morgan Lewis and Bockius, successfully litigated a case against the Baltimore, Maryland, Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for discriminatory housing practices. In 2005, the LDF was charged with leading the legal team to devise

an appropriate remedy for HUD's violation. The court decision had an immediate and positive impact on public housing residents in Baltimore.

The legal team of the LDF has also engaged in employment discrimination litigations on the behalf of underrepresented groups. Their 2005–2006 annual report outlines two such cases; one involved custodians of a New York City School and the other involved African Americans and Latino employers of the New York City Parks Department. The LDF became affiliated with these cases and succeeded in defending their clients.

Scholarship Program

Aside from their initiatives to help mitigate racial injustices and inequalities, the LDF has operated a scholarship program for African American undergraduate and law students since 1964. The LDF has awarded scholarships, totaling more than \$19 million, that have helped more than 4,200 men and women to pursue their educational and career goals. The contributions that these scholarship recipients have made and continue to make are phenomenal. Five members of the U.S. Congress were recipients of the LDF scholarships, as were 13% of all active African American federal judges. Past recipients also include more than 40 municipal and state judges, and 11 state senators or representatives. Former recipients continue to distinguish themselves with accomplishments in their chosen professions.

Robert T. Palmer

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*; National Association for the Advanced of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BLACK SCHOOL EDUCATORS

The National Alliance of Black School Educators (NABSE) advocates for high-quality education for the school-age population in the United States. The organization was founded in 1973 by Dr. Charles D. Moody Sr. to address the professional needs of African American educators and to promote access to quality education for all students in the United States.

During the 1970s, a plethora of research promoted a deficit model that questioned the cognitive, social, and emotional ability of African American students to learn and function in society. Although the grand narrative presented in educational research highlighted the perceived shortcomings of African American children, Moody documented and disseminated a counter-narrative that began with his seminal research on school districts under the leadership of African American superintendents.

As his research progressed, Moody realized the need to form an organization to support the professional growth and development of African American superintendents. Fifteen of the participants from his study agreed to work with him to form such an organization, and in August 1971, the National Black Alliance of School Superintendents was formed.

This organization had a major impact on the research agenda for African American teachers and administrators and was awarded a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Special Concerns of African-American Affairs to conduct research on 40 school districts that primarily serviced African American students. The impact of this research and the outreach efforts made on behalf of the newly formed alliance paved the way for the creation of a larger organization: the National Alliance of Black School Educators.

NABSE is dedicated to serving and meeting the academic needs of African American students and has established the following protocols to facilitate effective instructional and motivational classroom pedagogies:

- A coalition of professionals involved in the field of education
- A forum for the exchange of ideas and strategies to improve opportunities for African American educators and students
- Identification and development of African American professionals to assume leadership positions in education and influence public policy concerning the education of African Americans

The NABSE has also created the following framework to guide the organization in realizing their goals, including, but not limited to, professional development opportunities for teachers from underrepresented groups, collaboration around effective pedagogy and professional resources, and professional mentorship in policy development and advocacy.

Each year, the NABSE holds an annual conference that includes exhibits, awards, school tours, and scholarly sessions focused on issues that affect teaching and learning in the African American community. Each spring the organization also conducts a policy institute known as National Education Policy Institute and distributes newsletters to constituents, sponsors 10 commissions, and hosts public forums to share and debate information pertaining to education, policy, and accountability with African American students and teachers in mind.

NABSE has demonstrated its sustained commitment to advancing the educational rights of all students and professional growth of teachers by fostering collaborative relationships, creating spaces to disseminate and debate research, and creating and sharing resources to support African American teachers in their quest to educate our nation's children.

Detra Price-Dennis

See also Black Female Teachers; Effective Schools; Urban Education

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) is the umbrella organization of the nation's 2- and 4-year historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and predominantly Black institutions (PBIs). Founded in 1969 by a group of HBCU presidents, NAFEO is "the voice for Blacks in higher education." This entry looks at its program and accomplishments.

Goals and Mission

NAFEO was founded to provide an international voice for HBCUs and PBIs; to place and maintain the issue of equal opportunity in higher education on the national agenda; to advocate policies, programs, and practices designed to preserve and enhance HBCUs and PBIs; and to increase the active participation of African Americans at every level in the formulation and implementation of policies and programs in U.S. higher education. Through its annual Presidential Peer Seminar and other professional development and networking opportunities, NAFEO trains and supports new cohorts of HBCU and PBI presidents.

Throughout its history, NAFEO has administered programs that provide services to its member institutions and their surrounding communities, with a specific focus on health issues (for example, obesity abatement, cancer prevention, and geriatric care), research in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields, teacher education and training, and international education and globalization. Funded by the U.S. Department of Commerce, NAFEO's 2000 survey of technology capacity at its member institutions formed the basis of the Wireless and Technology Act of 2007 (now included in the Higher Education Act [HEA]). In 2008, NAFEO released a survey funded by the U.S. Department of Education of its members' foreign language, international studies, and study abroad capacity.

Since 1975, NAFEO has organized a National Conference on Blacks in Higher Education. NAFEO's convenings have been the nation's

premiere meetings on higher education equity and access. They have been virtual assemblies of "who's who" in U.S. educational, political, social, and *thought* leadership in higher education; the presidents and chancellors of the nation's HBCUs and PBIs; and federal and state policymakers and executives. NAFEO's convenings have attracted business, philanthropic, government, advocacy, civic, faith, and student leaders to exchange information about HBCUs in the United States, PBIs, and Blacks in higher education.

Each year during its national conference, NAFEO, through the Distinguished Alumni Awards, recognizes alumni of historically or predominantly Black colleges and universities who have distinguished themselves in their professions, their communities, our nation, or the world for excellence and altruism. In 2006, NAFEO launched two new recognition awards: the NAFEO NOBLE Prize and the Mays-Johnson Award. The NAFEO NOBLE Prize recognizes faculty members of historically or predominantly Black colleges and universities who are distinguished as teachers or researchers in at least 1 of 10 high-need or growth disciplines: the sciences, technology, engineering, mathematics, health professions, law, economics, foreign languages or foreign affairs, teacher education, and "peace, justice, equity or ecumenism." The annual Mays-Johnson Award salutes three currently serving NAFEO presidents or chancellors who possess the scholarship, self-determination, discipline, passion, professionalism, activism, fortitude, rectitude, creativity, collegiality, and faith personified by the nation's great African American college presidents.

NAFEO publishes three annual publications: *The State of America's Black Colleges*, *The State of Blacks in Higher Education*, and *Profiles of Member Institutions, Presidents, and Chancellors*. In 2008, *The State of America's Black Colleges* served as the basis for a full House Education and Labor Committee hearing on "America's Black Colleges and Universities: Models of Excellence and Challenges for the Future." The hearing marked the first time that the sole focus of a full committee hearing was concentrated on funding for HBCUs.

NAFEO's current president, Dr. Lezli Baskerville, is the association's fifth president and its first female president.

Accomplishments

NAFEO has played an integral role in shaping laws and policies that affect HBCUs and education excellence, equity, and access at the local, state, and federal levels, specifically regarding equal educational opportunity and affirmative action in higher education. Public investments in HBCUs made them comparable to and competitive with their historically White counterparts; college was made more affordable, and U.S. Black colleges were preserved and enhanced. During the 1970s, a number of lawsuits were filed against southern states, claiming that they continued to operate segregated systems of higher education. In 1973, NAFEO helped to negotiate the settlement in the landmark higher education desegregation case, *Adams v. Richardson cum Califano*. Since then, NAFEO has been a party or *amici* in the leading higher desegregation, diversity, and affirmative action cases.

In addition to its legal work, NAFEO has increased capacity at historically and predominantly Black colleges through its programs, academic competitions, internships, and faculty fellowships. NAFEO's student academic competitions include business plan competitions, writing competitions, and science and technology competitions, all of which have provided monetary scholarships to talented HBCU students.

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, that devastated the Gulf Coast region on August 29, 2005, NAFEO provided emergency assistance to the HBCUs in the region by serving as the communication hub for Dillard University, Southern University at New Orleans, and Xavier University. Since the hurricane, NAFEO has continued to assist in ensuring that the affected institutions receive local, state, and federal funds to rebuild and restore their academic infrastructures and reputations. In 2006, NAFEO held a congressional field hearing in New Orleans during its annual conference to allow Black college presidents to testify about their rebuilding challenges before members of Congress. NAFEO also helped secure special budget reconciliation funds for the Katrina-ravaged HBCUs and to get various federal agencies to channel some of their existing funds to these institutions. Through a Ford Foundation grant, NAFEO established FACNet, a Web platform that allows faculty displaced by

Hurricane Katrina to connect online and to find research and funding opportunities.

In 2007, NAFEO was instrumental in drafting federal legislation to create an official category for PBIs. The Predominantly Black Institutions Act, a section of the HEA, authorizes grant programs to enhance the access of low-income, traditionally underserved African American students to higher education. Under the act, a Predominantly Black Institution is defined as an institution of higher education that is an "eligible institution" under the act with (a) a minimum of 1,000 undergraduate students, (b) an undergraduate population with at least 50% low-income individuals or first-generation college students, (c) an undergraduate population that is at least 40% African American, and (d) a student population of which at least 50% is made up of undergraduate students enrolled in an educational program leading to a bachelor's or associate's degree. In 2007, NAFEO also played a leading role in the Higher Education Act reauthorization, with the establishment of 10 Centers of Excellence in Teacher Education on HBCU campuses, expanding federal support for HBCU graduate and professional programs, and increasing the minimum Pell Grant authorization.

Lezli Baskerville

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities

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Web Site

National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education: <http://www.nafeo.org>

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the premier civil rights organization in the United States, was conceived in 1909 for the purpose of promoting equality of rights and the elimination of caste or racial prejudice. It is widely acknowledged for the leadership role it took in getting the U.S. courts to declare segregation unconstitutional. The NAACP now has 2,300 branches and 300,000 members, with headquarters in Baltimore, Maryland. It is indebted to so many whose dedication and commitment over many years made possible not only improved conditions for African Americans but also a better world for future generations. This legacy is the result of numberless, nameless individuals. This entry looks at the NAACP's historical background, with a special focus on its educational endeavors.

Historical Background

In 1908, race riots in Springfield, Illinois, so shocked William English Walling that he wrote an

article, "Race War in the North," published in the September 3 issue of the *Independent*. Moved by the atrocities committed by Whites against African American people, he closed with these words, "And what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" This question became the first call for the formal organization that became the NAACP.

Mary White Ovington, a social worker in New York City, and Dr. Henry Moskowitz, who was prominent in the city administration of New York, joined Walling in searching for some solution to the challenge. They further enlisted the support of Oswald Garrison Villard, president of the *New York Evening Post* Company. He subsequently drafted what was to become known as "the Lincoln's Birthday Call," February 12, 1909, for a national conference on the "Negro" question. Some 60 citizens from all walks of life signed "the Call," and at a conference in 1910, the permanent body was organized, with W. E. B. Du Bois, the only African American attendee, elected director of publicity and research. This act brought the NAACP into contact with the Niagara Movement, which merged with the NAACP because of the similarity of their platforms and the inadequacy of its financial support.

The NAACP made clear its position on the scope of its purposes by stating that its concern was with public equality. The privileges of citizenship belong by right to all the people, inasmuch as the Constitution and the laws are for the protection of the minority and of the unpopular. To implement its purposes, the NAACP outlined a practical program that included conducting a scientific study of African American schools; organizing a Legal Redress Committee of national scope; establishing a bureau of information; publishing a monthly magazine, *The Crisis*; forming local groups known as branches; and making the organization known internationally.

Because the NAACP is primarily concerned with the denial of constitutional rights based on color, the conditions under which the association files a case are quite definite: Does the case involve color discrimination? Is some fundamental citizenship right of African American people involved? Early legal redress activities during the first three decades of the 20th century included a variety of cases involving discrimination. Through its major

local branches in Chicago, Boston, and Detroit, the association was successful in opposing anti-Black bills: discrimination in housing, employment, and access to public amusements and accommodations. The NAACP's most important work, however, was its vigilance in opposing hostile legislation in the Congress. It sought to prevent the passage of such discriminating legislation as antimarriage and residential segregation bills.

The association was also successful during this early period in winning decisions in the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1915, the Court, ruling that the grandfather clause was a mere evasion intended to disfranchise African American people, affirmed their right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. Two other significant victories were achieved in this early period: one in the area of housing and the other in relation to the Army. In 1917, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision declaring unconstitutional a segregation housing ordinance that had been passed in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1919, under the leadership of Joel E. Spingarn, the association undertook to see that a provision was made for the training of African American soldiers to be officers in the Army.

Perhaps the most bitter and persistent fight by the NAACP was the one directed against lynching and mob violence. Steps for securing the enactment of a federal law were taken in 1919 under the secretaryship of James Weldon Johnson. Although neither the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill nor any subsequent bill passed, the association's fight educated the public and awakened the national conscience to such an extent that lynching was reduced to a minimum. In addition, the association took positions and joined protests on any issues involving racism. It used its influence to protest the showing of the anti-Black film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Its concerns ranged from violence against African Americans in the armed services to opposition to the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. It cooperated with other organizations that were also seeking racial justice, joining the 1963 March on Washington.

Educational Programs

Because of the importance of education, the association concentrated a great deal of its efforts on the problem of school segregation. The association

was convinced that African American children who were denied an education would be at a disadvantage, not only for their personal advantage but also for their participation in a democracy. The fact that discrimination was widely practiced throughout the South—and in the North as well—the association's initial fight was with the public schools that wished to segregate according to race. It also extended its efforts on behalf of African American students who were seeking equality in higher education. These students encountered problems of housing, equal opportunity in participating in athletics and in practice teaching, as well as admittance to some graduate and professional schools.

A New Initiative

The NAACP through the years has fought many battles in the courts. Encouraged by decisive gains in the fight for equality, in 1939, it changed its legal procedure in education to a master plan for assault on segregation by seeking damages in federal courts. To put the plan into practice, the NAACP in 1940 organized as a separate corporation, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, whose purposes are (a) to carry on a program of legal action within the courts to protect African Americans from discrimination because of race and (b) to destroy racial segregation by governmental agencies.

During the next few years, the association continued to oppose those who would deny African Americans equal educational opportunities. Despite the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1938 establishing in the case of *Gaines v. the University of Missouri* the right to equality in publicly financed educational facilities, southern states continued to evade the Court's mandate. Therefore, in 1947, the NAACP initiated a program for the legal demolition of the entire structure of segregation in education. This was to be the master plan for assault on segregation: to demonstrate empirically the invalidity of the outmoded concept of "separate-but-equal" facilities.

To launch its full-scale attack against segregation, the NAACP filed cases contending that segregation itself in college and university facilities is discriminatory and violative of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and, accordingly,

unconstitutional and illegal. This frontal attack strategy, devised by Charles H. Houston, proved successful in two important cases in which the Supreme Court ruled in the NAACP's favor, making it possible for African American students to attend hitherto "lily-White" universities in the South. The two cases involved *Sweatt v. University of Texas* and *Sipuel v. University of Oklahoma*.

The Brown Decision

Having made inroads on discrimination in colleges and universities, the NAACP turned its attention to the secondary and elementary schools. The landmark case in this area was *Brown v. Board of Education*, argued before the Supreme Court by Thurgood Marshall, the lead counsel. *Brown* included four other cases filed at various times in four states and the District of Columbia and finally decided at one time on May 17, 1954, by the U.S. Supreme Court. This victory was the result of arguments based on the premises that segregation in public education violates and is forbidden by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that the solution is not to order equalization of facilities but to assign pupils to schools regardless of race. The decision, while accepted by many states, was rejected by seven states in the Deep South, so that the Supreme Court's subsequent implementation decision of May 31, 1955, called for desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

The 1954 decision paved the way for many other achievements in the area of civil rights. The NAACP supported the civil rights movement of the 1960s through its legal staff and financial support. It provided leverage in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Its 2000 voter mobilization efforts produced the largest African American participation in two decades. It has continued its historic work by launching the nationwide STOP! campaign aimed at halting defamation of African American women and denigration of the ancestors. The NAACP is committed to continue to press Congress for legislation for the common good.

The NAACP continues to award annually the Spingarn Medal, established in 1915 by Joel Spingarn, in recognition of the highest or noblest achievement by an African American during the preceding year or years. The NAACP continues its

unwavering pursuit of equal justice in every aspect of U.S. life until all vestiges of legalized racism in our society are eradicated.

Jamye Coleman Williams

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); *Crisis, The*; Marshall, Thurgood

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS IN COLORED SCHOOLS

The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS) was organized in 1904 as a professional education organization designed to represent the causes and issues of African American teachers and students. The purpose of the organization, as expressed in its constitution, was "to harmonize and unite the agencies now at work for the elevation of the African American people; to arouse a deeper educational interest among them; to encourage good citizenship; and to ascertain and publish statistics showing educational status." In 1937, NATCS was renamed the American Teachers Association (ATA), recognized as the largest African American educational organization in the United States; it existed for 62 years until it merged with the National Education Association (NEA) in 1966. This entry looks at the history of the organization.

Early Years

The association was founded by African American educator and civic leader John Robert Edward Lee, who was born enslaved in Seguin, Texas. He trained to teach at Bishop College in Marshall, Texas, served as dean of the Academic Department of Tuskegee Institute, and concluded his career as

president of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. In 1904, Lee called on African American teachers across the country to convene in Nashville, Tennessee, with the vision of organizing “a distinctive National Negro Education body” that would address the complex educational issues and disparities unique to teachers of African American youth. More than 125 teachers representing 14 states across the United States responded and attended the 3-day meeting, which concluded with a banquet at Fisk University. The conclusion of this meeting marked the birth of the National Association of Colored Teachers, for which Lee served as president for the first 5 years.

In 1907, at the association’s fourth annual meeting, the National Association of Colored Teachers was renamed the National Association of Teachers of Colored Schools to acknowledge that all teachers of African American youth were not necessarily African American teachers. In 1923, the association began to publish *The Colored Teacher*, later named *The Bulletin*, which served as the official organ of NATCS and provided a venue for discourse surrounding issues of interest and concern to African American educators. In addition to hosting conferences that provided teachers with supplementary training and professional development opportunities, the association also involved itself in efforts that resulted in legal, policy, and social change in education.

During its 62-year existence, the association was led and guided by many of the nation’s greatest African American educators, who were committed to racial justice, equality, and educational excellence. Notable former presidents include Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman College in Florida, who served as the association’s first woman president in 1924; Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, former president of Howard University and association president in 1930; and Harper Councill Trenholm, former president of Alabama State University and association president in 1932. The dynamic leadership of these presidents, as well as many who served before and after them, coupled with the commitment of members who mobilized to fight for educational equity and racial justice helped build a legacy of excellence in African American education through a tradition of social consciousness and advocacy by the Black teacher.

Moving Toward Merger

At its annual meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1934, NATCS adopted a Five-Point Program that declared its dedication

to the proposition that equal educational opportunities shall be provided for all the children of all the people of our great nation; it does not subscribe to separation in education or in any other phase of our common national interests, but it does recognize in certain sections of our country the actual existence of separation existed by law.

Until those laws changed, the following five points would need to be addressed: (1) equitable distribution of public tax funds regardless of race; (2) federal subsidy toward the equalization of educational opportunity for all regardless of race in states unable to provide sufficient funds for education; (3) a uniform salary and tenure schedule based solely upon training and experience, not race or gender; (4) issues of overcrowded conditions of African American schools, lack of adequate number of teachers, lack of sufficient buildings and equipment; and (5) inclusion of stories of African American life and history in school literature to develop an appreciation for African American life and contributions to civilization and exclusion of all material that gives an unfavorable impression of, or develops prejudice against, any race. Many of the organization’s accomplishments correspond to these issues, which are strikingly similar to the issues facing African American educators and students today.

By 1937, the renamed American Teachers Association (ATA) was the largest national organization of African American teachers. Before the 1960s, a large number of African American teachers, particularly those who worked in government-sanctioned segregated schools, were members of the association. As a national organization, the ATA sought to strengthen the efforts of individual teachers and smaller state associations by establishing a broader, more unified, and collective voice that would prove effective in championing the causes of African American students and teachers.

While documented accounts of African American teachers illustrate the marginalization of these teachers by the National Education Association

throughout the segregation era, the NATCS began to engage in conversations with its White counterpart as early as 1926 and collaboratively established the Joint Committee, which was charged with examining the lack of accreditation and evaluation of African American schools. While the Joint Committee worked to address the severe inequities and unfair treatment of African American teachers and their students, plans to unify the racially separate associations faced strong resistance for the next four decades. The ATA's merger with NEA in 1966 marked the end of an era for African American education, but the beginning of the participation of African American educators in prominent roles within the nation's largest education organization.

Sonya Douglass Horsford

See also Fisk University; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU); Historically Black College and Universities (HBCUs); Tuskegee University

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NATIONAL BLACK CHILD DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

The National Black Child Development Institute (NBCDI) was founded September 21, 1970, as a nonprofit organization that works to improve and protect the well-being of African American children. Over the past 37 years, NBCDI has maintained a legacy as the nation's forerunner in a multitude of innovative programs, workshops, annual conferences, and resources for African American children, their parents, and communities. As a national agency, NBCDI has four main program goals: child

health, child welfare, education, and public policy advocacy. The organization has made a major impact on child welfare services; it has contributed to making universal early care and education a reality; and it has consistently helped to build family support services for those in need.

The NBCDI takes a systems approach to child welfare. This perspective allows for the inclusion of parents, guardians, faith communities, social clubs, civic clubs, and all other members of society who deal with the mobilization of children. With this shared responsibility, NBCDI has thrived and grown into the well-respected agency that it is today. Based on this philosophy, the NBCDI has developed a number of programs designed to replace the "one-size-fits-all, deficit-oriented paradigm" with nurturance that serves children based on their strengths and needs. This entry looks at the institute's activities, with a focus on education-related initiatives.

Education Programs

The Love to Read program is an NBCDI national early literacy public education initiative designed to enhance the early literacy skills of African American children with the help of parents and other caregivers. The overarching goal is to improve African American children's academic performance through fostering a love and excitement for reading in children from birth to 6 years old. Scholars participating in research regarding this program highlighted the fact that the provision of a loving, rewarding, and nurturing environment is critical to the development of reading skills in children. They also noted that infancy is the ideal time to begin the conscious introduction of reading skills and word recognition activities to children. Researchers also cited cultural relevancy of the literature introduced to the children as an important variable in to the attainment of childhood literacy.

Spark-DC is another program of NBCDI developed to help communities prepare children ages 3 to 6 years old for the transition and rigors of school. An interesting aspect of Spark-DC is that it intentionally focuses on working to make *schools* ready for *children* through improving coordination and alignment of programs and services for young children. This far-reaching program benefits at least 1,000 children in Wards 1, 7, and 8 of Washington, D.C.

The Center on the Social and Emotional Foundations of Early Learning is another NBCDI program that has recently been relocated to Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. This program is designed to improve the social and emotional outcomes and enhance school readiness in low income children from birth to 5 years old. The program includes research and information dissemination for Head Start programs and child care programs nationwide. This program also promotes the promotion of social and emotional development.

Entering the College Zone (ECZ) program was designed in 1995 to empower “at-risk” middle school students and their families by providing them with skills and resources to assist with their navigation through the process of applying to college. Funded by State Farm Insurance Companies, NBCDI has developed, in collaboration with the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards, an enhanced mentoring and tutoring component of the ECZ entitled Stepping Stones to College. The aim of this component is to specifically help eighth graders with high school transition and college preparation.

The Cross-Cultural Partnership Project is often nicknamed “the project.” This program provides an innovative alliance between the NBCDI and the National Council of La Raza (NCLR). The purpose of this program is to enhance, promote, and facilitate partnerships between the African American and Latino communities regarding early childhood education. The partnership is currently implemented in two cities and one state: Miami, Los Angeles, and New Jersey. These three locations are areas that have strong NBCDI and NCLR constituencies that have dynamically changed African American and Latino communities; these locations also have legislation of great importance directly related to the issues of quality early care and education.

Other Programs

The Spirit of Excellence Parent Empowerment Project (PEP) is a parent education program designed to educate, motivate, and inspire parents in their role as their child’s first teacher. A unique and empowering aspect of the program is that it was developed by and for lower-income African Americans and has been beneficial and effective with many parents. The PEP parenting education

curriculum includes affirmations, is parent driven, and requires active participation.

The African American Parents Project helps children cope with crises. This program provides parents with the information and resources they need to inspire hope and provide comfort and a sense of safety for their children. The main goals of the project are (1) to empower parents to recognize their role in children’s coping abilities; (2) to make parents more aware of the natural feelings and fear associated with traumatic experiences; and (3) to facilitate parent-child communication through the provision of age-appropriate tools. This program is a joint effort with the National Institute of Child Health (NICHD) of the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Other partners include 100 Black Men of America, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, American Academy of Child Adolescent Psychiatry, American Psychiatric Association, Congress of National Black Churches, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Jack and Jill of America, National Association of Black Social Workers, National Coalition of 100 Black Women, and the National Medical Association.

The NBCDI has a strong contingency of volunteer affiliates spanning the nation. The volunteer affiliates consist of parents, professionals, and proletarians, who have demonstrated their allegiance to the NBCDI’s mission of “improving and protecting the quality of life of African American children and families.” These affiliates are located in various regions of the country, including Albany, Atlanta, Baton Rouge, Chicago, Des Moines, Detroit, Durham, Greensboro, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Mid Hudson (New York), Milwaukee, Montgomery County (Maryland), Nashville, New Orleans, New York City, Newark, Paramus (New Jersey), Pasadena, Pensacola, Pinellas, Pittsburgh, Sacramento, Seattle, St. Louis, Williamsburg (Virginia), and Williamsport (Pennsylvania).

The NBCDI’s annual conference culminates its yearly progress and is the premiere professional development conference for individuals sharing the goal of improving the lives of children, youth, and their families. Each year, the annual conference has brought together a multitude of educators, policymakers, administrators, parents, and early childhood professionals to participate in a

premium selection of workshops, seminars, lectures, and forums. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the NBCDI, along with its multitude of programs, community-based initiatives, and advocacy on behalf of children, is a rare and powerful agency designed to enhance the opportunities for tomorrow's leaders. It has consistently proved itself dedicated to its mission and to the most valuable commodity of any community, its children.

Jeffery Menzise and Regina Peterson

See also African-Centered Education; Council of Independent Black Institutions; Developmental Education; National Council on Educating Black Children; Urban Education

Web Site

National Black Child Development: <http://www.nbcdi.org>

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR BLACK STUDIES

The National Council for Black Studies (NCBS) is the major professional organization of the discipline of African American Studies. Founded during the years when programs in African American Studies were proliferating at U.S. colleges and universities, the organization has set standards and goals and provided support for these programs and the scholars who belong to them. This entry provides an historical overview of the origin, development and accomplishments of NCBS.

Historical Background

The National Council for Black Studies formally began in 1976; however, its history began with a series of meetings and conferences that started in 1975. Along with laying the foundation for the organization, Dr. Bertha Maxwell Roddy became the organization's founding chair. As chair of the University of North Carolina's African American Studies department, Roddy put out a call to African American scholars throughout the United States to examine the importance of African American Studies.

In March 1975, the call was answered in the form of a conference. The initial conference was titled "The Black Studies National Conference for the Southeastern United States." The invited scholars included James Turner, Herman Thomas, Roscoe Brown, Curtis Porter, and Beverly Ford and Nick Aaron Ford. These scholars conducted research regarding the logistics of the discipline, and students from the University of North Carolina's African American Studies department presented position papers.

The students' papers debated the meaning of African American Studies and addressed the question of who should and should not be allowed to participate in the discipline. The students agreed that the research and curriculum should be conceived by, evaluated, and conducted by African Americans. Key needs that were identified at the first meeting included the following:

- Ways and means of evaluating programs
- Identification and description of models being used at various institutions
- Development of a communication network that would disseminate information about these programs

This meeting was the first of a series of discussions about beginning the organization. Subsequent meetings were supported by and held at the Institute of the Black World, the Association for the Study of African American Life and History Conference, and the Educational Testing Service. At a meeting in July 1975, the organization's name was created, core concepts were developed, and plans and proposals for the organization's mission were established.

The name "National Council for Black Studies" was officially adopted in 1976. The founding members of the organization include Carlos Broussard, William E. Pitts, William M. King, Valerie Edmunson, Andress Taylor, Bertha Maxwell, Ron McMillen, Andrew Goodrich, and Leonard Jeffries. The constitutional conference was held in April 1976. This meeting focused on the organization's constitution, the establishment of the executive board, and further discussion of the organization's mission. During this meeting, Bertha Maxwell and William M. King were appointed as chair and vice chair of the organization. The

NCBS slogan “Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility” was also adopted during the constitutional conference.

Activities and Achievements

NCBS held its first public conference in February 1977 at Ohio State University, with the theme “Black Studies: Mobilization for Survival.” From 1977 until the present, the annual conference has served as a forum for the dissemination of scholarship and a venue for mentoring students who wish to pursue a career in African American Studies. NCBS realized the need to formalize the study of the African world experience and to expand and strengthen academic units and community programs committed to the study of people of African descent.

The council’s commitment to academic excellence and social responsibility is reflected in its seven key objectives, which include (1) the facilitation and recruitment of Black scholars for all levels of teaching and research in universities and colleges through consultations and other services; (2) the creation and implementation of multicultural education programs and materials for K–12 schools and higher education institutions; (3) promotion of scholarly African-centered research on all aspects of the African World experience; (4) enhancement of informational resources on Pan African life and culture for the general public; (5) professional advice for policymakers in education, government, and community development; (6) international linkages among African American studies scholars; and (7) the empowerment of African people.

Along with the annual conference, NCBS’s commitment to the professional development and departmental support of its members is indicated in a series of events conducted by the organization. The Summer Institute is designed for African American studies scholars who are teaching or contemplating teaching in African American studies units. It creates opportunities to bring young scholars and senior scholars together in mentorship settings to explore cutting-edge intellectual issues in the discipline. The Administrative Institute is designed to orientate new African American Studies unit chairs and directors to the multifaceted nature of administering African

American studies units. The Administrative Institute also offers training in addressing administrative issues such as sexual harassment and affirmative action.

Opportunities for departmental support include the NCBS Civic and Community Education and Engagement Grants Program (CCEEGP). The CCEEGP provides grants to African American Studies professionals to implement programs in local communities that involve active engagement of faculty and students with community organizations and residents. NCBS also offers numerous student programs including the Ankh Maat Wedjau Honor Society, an annual student essay contest, and the Dr. Tsehloane C. Keto Student Leadership Development and Mentorship Program.

The council’s publications include *The International Journal of Africana Studies* (IJAS, formerly known as *The Afrocentric Scholar*), *The Black Women, Gender & Families/Women’s Studies and Black Studies Journal* (BWGF), and *The Voice of Black Studies*. The IJAS is published biannually and dedicated to scholarship and research about people of African descent. The BWGF is a collaborative effort between the National Council for Black Studies and the African American Studies and Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. BWGF, like IJAS, is peer reviewed and published biannually.

The Voice of Black Studies is the organization’s e-newsletter, which highlights the activities of the organization and its members and publishes employment opportunities in African American Studies. The NCBS Commission on Assessment, Program Review, and Accreditation has also played an active role in the development of meaningful and holistic African American Studies curriculum. The commission evaluates assessment practices, unit operations, faculty quality, student performance and attitudes, and African American Studies units’ contributions to their host institutions.

Under the direction of Dr. William Little in 1985, the organization’s National Curriculum Committee developed the Africana Studies Curriculum Model. This model establishes curricular standards for undergraduate programs and has informed educators regarding standards for K–12 and African American Studies graduate units. The National Council for Black Studies

commitment to Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility is exhibited in its various types of memberships, which is inclusive of those within and external to academia.

Kefentse K. Chike

See also African American Studies; African-Centered Education; Association for the Study of African American Life and History

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON EDUCATING BLACK CHILDREN

The National Council on Educating Black Children (NCEBC) was founded by Augustus F. Hawkins, who served as California's first African American congressman from 1963 through 1991, chair of the Education and Labor Committee, and author of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Its ideological father was Ron Edmonds, whose work emphasized self-determination—the idea that the community could help reverse negative education trends if everyone played a role. This entry looks at its history and achievements.

Historical Background

In 1986, Congressman Hawkins gathered a coalition of 42 of the nation's African American educators and leaders and challenged them to develop a plan to advance the rigor and relevance of assessment and instruction for African American students and to prepare them to compete globally.

The result was the *Blueprint for Action*, based on the Effective Schools model of Dr. Edmonds,

director of the Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University, who had died in 1983. The *Blueprint* is now in its fourth edition and continues to show the “village” or stakeholders concerned with educating children how to empower and restructure low-performing school districts to deliver measurable positive results for all students.

The movement attracted strong organizational and corporate supporters and sponsors—the Urban League, National Association of Social Workers, Columbia University, the Congressional Black Caucus, Random House, and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority—to its first meeting. Since then, NCEBC has been advocating for education reform with actionable plans. The founders felt that solutions that help African American students help all students and pledged to incorporate the best theories and practices from education, particularly urban public education.

Theoretical Foundation

Edmonds and other researchers visited urban elementary schools in the 1970s and 1980s and found similarities in those that were successful at educating children from low-income households. Edmonds identified schools whose students and statistics refuted the popularly accepted views among educators, politicians, and the public that poor students could not learn and poor schools could not teach. Effective schools, he found, share the following characteristics or correlates: (a) have a principal who is a strong instructional leader; (b) provide a safe, community-like climate conducive for learning; (c) are staffed with professionals who have high expectations for all students; (d) provide a curriculum that relates to the experiences of the learners; and (e) maintain continuous evaluation, with remediation for mastery of content. In other words, the schools adapt to work for the students. According to Edmonds, educators knew more than enough about how to teach all children and had to determine why they had not applied the knowledge thus far and whether they were going to do so.

The *Blueprint* has solid methodology and measures for improving the education of African American students. More than 100,000 copies have been distributed. Key to the model is the

accountability of stakeholders. Each revision of the *Blueprint* embraces additional groups that have a vested interest in and responsibility for the mission. Stakeholders are students, superintendents, parents and family, teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, support services providers (for example, psychologists, nurses), policymakers, higher-education leaders, business and community leaders, and religious communities.

The Blueprint stresses that stakeholders must assess their educational system, in part by identifying politics, policies, and practices that accelerate or impede educating African American children. They familiarize themselves with the text, then gather together to share ideas and take responsibility for goal setting, implementation, and monitoring results. Stakeholders commit to taking action on items that relate to their roles in shaping an effective school. At NCEBC annual conferences, stakeholders learn how to implement the *Blueprint*. They are encouraged to hold schools to standards higher than those articulated by legal mandates.

Actions within the *Blueprint* focus on children, African American children in particular. Special emphasis has been placed on males, since the Schott Foundation reported (2001–2002) that only 42% of African American males graduate from high school. It has been shown that oftentimes the expectations of public school systems, schools, administrators, and teachers are low for African American male students, and they are overcategorized as intellectually deficient.

The following are core values of NCEBC:

- The Village Takes Responsibility: All stakeholders in a community must be involved in improving teaching and learning.
- All stakeholders have a vested interest in the social, cultural, and intellectual development of all children, but especially those children who historically are on the bottom of the educational realm.
- All stakeholders must participate in implementing the research that shows evidence of fostering the growth in achievement of historically underserved populations.
- All stakeholders must examine the politics, practices, and policies in their communities that

accelerate or impede the academic performances of underrepresented children.

- Accountability must be community driven, with NCEBC stakeholders reviewing, monitoring, and collaborating with public and charter schools that receive local tax dollars.

Implementation and Outcomes

Several urban school districts have adopted the *Blueprint*. Baltimore County (Maryland) Public Schools (BCPS) superintendent Dr. Joe A. Hairston introduced the *Blueprint* to assess the district's performance. It formed the basis for the district's Master Plan. The Schott Foundation honored BCPS for having the highest graduation rate for African American male students of any large school district. In 2003, the Zion, Illinois, School District adopted *Blueprint III*. Washington State used the *Blueprint* as a resource in 1999.

School district representatives have had a presence within NCEBC since its inception. NCEBC maximizes its human, financial, and political resources by aligning with like-minded organizations. NCEBC has collaborated with the National Association of Black School Educators and National Black Child Development Institute. It has partnered with educational institutions (Howard University), grassroots community groups, political organizations (Congressional Black Caucus, Joint Center for Political Studies), churches, civic organizations (National Urban League), and professional organizations (National Association of Black Administrators, National Education Association). In 2006, NCEBC established a membership option.

The six NCEBC regional divisions—Mid-Atlantic, Midwest, Northeast, Southeast, Southwest, and Western—host local conferences, conduct research, and provide scholarships.

Jenifer Grady

See also Effective Schools; Schott Foundation Black Boys Initiative

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NATIONAL PAN-HELLENIC COUNCIL

Beginning with the formation of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity at Cornell University in 1906 and during the next two decades, African American students sought to find ways to make meaning of their college experiences outside of the classroom. For those attending predominantly White universities, fraternities and sororities provided a means for them to create a comfortable space in an often hostile environment. For students at Howard University, the historically Black institution where five of these groups were formed during this time, the fraternities offered an opportunity for students to play a role in the creation of extracurricular student life. For women at both Black and White institutions, sororities offered a haven in an overwhelmingly male environment. The National Pan-Hellenic Council is an organization of African American fraternities and sororities that promotes an exchange of information and cooperative programming and initiatives among these groups. This entry describes how the council was founded, how it evolved over the years, and its current condition.

Historical Background

The development of an umbrella body for African American fraternal organizations followed the same pattern of White groups, who began organizing at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1902, the Alpha Phi Sorority led an initiative to create a forum for sororities, and this meeting led to the formation of the National Pan-Hellenic Conference (NPC). Seven years later, 26 fraternities met to create a similar body, and by 1910, they formed the Interfraternity Conference.

By 1922, there were eight major African American fraternal organizations primarily located on college campuses. These small numbers led to the decision for all of the groups to meet together to investigate the creation of a coed umbrella organization. In that year, a meeting at Howard University in Washington, D.C., was convened from April 17 to April 19 to discuss mutual interests. That meeting did not yield a new organization, but it laid the foundation for the meetings that followed.

In 1928, during the national meeting of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, held in Indianapolis, representatives from five organizations met to plan an umbrella organization. The representatives decided to share the results of the meeting with their respective members, leading to a follow-up meeting in 1929. At the 1929 meeting, the groups approved the formation of the National Pan-Hellenic Council as the umbrella organization for the African American fraternal organizations. This action was approved by the respective organizations, and the new group was officially founded on May 10, 1930.

Not all of the eight existing organizations were members at the time of the group's formation. The charter members of the NPHC included Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, Omega Psi Phi fraternity, Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Delta Sigma Theta sorority, and Zeta Phi Beta sorority. In 1931, following ratification by their national conventions, Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity and Phi Beta Sigma fraternity joined the NPHC. In 1937, Sigma Gamma Rho sorority was the final member of the organization. The group decided that its purpose was to consider the issues of mutual concern for the members.

The early development of the NPHC was slow. On many college campuses, as the member organizations began to expand in the South and Southwest, students formed various pan-hellenic councils, officially affiliated with the new umbrella organization. This pattern on college campuses was symptomatic of issues in the larger organization.

Evolution

From the time the organization was formed in 1930 until the 1980s, little significant progress was made in advancing the causes of the member organizations. In fact, by all accounts, the NPHC was dead at the start of the 1980s. Dr. Michael V. W. Gordon, past vice-chancellor and dean of students at Indiana University, began a plan to assist the organization with the help of the university. Gordon's idea was for the institution to host the headquarters of the NPHC, providing a sense of stability that both the NPC and North American Intrafraternity Conference enjoyed. This proposal was met with skepticism by many members of the NPHC, some preferring a historically Black college as the host. However, Indiana University was the only institu-

tion that offered both physical and financial resources for this new venture.

It would take a decade for the organization to accept the office space at Indiana University. Under the leadership of Daisy Wood, who became the NPHC president in 1989, the organization was able to secure the space in 1992. Dr. Gordon—his time loaned by the university at no cost to the organization—served as the first executive director of the organization. Wood and Gordon set an aggressive agenda, which included clarifying the role of the organization to colleges and universities, maintaining an archive and records, and publishing research related to the African American fraternal experience. Beyond these specific goals, an overall mission was to expand the organization by creating councils on college campuses as well as in cities across the nation.

During the decades of inactivity, a ninth major African American fraternal organization, Iota Phi Theta fraternity, was founded at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1963. Its earliest attempts to join the NPHC were rebuffed by the organization. In order to be viewed as a legitimate national fraternity, the organization joined the overwhelmingly White National Interfraternity Council. During her third term as president, beginning in 1995, Daisy Wood sought to rectify this situation and launched an effort to expand the membership of NPHC. By 1996, the expansion guidelines were set, and after a vote that fall, Iota Phi Theta became the ninth member of the council, officially approved on November 22, 1996. During the 1997 convention, the fraternity was formally installed as a member of the organization.

The first decade of the 21st century began a regression of sorts for the organization. The national headquarters space was lost at Indiana University as the university sought to make the organization self-sustaining, and the headquarters moved to a donated space in the international headquarters of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity in Atlanta during the summer of 2006. With the move, and the resignation in 2005 of the executive director, a doctoral student, after 6 years of service, the organization discontinued its executive director position, the salary of which had been paid by Indiana University. Many of the gains of the previous decade have been lost, and the

organization enters the new century struggling for a sense of identity and purpose.

Walter M. Kimbrough

See also Greek Letter Organizations; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

The National Urban League is an organization that seeks economic, political, and social empowerment for African Americans. It grew out of a need to assist African Americans who were suffering tremendously in a society where they were disadvantaged and disenfranchised. It was founded in the early 20th century as an interracial organization that would work to provide services directly to African Americans to combat the various social ills that they experienced in a racist society. Today, it has affiliates in 102 cities and 36 states, providing services to more than 2 million people across the United States.

Two key figures in the history of the organization were activist Ruth Standish Baldwin and educator Dr. George Edmund Haynes. Haynes held degrees from Fisk University, Yale University, and Columbia University and was the first African American to receive a doctorate from Columbia. Dedicated to aiding in the social welfare of others, he sought out ways to ameliorate the social ills plaguing African Americans. Haynes requested assistance from Ruth

Standish Baldwin, an organizer and chairman of the National League for the Protection of Colored Women. Baldwin was also the widow of railroad magnate William H. Baldwin Jr. She and her husband were philanthropists who supported Black colleges, including Tuskegee University, and championed social causes for underprivileged individuals.

Historical Context

Southern Whites used oppressive tactics in a Jim Crow system of segregation that was designed to subjugate African Americans. Lynching and violence were commonplace and were used as a means to threaten African Americans into submission. As a result of their circumstances, many African Americans migrated to the North. It soon became apparent that the challenges that these individuals faced as they sought jobs and a better quality of life needed to be addressed. At this time, many organizations were established that would directly serve these new northerners. These included the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, founded in 1905; the Committee for the Improvement of Industrial Conditions among African Americans, founded in 1906; and the Committee on Urban Conditions among African Americans, which was established in 1910. The merger of these three organizations resulted in the creation of the National League on Urban Conditions Among African Americans. This name would later be shortened to the National Urban League in 1920. The National Urban League is often referred to as the “Urban League” or “the League.”

The National Urban League originally aided northern African Americans whose migration to the North was still blighted by racial hostility. In spite of their hopes for improved conditions in the North, African Americans were still relegated by their low status in a society where they had limited access to education, jobs, and other resources that they needed to survive in urban cities. They found that these obstacles persisted even in northern states, where although racial attacks were less prevalent, opportunities were still very limited.

Early Agenda

The League focused much of its early programming on addressing the economic issues facing

African Americans by providing counseling, job training, and health services. This assistance was often coordinated through community centers, clinics, camps, and affiliated organizations. Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University led the League, along with Mrs. Baldwin and Dr. Haynes, during the early days between 1911 and 1918. Other early committee members included Felix Adler, Samuel H. Bishop, William H. Brooks, and Adam Clayton Powell. The organization began to systematically train social workers, and by 1918, they had offices in 30 cities with 81 staff members.

Dr. Eugene Kinckle Jones took over leadership of the National Urban League, succeeding Haynes in 1918. From 1918 to 1941, Jones directed the League and was instrumental in organizing boycotts against companies that refused to hire African Americans. The League began to systematically challenge racial segregation under the guidance of their new leader. Jones worked to consistently provide educational opportunities for youth by pushing schools to expand their vocational programs. He also pressured officials in Washington, D.C., to include African Americans in New Deal programs. He initiated the work to get African Americans included in previously segregated unions.

It was during his tenure that the National Urban League began to attack claims of the intellectual inferiority of African Americans through extensive research using scientific methods. Trained sociologist Dr. Charles S. Johnson became the director of research and investigation for the National Urban League in 1921. The League published a journal entitled *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life* from 1923 and 1949. The journal's motto was “Not Aims, but Opportunity,” and as editor, Johnson focused on using sociological studies with empirical data to dispel myths about African Americans. He was a great supporter of artistic talent, which was evidenced by his efforts to host an annual literature contest in an effort to encourage poets and writers to submit to the publication. The journal published various African American writers, including Gwendolyn Bennett, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, and Countee Cullen. Johnson became a key figure in the Harlem Renaissance as a result of his support of these literary giants through this publication.

The National Urban League continued to work with other organizations to address issues affecting

African Americans during the period of the Great Depression. In 1933, the League collaborated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other interracial organizations to form the Joint Committee on National Recovery (JCNR). The JCNR lobbied for African American relief and recovery programs in Washington, D.C. The League became increasingly concerned with advocating for African Americans through councils in cities around the country.

Lester B. Granger was appointed successor to Jones in 1941. He also fought for the integration of the racist trade unions that were in existence at that time. He developed the Industrial Relations Laboratory of the National Urban League. He continued to work toward increasing job opportunities for African Americans by working to integrate the numerous defense plants that were active during this period. Another facet of the League under Granger's leadership was the National Urban League Guild, which was directed by Mollie Moon. It was during this time that the League also began to work with other organizations to advocate for African American soldiers and to challenge the inherent racism that existed in the United States in spite of the participation of numerous African Americans in World War II. The League was one of many organizations to challenge then-president of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in an open letter signed by leading officers of the NAACP, the Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Civil Rights Era

Civil rights activist and social worker Whitney M. Young became one of the National Urban League's most famous leaders when he succeeded Lester B. Granger as executive director in 1961. This new leadership proved to be a commanding force in the civil and human rights movement during the 1960s. Under Young's leadership the organization helped coordinate two key events: the March on Washington in 1963 and the Poor People's Campaign in 1968. Young's leadership also included a vast expansion of the League with the increase of local chapters from 60 to 98, and the staff increased in size from 500 to 1,200. Monetary contributions to the League also increased. Whitney Young died tragically and unexpectedly when he drowned in March 1971 off the coast of Lagos, Nigeria.

Vernon Jordan, a civil rights attorney and executive director of the United Negro College Fund, was tapped to replace Young in 1972. Jordan led the League with an agenda aimed at implementing programs that would focus on health, housing, education, and job training. The League was long considered one of the more conservative organizations of African American advancement. But, in times of peril and war, the League would take various stands against social injustice.

For example, in 1972, under Jordan's leadership, the Urban League signed a joint declaration with the NAACP that demanded the end of the Vietnam War. Two new publications emerged under Jordan: a journal entitled *Urban League Review* and the development of an annual report entitled *The State of Black America*. *The State of Black America* has been released each year in January at a national press conference since 1976.

Ron Brown, an up-and-coming attorney who had long been a member of the National Urban League, was promoted by Vernon Jordan to several positions within the organization. Brown served as general counsel, the deputy executive director for Programs and Governmental Affairs, and the liaison to the League's Commerce and Industry Council. He would later leave his position at the League to become active in the Democratic political party.

Under Jordan's leadership, the National Urban League tripled its budget and raised significant corporate funds to hire additional employees. After delivering an address to the Fort Wayne Urban League, Vernon Jordan was shot in the back by a confessed White supremacist on May 29, 1980, in Fort Wayne, Indiana. This assassination attempt caused Jordan to be hospitalized, and the incident received national media attention when President Jimmy Carter visited Jordan during his convalescence. Jordan resigned from the League in 1981.

Recent Years

John E. Jacob succeeded Jordan as the president of the National Urban League in 1982. Jacob became concerned with ensuring the financial stability and viability of the League and developed a Permanent Development Fund for this purpose. He also established awards and programs in honor of Whitney Young, including the Whitney M. Young Jr.

Training Center; the Whitney M. Young Jr. Race Relations Program; and the Whitney M. Young Jr. Commemoration Ceremony. Many of these programs were created as a mechanism for recognizing the achievements and development of staff members and volunteers with the League and the individual efforts of members working to improve race relations. Under Jacob's leadership, the League highlighted important social justice issues affecting the lives of African Americans. Self-help programs were implemented that emphasized efforts to reduce teenage pregnancies, assist single parents, and increase voter registration.

The 1990s marked a significant change in the economic structure of U.S. society, and attorney Hugh B. Price became leader of the National Urban League during this period. Price's leadership began in 1994, and he worked to implement more policy-based initiatives to conduct research on urban issues. Through his efforts, the League began to create more scholarship opportunities and worked to assess additional ways to increase the academic achievement of African American youth. Price established the League's research and policy center, known as the National Urban League Institute for Opportunity and Equality. He also revived *Opportunity*, which became a magazine that disseminated the League's perspective on issues including affirmative action, education and youth development, and efforts to create an inclusive multiethnic democratic country. Price was also responsible for opening a new headquarters for the League on Wall Street in New York City.

Former New Orleans Mayor Marc H. Morial was appointed the League's eighth president and chief executive officer on May 15, 2003. Morial brought new energy to the National Urban League, with an emphasis on fund-raising. Within one year, Morial secured more than \$10 million in funding for the support of League programs. He also created a conference known as the Legislative Policy Conference with the title "NUL on the Hill."

Morial created a five-point agenda that emphasizes the following: (1) youth, (2) economic empowerment, (3) health and quality of life, (4) civic engagement and civil rights, and (5) racial justice. For this reason, he created a new form of analysis called the "Equality Index," to measure the disparities in urban communities as they relate to the

five areas. This index is included in the annual *The State of Black America* report. Based upon the findings from the annual reports and concerns for the African American community, Morial established the League's first Annual Legislative Policy Conference, which was held in Washington, D.C. Congressional lawmakers and League leaders met to discuss various issues that were affecting African Americans. Based upon this meeting, the formation of A Black Male Commission to create recommendations and programs for improving the social conditions of African American males occurred.

The State of Black America report published in 2007 noted the particular challenges faced by African American males in contemporary society. The report provided numerous recommendations for addressing the various social inequities that were pervasive within African American communities. The National Urban League has persisted for nearly 100 years in the United States as an economically stable and viable contingency poised to provide policy recommendations and solutions to address challenges that individuals experience in many urban communities. The legacy of this organization has most often rested in the hands of the capable and visionary leaders who were focused on addressing challenges. Under the current leadership, it appears that the League will continue to thrive for many years to come.

Kijua Sanders-McMurtry

See also Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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NATION OF ISLAM

Since the seventh century, Islamic culture has provided positive contributions to human efforts to expand knowledge. History records Muslims' notable mathematical, literary, and architectural contributions to the Western world. In fact, the West owes its numerical system to the Arabs. It is, therefore, not completely unexpected that an African American religious group, the Nation of Islam (hereinafter, "the Nation"), that was founded upon pseudo-Islamic principles, would have the education of its members as a primary objective.

The emphasis on education in the Nation began with the "scientific teachings"—a type of numerology—of the group's founder, W. Fard (Fard Muhammad), which was continued by his chief disciple, Elijah Poole (Elijah Muhammad). The latter codified the teachings of the former into catechisms entitled *Actual Facts* and *Student Enrollment*, which contained, among other things, basic mathematical "facts" about the Earth and the universe. As part of their initiation, adult members of the Nation were expected to be good students and to memorize the catechism. Prospective members of the Nation were not granted membership until they displayed the ability to read and write; they were required to prepare and submit a letter requesting admission to the Nation.

Formal education—that is, elementary and secondary education—played an intriguing role in the Nation's early history. During the early 1930s, when the Nation was in its nascent stage in Detroit, Michigan, Elijah Muhammad and other Nation officials were arrested on charges of contributing to the delinquency of minors. They refused to place the children of members of the Nation in Detroit's public school system; the children were participating in an educational program in the Nation's "University of Islam," which provided basic elementary and secondary educational instruction. Their arrests created an uproar in Detroit, but it was resolved when the State of

Michigan and the Detroit public school system granted accreditation to the Nation's school.

During the early 1940s, when Elijah Muhammad was arrested and served 4 years in prison for refusing to register for the World War II draft, his wife and leader of the Nation during his incarceration, Clara Muhammad, helped maintain and extend the Nation's operations, including Universities of Islam.

With the help of Malcolm X, who joined in the 1950s, the Nation increased the number of its congregations dramatically during the 1960s. In the early 1970s, more than 40 Universities of Islam were in operation; some of these schools operated curricula comparable to those of public schools, while others were weekend instructional programs.

Universities of Islam maintained a curriculum that included the following courses: the 3Rs (reading, writing, and arithmetic), English, speech, biological and chemical sciences, geography, world civilizations, African American History, arts, crafts, drilling, Arabic, and Islamic Studies—mainly Elijah Muhammad's principles and philosophies. Extra-curricular activities included sewing and jewelry making; school sports other than for physical fitness were shunned. Certain Universities of Islam followed a nearly year-round schedule, with classes lasting for approximately one-half day. Students wore uniforms reflecting a conservative dress code. These schools prepared students to enter college and to train in key fields that were open to African Americans during that era. For males, it was agriculture, business, and engineering; for females it was teaching, home economics, and nursing.

In 1975, when Elijah Muhammad died, his son Wallace D. (W. Deen) Muhammad assumed leadership of the Nation. The latter faced opposition for his effort to transform the Nation into a more orthodox Islamic religious group. In 1978, Louis Farrakhan, a longtime spokesperson for the Nation, split with W. Deen Muhammad, and the two headed up separate organizations: W. Deen Muhammad led the World Community of al-Islam in the West, while Farrakhan reconstituted a Nation of Islam group. Both leaders continued to emphasize the importance of education, and the two organizations continued to operate elementary and secondary educational institutions. The World Community of al-Islam in the West renamed its schools Sister Clara Muhammad schools, in honor

of W. Deen Muhammad's mother. The new Nation of Islam continued to refer to its schools as Universities of Islam.

During the first decade of the 21st century, W. Deen Mohammed's (he revised the spelling of his name) group reported that at least 18 Sister Clara Mohammed Schools were in operation, while Farrakhan's Nation of Islam reported that 11 Universities of Islam were operational.

Brooks B. Robinson

See also Clara Muhammad Schools; Religious-Based Education

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NEGRO DIGEST

Negro Digest, which later changed its name to *Black World*, was one of the United States' most important literary outlets for African American critical, creative, and expressive thought over the course of four decades. It was the inaugural publication of African American businessman John H. Johnson's nascent publishing venture, Johnson Publications. Johnson began publishing *Negro Digest* in November 1942 and ceased publishing the magazine after November 1951. He resumed publication of *Negro Digest* in June 1961, changing the name to *Black World* in May 1970.

Thus, *Negro Digest/Black World* paralleled and stimulated two periods of extraordinary cultural flowering among African Americans. The first period was the Chicago Renaissance, an explosion

of cultural and creative activity in Chicago between 1930 and the early 1950s. Examples of the literary contributors to the Chicago Renaissance were Richard Wright, Arna Bontemps, Margaret Walker, Gwendolyn Brooks, and Willard Motley. The second period was the Black Arts and Black Consciousness movement of the 1960s and 1970s, including writers such as LeRoi Jones, Alice Walker, and August Wilson. This movement paralleled the development of the Black Power movement and extended into every area of cultural and artistic expression.

The noncommercial character of *Negro Digest/Black World*, which had almost no advertising revenue, became both its strength and its weakness. Although the magazine gained international prominence as an independent, critical, and innovative publication, it lacked sustainable popular appeal. When *Black World's* circulation declined in the mid-1970s, Johnson could not continue to support the magazine financially. The magazine permanently ended publication after April 1976. This entry looks at its history and contributions.

The First Period

Several factors influenced the content and form of *Negro Digest*. Johnson observed that serious information by and about African Americans was scattered and often invisible in the mainstream media. He also noticed that African Americans were eager to read consequential writing about the African American experience. Johnson modeled *Negro Digest* after the highly successful mainstream publication *Reader's Digest*. During the 1942 to 1951 period and similar to *Reader's Digest*, Johnson reprinted articles in condensed form from diverse publications but eventually reprinted articles in their entirety. He also included various special features and, over time, added more and more original articles.

Negro Digest became profitable and achieved sales of 150,000 per month before being eclipsed by *Ebony* magazine, which Johnson launched in 1945. Corporate America, in the midst of a maturing capitalism, was looking to expand its markets for consumer goods. One remedy was to pay greater attention to a growing but largely untapped African American consumer market. *Ebony*, a slick, picture-oriented, monthly publication that

Johnson modeled after *Look* and *Life* magazines, achieved greater mass appeal and became a fitting conduit for corporate advertisers. Thus, *Ebony* was assured of a strong revenue stream. *Negro Digest's* revenue, on the other hand, was based primarily on the price of the magazine. *Negro Digest/Black World* carried no advertising except for a few products sold by Johnson.

When Johnson explained his reasons for bringing the magazine back in the June 1961 issue of *Negro Digest*, he indicated an acute awareness of the magazine's past significance and emerging importance. Johnson noted the loyalty of *Negro Digest's* readership, describing his receipt of numerous inquiries about the magazine and noting the astonishing fact that many readers had continued to send in their subscription checks during the publishing hiatus. Moreover, Johnson noted the important role of *Negro Digest* during 1942 to 1951 as an outlet for well-known African American writers such as Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, Chester Himes, Gwendolyn Brooks, Roi Ottley, and Zora Neale Hurston.

A Revived Publication

Johnson also spoke of a new interest in 1961 about the "activities and aspirations" of African Americans. *Negro Digest*, he felt, was poised more than any other publication to become an outlet for examining these concerns. To accomplish this end, Johnson appointed Hoyt Fuller as the managing editor; Fuller would guide *Negro Digest* from 1961 until its end in 1976.

Fuller brought a wealth of knowledge and experience to his new editing job at *Negro Digest*, and under his direction, the publication became the leading literary outlet for the Black Arts and Black Consciousness movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, Fuller helped to nurture young writers through the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC), which he founded, who would significantly contribute to the Black Arts and Black Consciousness movement. Most important, every major writer to emerge from this movement would publish in *Negro Digest/Black World*. For many, this publication provided the first noteworthy exposure as a writer.

Negro Digest/Black World accurately reflected the multilayered dimensions of the Black Arts

and Black Consciousness movement. There was expansive productivity in poetry, for which *Negro Digest/Black World* was a primary and notable outlet. The publication's list of outstanding established writers and talented, young, emerging writers was astounding. A few examples were Gwendolyn Brooks, Mari Evans, Nikki Giovanni, Angela Jackson, LeRoi Jones or Amiri Baraka, Keorapetse Kgotsile, Etheridge Knight, Don L. Lee (who later came to be known as Haki Madhubuti), Audre Lorde, Naomi Long Madgett, Dudley Randall, Sterling Plumpp, Ishmael Reed, Sonia Sanchez, Alice Walker, August Wilson, and Carolyn Rodgers.

Negro Digest/Black World also advanced the movement in African American fiction through its regular publication of short stories, plays, literary criticism, and historical and biographical descriptions of significant African American writers. Similarly, the publication led the way in chronicling and analyzing the movement in African American theater that was rapidly advancing across the country.

In short, *Negro Digest/Black World* came to define the parameters of the 1960s and 1970s Black Arts and Black Consciousness movement. Record, book, drama, and film reviews; special features; and interviews with creative intellectuals and political activists revealed an important and intense dialogue on the relationship between art and politics, including global, Pan African expressions in fiction, music, dance, and the visual and plastic arts. Fuller also promoted in *Negro Digest/Black World* an informed dialogue on African-centered historiography, social transformation, and anticolonial movements.

Clovis E. Semmes

See also African-Centered Education

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NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN

The *Negro History Bulletin* was founded in October 1937 at the urging of Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life (later to be known as the Association for the Study of African American Life and History [ASALH]). It was the brainchild of Carter G. Woodson, often called the “father of Black history,” who had created the ASALH in 1915 to promote African American history. The last issue of the *Negro History Bulletin* was published in 2000, but it continues as the *Black History Bulletin*. This entry discusses its initial goals and its evolving content.

Founding Rationale

The *Bulletin* was not Woodson’s first foray into disseminating information chronicling African American participation in history. In 1916, the association published under his direction the *Journal of Negro History* (later known as *Journal of African American History*), which was limited in its readership and contributors to scholars, historians, and educators.

Later, he addressed the same goal by creating Negro History Week (now Black History Month) in February, which commemorates the birthdates of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln. With this celebration, it became apparent there remained a dearth of knowledge and resources available to eradicate the omissions in the history of achievements and accomplishments of African American people and materials to supplement the existing classroom curriculum. To counter this and to aid in meeting his goal to popularize the history and reach the masses with authentic historical information, Woodson created the *Negro History Bulletin*.

The *Bulletin*, a publication of ASALH, unlike ASALH’s *Journal of Negro History*, is not directed at academicians and historians. However, like the *Journal*, the *Bulletin* continues to address Woodson’s goal, to promote and disseminate information chronicling the impact of African American people in history. Negro History Week and the *Bulletin* aided in informing young people and the general public of the achievements and contributions of African American people in the building of the

United States. Woodson believed this knowledge would inculcate in young people a strong sense of identity and aid in their self-definition and refusal to be defined by others. Additionally, this would negate or counter any sense of inferiority resulting from the way in which African American culture was or was not presented. A knowledgeable African American person would be both inspired and empowered to continue the legacy.

Thus, the *Bulletin*’s targeted audience was elementary and secondary teachers, students, and the general reading public. Even though Woodson was the managing editor, there was a major female presence both as members of the editorial board and contributors to the publication. Initially, it was published 9 months of the year, excluding July, August, and September; the subscription rate allowed for a large audience: \$1 a year or 12¢ a copy. Orders for 5 or more for class or club use could be obtained for 45¢ a year. The popularity of the periodical is indicated by the growth in circulation and use; by February 1938 the number of copies printed had grown to 25,000; the initial size of 9½ x 12 inches had changed to a smaller size and looked like a journal, not a newspaper; and the 8-page length changed to 16 pages; but the rates remained affordable. By the 1980s, the subscription rate had risen to \$25 per year for institutions and \$16 a year for individuals.

Evolving Publication Content

The first issues of the *Bulletin* set the tone for the format and content of issues to follow. They presented informative and instructional materials focused on a specific topic for the month. They contained articles on historical events, profiles on memorable persons—known and unknown—(not always African American people, but those who made a positive impact to African American history) and their achievements for each month, notes on books as well as a book-of-the-month corner, African American celebrations, school and general news, and stories of ancient African American history. Included in those early issues were articles on Africa, enslavement, and the Civil War and profiles of such personages as William and Ellen Craft, Robert Gordon, Alexander Dumas (*pere*), Alexander Dumas (*fils*), Lemuel Haynes, and Alexander Pushkin.

A perusal of the historical coverage in the *Bulletin* points up the cultural diversity that attests to how inclusive Woodson was in his understanding of history. Contributors to the *Bulletin* presented materials to supplement existing lessons plans and textbooks within the *Bulletin*. These included a quiz covering the contents of the previous *Bulletin*, vocabulary, grammatical, writing, and reading comprehension exercises. An exercise in “The Negro Scoreboard” (a feature in the periodical) required readers to underline, underscore, circle, read aloud; to identify the where, why, when, what, and how; and to know a specific vocabulary to be sure the article could be understood.

Another exercise asked the readers to find the errors in a paragraph and then correct the sentences. Some artistic exercises were provided by Lois Mailou Jones (1905–1998), a world-renowned African American artist and teacher at Howard University. She provided pictures for coloring and patterns for masks to be cut out and worn and to make sculptures from bars of soap. Additionally, the *Bulletin* provided a tool whereby African American female teachers could exchange ideas regarding assignments and exercises that had proven successful and to seek instructional help for inclusion and further celebration of African American participation.

The *Bulletin* continues to have a variety of instructional materials; encourages teachers to contribute to student materials, lesson plans and programs; and educates African American community to the contributions that have been and are being made. The last issue of *The Negro History Bulletin* was published in 2000 with Volume 63 and resumed as *The Black History Bulletin* with Volume 64 in 2001. In spite of the name change, the volume numbers continue sequentially. According to the ASALH Web site,

[The *Bulletin*] is dedicated to enhancing teaching and learning in the areas of history. Its aim is to publish, generate, and disseminate peer-reviewed information about African Americans in U.S. history, the African Diaspora generally, and the peoples of Africa. Its purpose is to inform the knowledge base for the professional praxis of secondary educators through articles that are grounded in theory, yet supported by practice.

The aim and purpose of the *Bulletin* have changed very little since its inception. As in the earlier issues of the *Bulletin*, photographs of teachers, students, and events are accepted for inclusion.

Helen R. Houston

See also Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH); *Journal of Negro History*; Woodson, Carter G.

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NEW DEAL

The New Deal was a configuration of tentative, and temporary, programs designed to relieve abject poverty resulting from the Great Depression. At the time, the prevailing belief was that the market, and its self-correcting mechanisms, would render these programs obsolete. The New Deal was a loosely connected configuration of work relief programs primarily for working-age men. The programs included the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Works Progress Administration (WPA), Public Works Administration (PWA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the National Youth Administration (NYA). While education for African Americans was advanced through these programs, serving between 1.4 and 3.3 million people, education was secondary to work relief and assistance. This entry provides an overview of educational programs and a discussion of their impact on African Americans.

Program Overview

The 1920s ended with the October 1929 stock market crash, which prompted massive poverty,

unemployment, and human deprivation. By 1933, 25% of all workers and 50% of African Americans were unemployed; mortgages defaulted, banks failed, riots and strikes over wages increased, and consumer purchasing power declined as a result of supply-side economic strategies. This Great Depression prompted a federal response to poverty through work relief, which eventually exposed the massive illiteracy and inadequately skilled U.S. polity.

Education projects included school construction, renovation, literacy classes, vocational rehabilitation, training, nursery schools, correspondence classes, and educational radio programs. Within this context, education was job related, directed at the poor, and explicitly tied to desperately needed economic development.

WPA projects included manual labor in the form of construction of roads, schools, and other infrastructure projects, or the production and distribution of consumer goods. It specifically helped to build and rebuild schools and hire unemployed teachers. WPA offered educational programs in the form of worker education, nursery schools, vocational training, and parent education.

The CCC, a youth employment program in conservation, provided aid to families receiving relief by sending a portion of youths' salaries home. The program provided on-the-job training; however, it became clear that basic literacy was necessary. Because the program was residential, in addition to literacy classes, instruction in Latin, mathematics, history, and vocational skills were offered during leisure time. By 1937, each CCC camp had a school building. By 1939, nearly a third of participants were enrolled in classes for an average of 4 hours per week.

The NYA was designed to keep youth out of the labor market, thereby reducing competition for scarce jobs and lowering the unemployment rate. It created work-study programs at the high school and college levels. The NYA afforded students pursuing secondary and college education the opportunity to continue their studies by providing part-time employment on campus or on construction projects. The NYA served nearly 500,000 youth and provided prevocational services to unemployed out-of-school youth.

Help for African Americans

The New Deal programs exposed persistent African American poverty. Attention to abject poverty cast a wide net, and African Americans were captured, not by design, but by the pervasiveness of the problem in the United States. The issues of African Americans were illuminated because the nation was focused on problems of poverty and homelessness. Issues that plagued the African American community for years entered public discourse.

Many of the initiatives that benefited African Americans were not due to federal government institutional will, but rather to the discretion given to social program designers, social workers, and reformers who personally promoted social justice and equality. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, activist-educator Mary McLeod Bethune, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, head of the NYA Aubrey Williams and others worked to ensure that the needs of African Americans were addressed. African American schools and colleges received larger federal appropriations, with specific attention given to southern Black colleges.

The NYA, with its explicit nondiscrimination policy, was especially beneficial to African American student education. The NYA paid African American and White students identical compensation, provided aid to nearly 120 Black colleges, and set aside funding for eligible African American students. Conversely, the CCC had difficulties serving the needs of African Americans, who made up only 10% of the racially segregated camps. Camps often were cancelled or moved due to local community pressure.

The New Deal programs were not coordinated with the newly developing Department of Education because they were embedded in employment and welfare relief. Like his contemporaries, Roosevelt believed that the federal government should not provide direct federal aid to public education and therefore omitted it from the New Deal. Roosevelt's lack of coordination with the Department of Education and exclusion of the newly formed National Education Association created tension between the education community and the federal government. The New Deal education initiatives were not institutionalized and therefore nonbinding on Roosevelt's successors. However, they paved the way for a national education agenda.

While many of these programs continued the long history of segregation and discrimination, administrative leniency and discretion provided opportunities to infuse social justice and redistribution to ease inequity. Therefore, in many ways, the New Deal was one of the first sustained federal social justice interventions for African Americans. This disjointed series of work relief, social welfare, and educational programs raised the issues of the underrepresented to the public discourse and exposed massive inequity and injustice.

Jocelyn D. Taliaferro

See also Bethune, Mary McLeod; Community Control of Schools; Economics of Education; Higher Education Act of 1965

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NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

Passed in 2001 during the George W. Bush administration, No Child Left Behind (NCLB) represents the most recent reauthorization of the original Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). NCLB targets four areas: strengthening accountability for student results; enabling more state and local flexibility in the use of federal funds; supporting the use of federal funds on educational programs and intervention that have research based effectiveness; and providing parents and families with more school choice. Yet in order to understand NCLB, and in particular, its impact on African Americans, it is necessary to understand the background of this document. This entry begins with a brief overview of the

ESEA 1965 legislation, followed by an overview of the NCLB legislation. The entry concludes by considering the impact this law has had on African American students.

Origins and Goals of the ESEA

The desire to close the academic and perceived social gap between students living in poverty—who often were (and still are) underrepresented students, primarily African American and Latino and their White and middle-class counterparts—was the basis for the original ESEA legislation, specifically the Title I portion of the act. In his State of the Union address, President Lyndon Baines Johnson proclaimed his intent to end poverty in the United States. He had been in office for only a month following the assassination of his predecessor and former running mate, John F. Kennedy. In this address, President Johnson told listeners that he was declaring a war on poverty in the United States. He further warned that this undertaking would be lengthy and require the use of multiple weapons or strategies. One of the primary strategies selected by President Johnson to remedy poverty was through education, and out of this concern and commitment, the ESEA was born.

In what would become known to the world as the “Great Society” programs, President Johnson and his sympathizers wanted to address the growing widespread poverty found in various U.S. enclaves, particularly those located among underrepresented communities in large, urban centers. Not surprisingly, lower- and working-class African Americans were a primary group targeted by ESEA, as were the accompanying compensatory educational programs that resulted from the legislation.

While ESEA certainly was not the first instance of federal government intervention in the affairs of preK–12 education, at the time, the act reflected an unprecedented financial and symbolic commitment. ESEA 1965 authorized the federal government to allocate \$1 billion to address educational concerns at the preschool, elementary, secondary, and college and university levels. These concerns focused mainly on allocating funds for the creation of preschool programs (for example, Head

Start), supplementing state and local funds for schools that served low-income student populations; creating supplemental educational centers and regional educational labs in an effort to improve curriculum, train teachers, and provide support for economically and culturally different students; strengthening state educational agencies; and providing funding to colleges and universities and scholarships for promising and needy students.

No Child Left Behind: An Overview

Though focused on accountability, standards, and school choice, NCLB was not the first federal education initiative to focus on these areas. At differing degrees of intensity, *A Nation at Risk* (Ronald Reagan administration) and *Goals 2000* (Bill Clinton administration) advanced the need to implement standards-based education as a means of increasing accountability. Additionally, *America 2000* (George H. W. Bush administration), despite not getting passed through Congress, expressed the need to provide parents and families with more school choice options. Thus, rather than initiating a novel strategy for intervening on preK–12 education, it is more accurate to note that NCLB strengthened the already existing interest, role and presence of the federal government in these areas.

In light of these issues, the primary justification offered for the creation of NCLB was the need to close the longstanding achievement gap between preK–12 student populations who are poor and rich and those who are White and underrepresented. Here, concerns with equity were invoked in the argument that school systems engaged in a form of “soft bigotry” when not holding themselves accountable for ensuring that all students achieved at high levels. Consequently, NCLB requires that school districts hire only “highly qualified” teachers for all subject areas; with a provision that over time, existing veteran teachers must also show that they are highly qualified to teach. “Highly qualified” status rests on demonstrated competency in the subject area taught, including holding a full teaching certification, majoring in the subject taught, and/or passing a state subject/content area test.

Additionally, NCLB requires that states create and implement a series of subject area tests for students in Grades 3–12. It is expected that school districts will report both aggregate and disaggregated data on student performance, with the latter focused on several subcategories including race-ethnicity, class, language proficiency, and disability. On the basis of achievement goals set at the state level, school districts and schools must show that their entire student populations, as well as the subgroup populations, meet the achievement goals set by each state. School districts and schools meeting these goals achieve “Annual Yearly Progress,” or AYP. Those that fail to meet these goals—either at the level of total student population or for individual subgroup student populations—do not meet AYP and receive sanctions from the federal government, ranging from providing tutorial services for low-achieving students and paying for the transportation costs of sending low-achieving students to other schools chosen by parents and families to state takeover.

African Americans and No Child Left Behind

While NCLB is positioned as a policy devoted to ensuring all students will receive an excellent and equitable educational experience, it has simultaneously received harsh criticism. These critiques focus on a broad array of concerns that fundamentally threaten the degree to which the policy can meet one of its goals of better educating African American children. For instance, one critique suggests that the federal government has not funded NCLB at a level necessary to fully implement the legislation. This lack of funding punctuates concerns about the harmful economic effects facing schools that fail to meet AYP, particularly the fact that low-performing districts are required to allocate already limited funding to pay for outside, private student tutoring services and the costs incurred in transporting students to alternative “choice” schools. This loss of funds further diminishes school districts’ abilities to strengthen their own curriculum and instructional program and is more likely to severely affect those districts that have higher student populations who do not perform well on annual tests.

A related critique centers on long-standing concerns about the overreliance and use of high-stakes,

standardized testing—methods that have disproportionately had a negative impact on African American students. This criticism primarily points out that under such conditions, African American students often receive more “drill and kill” learning that focuses on concrete skill mastery that is devoid of context, meaning, and the cultivation of critical thinking abilities. This suggests that rather than receiving a rich and fuller curriculum, these students will receive only what is perceived as necessary to pass state tests. In this way, it is suggested that NCLB not only leaves African American students “behind” but also helps to sustain the ongoing inequity already present in the current United States preK–12 educational system.

Keffrelyn D. Brown

See also Academic Achievement; Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; School Choice; Standardized Testing

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OPEN ADMISSIONS

An open admissions policy at a college or university is a policy that provides broad access to students from many backgrounds without regard for academic preparedness for college. Historically, access to higher education was reserved for the privileged few. Admissions policies catered to young, wealthy, white males, closing doors on the poor, minorities, and academically underprepared students. With the advent of public universities, but particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, the admissions policies of most colleges and universities evolved into a variety of open access policies, including in some cases universal access to educational opportunities for underrepresented and low-income groups. However, since the 1970s, educational opportunity has become more restricted.

A two-tiered system of open admissions exists today. Two-year public institutions admit anyone with a high school diploma or its equivalent regardless of academic background. This first-tier educates over half of the U.S. undergraduate population. The 2-year institutions operate under the traditional definition of open admissions: nonselective, low-cost enrollment. The second tier involves conditional open admissions policies, such as those currently practiced in the University of California (UC) system and previously practiced in the City University of New York (CUNY) system in New York City, which sets some criteria for admissions. This entry looks at the evolution of open admissions and how it has affected African Americans.

Widening Access

The opportunity to achieve higher education has been a persistent and highly sought-after value in the educational history of African Americans. Yet the tradition of denied access marks a discrepancy between desired goals and achieved goals. Efforts to combat restricted access and admissions led to the founding of three Black colleges: Cheyney State College in Pennsylvania (1839), Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (1855), and Wilberforce University in Ohio (1856). These colleges espoused the policy of open admissions, permitting the enrollment of all students in an effort to provide a higher education for all African American youth.

Historically Black colleges and universities have a long history of providing open admissions to African American students. For over 125 years, Black colleges and universities have provided access to higher education for the overwhelming majority of African Americans. Disregarding customary admissions criteria and operating under open-door policies, these institutions have admitted all who could benefit from a higher education.

Public Institutions

On a national level, access to higher education broadened with the passage of the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, which fostered access to public higher education through the opening of land grant institutions, publicly supported 4-year institutions that extended affordable higher education to an increased number of students. Open

admissions policies were also spurred by the passage of the GI Bill in 1944, giving veterans of World War II funds to attend college. Promoted by the President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy in 1947 and funded by the Higher Education Act and its amendments in 1965, open admissions set the stage for equalizing educational opportunities and aiding underrepresented groups.

In 1960, California implemented one of the first major open admissions programs in the United States. Under UC's open admissions system that varies according to the institutional level: The top 12% of high school graduating classes are eligible for UC centers, the upper third of students are guaranteed admission to the state colleges, and the remaining students, as long as they have a high school degree, may attend the state's 2-year public institutions.

CUNY implemented open admissions after the 1969 demands of a group of African American and Latino students closed the university. CUNY's open admissions policy guaranteed every New York City high school graduate a place at CUNY with free tuition. It permitted students who were in the top half of their high school class or who had average grades of 80 to enroll in CUNY's 4-year institutions, opening the doors for underrepresented students educated in lower-performing high schools.

Open admissions programs of the 1960s and 1970s created tremendous access to baccalaureate programs, under the auspices of the Civil Rights Act and affirmative action programs. Particularly in education, affirmative action policies required that active measures be taken to ensure that African Americans and other underrepresented groups enjoyed the same opportunities for school admissions, scholarships, and financial aid that had previously been provided only to Whites.

Retrenchment and Restrictions

The late 1970s ushered in a movement away from open admissions policies in general but an attack on affirmative action programs in general. In 1978, quota incentives in colleges and universities were challenged under *Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke*. The outcome of the case was that race could be used as a factor in admissions

when choosing a diverse student body but the use of quotas at these institutions was not permissible. *Bakke* laid the foundation for further attacks on access to higher education for African Americans and other underrepresented students.

Open admissions policies were criticized for weakening academic standards and institutional rigor. Colleges and universities were called on to uphold and tighten academic standards by eradicating open admissions policies. In response to the critics of open admissions, CUNY implemented multiple changes to its open admissions policy by instituting a tuition charge and making admission to 4-year colleges more difficult by requiring a rank in the top one third of the high school graduating class. This policy drastically reduced number of underrepresented students. By 1998, the trustees of the CUNY voted to restrict admission to 4-year institutions by requiring students to pass a series of tests for admission to a baccalaureate program.

While open admissions have attempted to redress the injustice suffered by African Americans and other ethnic groups and to distribute privilege, power, and dignity in a socially equitable manner, some efforts have been made to combat those gains. Despite opposition, however, open admissions have been arguably the nation's most ambitious attempt to expand college access.

Ishwanzya D. Rivers

See also Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Lincoln University (Pennsylvania); *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*

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PARENTS INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY SCHOOLS v. SEATTLE SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 1

The Supreme Court ruling in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007) ended the use of race in student assignment programs intended to achieve desegregated schools. In the future, public school districts seeking to use race as a factor in school assignment or transfer decisions will have to show the merit of racial diversity and document that other methods to desegregate schools have failed. This entry addresses the background, facts, and impact of *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*.

Historical Context

Since *Brown v Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the U.S. educational system has struggled to desegregate its schools. Although public schools were required to desegregate after *Brown*, residential neighborhoods still tended to be racially segregated. Given that the U.S. educational system uses the neighborhood school assignment model, neighborhood schools tend to reflect the racially segregated patterns of their neighborhoods.

Employing student assignment policies as a way to overcome the reality of residential segregation has been used by many districts. In the name of desegregation, districts developed school assignments plans

that focused on maintaining a racial composition that approximated the racial composition of the district, that was within a certain percentage of the racial composition of the district, or that gave specific limits on the maximum number of African American or White students allowed to enroll in one school (e.g., San Francisco, California; Arlington, Virginia, Dekalb, Illinois; and Boston and Lynn, Massachusetts). Once the racial balance was achieved, schools would not admit any students who would disrupt the racial balance, and in some cases, students were not allowed to transfer into schools if the transfer would tip the racial balance within the school.

As desegregation policies focused on African American students being admitted to White schools, it was often African American students who faced the burden of being bused to create a racial balance. However, in more recent years, White and African American students have been bused to alleviate the racial imbalance between schools (e.g., in Charlotte, North Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia). The pattern of using student assignment and busing to achieve desegregation stayed in place for several years.

Facts of the Case

The Seattle School District had an open high school assignment policy in which any student could apply for admission to any school within the district. However, when too many students wanted admission to a particular school, a tiebreaker was used to decide who would be admitted to the

school. Student race was one of the factors that could be used to determine admission to ensure that the racial balance of the school did not deviate from the set standard. Both Whites and African Americans could then be favored in any particular school.

A nonprofit group, Parents Involved in Community Schools, sued the Seattle School District contending that the racial tiebreaker violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Washington state law. In 2001, the district court found that the tiebreaker system was narrowly tailored and did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. On appeal, a circuit court panel reversed the initial ruling, but then it withdrew that ruling and sent the case to the Washington Supreme Court. The State Supreme Court held that the student assignment plan did not violate state law and sent the case back to the circuit court to review the federal aspects of the case.

Using the precedent set in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) and reaffirmed in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) and *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003), the circuit court upheld the original plan finding that the plan was a narrowly tailored method to achieve the interest of educational diversity by keeping Seattle schools desegregated. The case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court combined the Seattle case with another that had been forwarded on appeal. In 2001, the Jefferson County, Kentucky district was using a plan that classified students as Black or Other to make school assignments and to rule on school transfer requests. The plan was a consequence of the precursor district court ruling by Judge James F. Gordon in *Haycraft v. Board of Education of Louisville* (1973), which ordered the desegregation of one of the largest public school systems in the United States. *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* was filed in response to a parent, Crystal Meredith, whose child was assigned to a school that was a 45-minute bus ride away and denied a transfer request because the closest school had reached its racial balance. In 2003, the district court (and later the U.S. Court of Appeals) found that the plan was in effect narrowly tailored to serve the interest of the district.

Because both *Parents Involved in Community Schools Inc. v. Seattle School District I* and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* involved the use of race in student assignment, the cases were decided together. In a 5–4 decision, four of the justices voted to uphold the lower court ruling while the five other justices felt that the plan was not tailored narrowly enough. The position of the Court was that because the plans involved racial classifications, they violated the equal protection clause, as they were not tailored narrowly enough. In this decision, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the lower court judgments and concluded that using race as a measure to assign students to schools to prevent segregation violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Students' race can no longer be used to assign students to schools to prevent segregation.

Impact of the Ruling

Parents Involved in Community Schools Inc. v. Seattle School District I, *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, and *Brown v. Board of Education* were all argued on the Fourteenth Amendment. What made *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* different from *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was that the recent racial imbalance in schools did not result from state sanctioned de jure segregation, which had ended some 30 years earlier. Rather, the racial imbalance was the result of other forces, such as long-term resistance and, ultimately, ineffective methods to achieve a desegregated school system. In addition, unlike *Brown*, there was not a unanimous decision among the Supreme Court justices as in the Seattle case.

Over five decades after the *Brown* decision, the role of race-conscious decision making in U.S. public schools has been changed again. The Fourteenth Amendment was used to end segregation in public schools and may also be a catalyst in public school education heading toward greater segregation. As a consequence, schools may be headed toward greater segregation among students. In the future, public school districts seeking to use race as a factor in school assignment or transfer decisions will have to show the merit in racial diversity and document that other methods to desegregate schools have failed.

As long as achieving racial diversity in public schools remains an interest, school will need to look to nonracial ways to achieve this goal. Attention may now be turned to economic integration, which has been employed as a way to achieve both economic and racial diversity within schools. As this country continues in a state of de jure segregation, future endeavors will have to focus more on the issue of school quality and not just attempt to orchestrate a racial mix of students.

Shelly Lynne Brown-Jeffy

See also Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Busing; Desegregation; Grutter v. Bollinger; Regents of the University of California v. Bakke

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PASADENA CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION V. SPANGLER

In 1968, students and their parents filed a lawsuit in the U.S. District Court, Central District of California (district court), against the Pasadena City Board of Education (school board), Pasadena Unified School District (school district), and school officials, seeking injunctive relief from alleged unconstitutional segregation of schools in the school district. The school district created a plan in which no minority group was to be the majority in any school. In 1974, the school district asked the court to declare the segregation had been ended and to relinquish control over the schools. When the court refused, the school district appealed. In the end, the U.S. Supreme Court found on behalf of the school district, ruling that the plan approved by the trial court had achieved

the objective of creating a system of assignments to public schools on a nonracial basis. It held that the trial court exceeded its authority in requiring an annual readjustment of attendance zones so that there would not be a majority of minority students in any school. This entry explores the backdrop, the facts, and the impact of *Pasadena City Board of Education v. Spangler*.

Historical Background

Enslavement began in the United States when the English colonies settled in Virginia, and it remained legal until 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution was ratified. Enslaved Africans were captured and sold to men buying and selling enslaved Africans. Enslavement existed in the United States from about the 17th to the 19th century. Important amendments were made to the Constitution of the United States: (a) Thirteenth Amendment (1865), abolishing enslavement and involuntary servitude; (b) Fourteenth Amendment (1868), guaranteeing citizens of the United States the right to life, liberty, property, and equal protection of the laws; and (c) Fifteenth Amendment (1870), guaranteeing citizens the right to vote.

In 1849, the first school desegregation lawsuit was filed in *Roberts v. City of Boston*. Deciding the case, the Massachusetts Supreme Court established the doctrine of separate-but-equal public schools. In 1896, in deciding *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the U.S. Supreme Court held the separate-but-equal doctrine was constitutional for all public facilities. This was the beginning of the Jim Crow laws designed to separate the races.

In 1954, in reversing *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court decided the landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (Brown I)*, concluding that the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place in public education because separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. In 1954, the Supreme Court also decided *Bolling v. Sharpe*. In that case, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia opened a new school and admitted only White students. Deciding the case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that maintaining a racially segregated public school by the states is unconstitutional and violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

and that maintaining racially segregated public schools by the District of Columbia, a federal governmental entity, is in violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.

About the same time, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to prevent nine African American students from attending Little Rock Central High School. The students attended the school with the protection of federal troops. Later, the Little Rock School Board closed all public schools rather than desegregate the schools. Other school districts across the South also closed public schools to avoid school desegregation. In 1955, in *Brown v. Board of Education* (*Brown II*), the Supreme Court directed public school districts to move with all deliberate speed toward the desegregation of public schools. The Pasadena case reached the Supreme Court in 1968.

Facts of the Case

In 1968, students and their parents filed a complaint in the U.S. District Court seeking to stop the school district from discriminating on the basis of race. It charged the district with failing to adopt and implement a plan for the elimination of discriminatory practices. On January 23, 1970, the district court entered a decree, enjoining the school district from discriminating on the basis of race in the operation of the school district. The district court found the school district had adopted a neighborhood school policy and a policy against forced cross-town busing, both of which resulted in racial imbalance.

The district court concluded the policy violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and entered judgment against the school district. The school district was ordered to submit a desegregation plan by February 16, 1970, to provide for the assignment of students beginning September of the 1970 to 1971 school year so that no school in the district would have a majority of any minority students. By order of court dated March 10, 1970, the district court approved the plan submitted, known as the Pasadena Plan.

In March of 1974, during a hearing, the district court found that five schools were, and remained, in violation of the no-majority-of-any-minority

provision. In 1974, the school district filed a motion requesting the district court to modify the 1970 order, dissolve the injunction, and relinquish jurisdiction. In the alternative, the school board requested the district court to modify the Pasadena Plan and adopt a freedom of choice plan, which would require additional busing. The district court denied the motion. On appeal, the court of appeals affirmed.

Because the case presented issues of importance regarding the authority of federal courts to impose a plan upon a school district designed to achieve a unitary school system, the U.S. Supreme Court granted certiorari. The Supreme Court ruled that the Pasadena Plan, adopted in 1970, had established a racially neutral system of student assignment. Therefore, the district court had exceeded its authority by enforcing an order requiring an annual readjustment of attendance zones, so there would be no majority of any minority in any Pasadena public school.

In addition, the Court found that the post-1971 shift in racial makeup of some of the schools was in no way related to any segregative action by the school district. Instead, the shift was caused by demographic changes in Pasadena's residential pattern, where the residents moved into, out of, and around the school system. The Court followed its decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971) in which it had held the following:

Neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once the affirmative duty to desegregate has been accomplished and racial discrimination through official action is eliminated from the system. This does not mean that federal courts are without power to deal with future problems; but in the absence of a showing that either the school authorities or some other agency of the State has deliberately attempted to fix or alter demographic patterns to affect the racial composition of the schools, further intervention by a district court should not be necessary. (402 U.S. at 1284)

Finally, the Supreme Court held that the no-majority-of-any-minority provision in the decree

was ambiguous, especially inasmuch as the parties interpreted the provisions differently than the district court. These two factors made a sufficiently compelling case that the district court should have modified the 1970 decree. The Supreme Court vacated the judgment, remanded the case to the court of appeals, and the court of appeals remanded it to the district court. On remand, the school district filed a motion to dissolve the injunction and to relinquish jurisdiction after nearly 10 years of court supervision, a motion which the district court denied. On appeal, the court of appeals vacated and remanded the case, directing the district court to enter a decree approving the Pasadena Plan of 1970, as modified, and to terminate the case.

Impact of the Ruling

In deciding the *Pasadena* case, the Supreme Court relied primarily upon *Swann v. Board of Education*. The Court has relied on its decision in the *Pasadena* case in deciding other school desegregation cases, as have lower federal courts.

A dual public school system and a unitary school system are distinguishable. The dual school system is based upon race, especially student attendance, in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. In a unitary school system, there are no constitutional violations. In 1954, in the landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education (Brown I)*, the Supreme Court found a dual school system, and in 1955, in *Brown v. Board of Education (Brown II)*, the Supreme Court ordered the school district to move with all deliberate speed toward the desegregation of schools—that is, toward a unitary public school system.

The law requires the dismantling of a dual public school system. In seeking to dismantle what may appear to be a dual school system, a federal court must find convincing proof that school officials or some other state-related agency caused segregation in violation of the U.S. Constitution. Absent such convincing proof, federal courts have no basis for becoming involved or remaining involved in the school district.

In 1970, in *Pasadena*, the district court found convincing proof of constitutional violations in student assignments and therefore ordered the

school district to submit a plan to achieve racial neutrality in student attendance. The school district submitted what became known as the Pasadena Plan. A major provision of the Pasadena Plan was no majority of any minority students would enroll in a school in the school district. The objective of the plan was to establish a racially neutral system in student assignment.

Subsequent to 1971, there were shifts in the racial makeup of some of the schools because of changes in demographics of residential patterns. There were no subsequent constitutional violations by the school district. The district court required the school district to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of the student body. In deciding the *Pasadena* case, the Supreme Court held that there had been no constitutional violations by the school district, and neither the district court nor the school district had a constitutional duty to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of the student body.

In addition, the affirmative duty to desegregate had been achieved, and racial discrimination because of official action had been eliminated, the Court said. Finding the school district had attained unitary status after the 1st year, the Supreme Court concluded that the district court should have dissolved the injunction and relinquished jurisdiction. Instead, the district court made a lifetime commitment to the no-majority-of-any-minority provision in the plan. There was no evidence the school district or other public entity altered the demographics affecting the racial composition of the schools or otherwise violated the Constitution.

Further, a desegregation decree must not operate in perpetuity. There needs to be local control over the education of children, allowing citizens to participate in the process of decision making and innovation in order for the educational program to fit local needs. The basis for displacement of the duties and responsibilities of local authorities by an injunctive decree in a school desegregation case is a clear violation of the U.S. Constitution. In this case, any such violation had been corrected.

Eugene A. Lincoln

See also *Bolling v. Sharpe*; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); *Busing*; *Desegregation*; *Jim Crow*; *Roberts v. City of Boston*; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*

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PHELPS STOKES FUND

The nonprofit Phelps Stokes Fund is the oldest continuously operating foundation in the United States serving the needs of African Americans, Native Americans, Africans, and the rural and urban poor. As stated on its Web site (<http://www.psfdc.org>), the fund's mission is as follows:

[To] address the educational needs of the urban and rural poor of Africa, the African Diaspora, and the United States with particular attention to the needs of people of color and Indians of the Americas. The Fund's activity is founded on the conviction that true education depends on a fundamental respect for human dignity, the development of the full capacities inherent in each human being, and the cultivation of social harmony.

As one of the first organizations in the United States to play a prominent role in transferring

models of education for African Americans and Native Americans, the fund influenced much of British colonial educational policy in Anglophone Africa in the early part of the 20th century. In addition to its education work, it was founded to provide funds toward tenement housing in New York City for the poor. Although it no longer is involved with issues of housing, the fund presents itself as an organization that seeks to build bridges of intercultural, interracial, and international understanding and uses its modest endowment to finance core staff and the operations of its central office in Washington, D.C. The fund operates with the support of private donors, foundations, and corporations and through grants from federal government agencies.

As of 2008, the fund's programs had focused primarily on serving as a National Programming Agency for the Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program. It also has a few smaller active programs, including the Ralph Bunche Societies to encourage young college students from underrepresented groups to internationalize their academic careers. In April 2009, the fund officially changed its name to Phelps Stokes. It also has expanded beyond its original mission and target groups to include a program for recently released prisoners (homecomers) and leadership workshops for Afro-Colombian leaders (Programs for Latin American Countries). This entry explores the backdrop, the research, and additional accomplishments of the Phelps Stokes Fund.

Historical Background

The fund was incorporated in New York City in 1911, by the will of Caroline Phelps Stokes, one of the first female philanthropists in the United States. Stokes' concern for the needs of the underprivileged, women, and U.S. minority groups was deeply rooted in her strong Christian beliefs and was heavily influenced by her family's legacy in philanthropy.

On both sides of her paternal and maternal families, this legacy extended from the United States to Africa. Her maternal grandfather, Anson Greene Phelps Jr., was the president of the New York State Colonization Society and a member of the American Colonization Society, organizations which facilitated the back-to-Africa movement for

African Americans in the 1800s. Her paternal grandfather was a founder of the American Bible Society and the London Missionary Society.

Throughout their lives, Phelps Stokes and her sister, Olivia Egleston Phelps Stokes, engaged donors who supported causes related to education and health, particularly regarding African Americans, Native Americans, and the church. Even prior to the creation of the fund, these two unmarried sisters' activities and charitable contributions reflected their social and philanthropic interests.

From its inception, the fund used its \$800,000 endowment to establish funds and grants for educational and housing concerns. Its early educational philosophy was founded on the belief that African Americans should be peacefully assimilated into the national economy and society, namely, agricultural and vocational education. Although in contemporary times the fund's assumption may appear to be paternalistic and anachronistic, its proponents, such as Booker T. Washington, emphasized that the fund encouraged education—regardless of the type—for a population that traditionally had been prohibited from any form of formal learning.

The Slater Fund received the first education grant and helped to establish the Anna T. Jeanes Fund in 1911, which promoted rural and vocational teacher training in southern African American communities. Other early grants went to White scholars studying African American life at the Universities of Georgia and Virginia. Between 1911 and 1946, the fund provided over \$20,000 to African students studying in the United States. It also actively sought to bring Black South African leaders to the United States to study during the apartheid years under the Archbishop Desmond Tutu Southern Africa Refugee Scholarship Fund. By the 1950s, the fund had spent down its endowment and decreased its level of grant giving.

The fund had tremendous reach in colonial Africa, particularly given its small size. Of note is the fund's special relationship with Liberia, which began over 100 years ago. In fact, the first flag of Liberia was sewn in the family's home. Phelps Stokes's sister, O. E. Phelps Stokes, spent decades pushing for a Tuskegee-in-Africa, providing funds in her will to establish a Liberian vocational and industrial institution. Her wish was ultimately fulfilled when the

Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute was established there in 1929. Since these early activities of the Phelps Stokes family, the fund has attempted to maintain a presence in Liberia in contemporary times. As of 2009, however, the fund had no active programs there.

The fund was not without its critics, including W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson. Du Bois, in particular, felt that the fund's African education commissions propagated White hegemony. Du Bois, for example, established a cordial and respectful disagreement with Anson Phelps Stokes II, the first president of the fund. The African American scholar and activist disagreed with the fund's (and Washington's) stance that gradual attainment of education and wealth would lead to racial equality demanding instead full and immediate equality through political action and if required, physical resistance.

Despite its limited ability to serve as a grant-giving foundation and disagreements, the fund had a wide reach of influence. For example, it organized interracial retreats of African American and White educational and policy leaders at the famed Capahosic Conference Center in Virginia on such topics as the Montgomery student sit-in. It also was a leader in raising awareness and cooperation between Africa and the United States; for example, in 1954, the fund hosted a prominent luncheon for Liberian President William V. S. Tubman.

Research and Accomplishments

The Phelps Stokes Fund has initiated, conducted, and sponsored hallmark educational surveys and research studies that have been fundamental in shaping the improvement of education for African Americans, Native Americans, and Africans. Its first study, *Survey of Negro Education in the United States, 1913–1916*, published in 1917, was the first comprehensive study completed on African American education in the U.S. South. Other studies included *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa, 1920–1921* and *Education in East Africa: East, South and Central Africa, 1924–1925*, which established the blueprint for primary and secondary education for all of British Colonial Africa from the 1920s to the 1960s. The fund's first educational director, Thomas Jesse Jones, published *The Navajo Indian*

Problem in 1939. The fund also provided appropriations for *The Problem of Indian Administration* (also known as the Meriam Report), which informed President Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to protect American Indian rights to exist as culturally unique peoples and to retain reservation land bases in their control.

In addition to these studies, the fund managed programs that furthered their interests, such as the African Student Aid Fund and Cooperative College Development Fund. From the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to the American Bible Society, the fund also supported many nationally and internationally known programs and institutions through small grants and appropriations and provided advisory services when staff members served as board members or informal consultants to such organizations. For example, in 1935, A. Phelps Stokes II and the president of the Carnegie Corporation put forth matching grants to establish the South Africa Institute of Race Relations to support its work on interracial understanding. The fund also played an indirect role in many other notable organizations. For example, in 1950, President Frederick Patterson was a key player in establishing the United Negro College Fund (UNCF). Even though the fund was not directly involved in the founding of the UNCF, Patterson's advisory services and the fund's appropriation of small grants demonstrated its support of the new organization and its mission. The fund has played an historic role in incubating and contributing to other organizations in similar fashion, such as the Association of Black American Ambassadors, Boys Choir of Harlem, and the Jackie Robinson Foundation.

Past presidents of the fund have included A. Phelps Stokes II, Jackson Davis, Patterson, Franklin Williams, and Wilbert LeMelle. Its current president is Badi G. Foster. Educational directors and key commission members included Thomas Jesse Jones; Channing Tobias; and James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, of Ghana.

Trustees included Claude Barnett (Associated Negro Press), Ralph J. Bunche (Nobel Peace Prize recipient), Rufus Clement (president, Atlanta University), Jackson Davis (General Education Board), James H. Dillard (the philanthropist and educator after whom Dillard University is named), Charles Loram (representative in South Africa),

Malcolm MacLean (president, Hampton Institute), Robert R. Moton (president, Tuskegee Institute), Rev. A. Phelps Stokes Jr. III (educator and clergyman), Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes (author and architect), Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes II (president of the Phelps Stokes Fund), Helen Phelps Stokes (widow of Anson Phelps Stokes I), O. E. Phelps Stokes (philanthropist who enhanced the endowment through contributions), and Richard West (southern Cheyenne Indian who directed the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian).

Belinda Chiu

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Washington, Booker T.; Woodson, Carter G.

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Web Site

The Phelps Stokes Fund: <http://phelpsstokes.org>

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

Philander Smith College is a 4-year, historically Black liberal arts college in Little Rock, Arkansas, founded in the wake of the Civil War. It has grown and evolved over the years, meeting the various challenges of different historical periods, and continues to thrive. Its history is recalled in this entry.

Founding of the College

At the end of the Civil War in 1865, President Abraham Lincoln created the Freedmen's Bureau, which was designed to assist newly freed Africans in their acclimation to life in the United States. Around 1869, the bureau adopted a school at Wesley Chapel United Methodist Church, the oldest African

American Methodist Church in Arkansas. The church itself originated from what was known as the Little Rock African Mission, a vehicle by which enslaved Africans had church services led by White Methodist preachers who traveled to deliver the sermons. The Little Rock African Mission was formed in the late 1840s.

Around the time of the Freedmen's Bureau, early Methodists created a similar program known as the Freedman's Aid Society. The society, started in August 1866 in Cincinnati, was specifically designed to create schools in the South for the newly freed people. In Arkansas, the society assumed responsibility for the school at Wesley Chapel on November 7, 1877, and named it Walden Seminary after Dr. John Morgan Walden. Walden was the first corresponding secretary of the Freedman's Aid Society. Walden Seminary became the second institution founded by the Freedman's Aid Society west of the Mississippi River.

In 1882, Adeline Smith of Illinois, widow of Philander Smith, visited Little Rock with the intentions of providing funding for a local college. While visiting, she heard of Walden Seminary and knew that its purpose was consistent with the wishes of her husband regarding African American education, as he had a desire to fund the education of the newly emancipated. She made a donation of \$10,500 to Walden Seminary in his honor. On March 3, 1883, the board of the school voted to change the name of the seminary to Philander Smith College and chartered it as a 4-year institution.

Early Years

The first president of the new college was Dr. Thomas Mason, a White minister originally from Indiana. Mason arrived in 1881 to help reorganize the school, which was closed briefly that year due to financial hardships. He replaced Helen Perkins, who had served as the principal of the seminary. Perkins had previously served as president of another Methodist-related institution for Blacks, Wiley College.

During the initial years of the college, land was purchased for expansion. The first graduate was produced in 1888: R. C. Childers. Mason served until 1896, yielding to Dr. James Monroe Cox, the first African American president of the college. His

selection was important in the development of the College, as the first president and the majority of the faculty were White. Dr. John W. Hamilton of the Freedman's Aid Society noted that the appointment of Cox was indeed an experiment to determine if African Americans could be successful operating their own schools.

Cox, a graduate of Clark University (now known as Clark Atlanta University), was a professor of ancient languages at the college. Cox had the distinction of being the first graduate of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, a Methodist institution. He served on the faculty for 11 years before assuming the presidency. He continued the work of Mason by expanding the physical plant of the campus, most notably the acquisition of land on 10th and Izzard Streets. In addition to the plant expansion, Cox focused on the students and placed emphasis on their moral and religious development.

From 1924 to the Present

In 1924, Dr. George Taylor became the third president of Philander Smith College. Taylor was the first alumnus to serve his alma mater as president. Taylor was serving as dean of the college and had served as chair of mathematics prior to his assuming the presidency. When Taylor assumed office, the college, like most historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) during that time, offered courses for students from primary grades through college. Seeing the need for an accredited institution, Taylor began removing the primary and secondary programs from the campus. In his first year, the primary grades were eliminated. By 1936, his last year in office, the secondary grades were eliminated, which included Philander Smith High School. The college also acquired the assets of George Smith College in 1933 after it burned in 1925.

The next president, Dr. Marquis Lafayette Harris, had graduated from Clark College, where, as an undergraduate, he was a charter member of the Alpha Phi Alpha chapter. He continued his education, completing a degree at Gammon Seminary, Boston University, and completing a doctorate at Ohio State University. Prior to his presidency, he was on the faculty at Sam Houston College (now Huston-Tillotson University). Harris

has the distinction of being the youngest president in the history of the college, beginning his tenure at age 27, and is the second longest-serving president, leading the institution for 24 years, only bettered by the 28 years of Cox.

The Harris years marked a period when the college held the highest of academic standards. Students had to present a B average or better for admission with exceptions only for those who brought unique talents to the college. The college catalogue indicated that after the first 2 years of matriculation, each student was evaluated to determine if he or she had the ability to complete the rigorous program of study. It was expected that all students pursued postgraduate education.

Several critical events occurred during the tenure of Harris. Following the lead of Frederick Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, Philander Smith College became a charter member of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) in 1944. However, the college was not eligible to receive any UNCF funding at the onset since it was not accredited. The UNCF agreed to hold the funds in escrow until the college was accredited. The college was fully accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools in 1949.

Harris continued the push for land acquisition; the college purchased the site of Little Rock Junior College in 1948, and by 1959, the college had added to its facilities new residence halls, a dining hall, and a student union. In 1952, the college received a \$10,000 gift from Bishop Edward G. Kelly for the scholarship fund. The college in turn named the president's house Kelly Hall.

Harris also sought to expand avenues of educational access for persons in the community. In 1941, he created the People's College with the purpose of educating community residents. There was no cost for those who studied consumer education, homemaking, general health problems, and creative living. By 1949, the college began offering night courses. Two additional historical firsts happened during the Harris years. Mary Jo Newburn received the bachelor of arts degree in art in spring 1952, becoming the first African American person in the state to receive that degree. In 1955, Dorothy Martin became the first White student in Arkansas to graduate from an HBCU.

During the 1960s as unrest in the country was mirrored on college campuses, the college saw several

leaders with shorter tenures. Dr. Roosevelt Crockett was the fifth president, taking office in 1961. Crockett was a 1939 graduate of the college and earned a doctorate from Boston University. During his 3-year tenure, the college completed the M. L. Harris Library and Fine Arts Center in 1962 and completed the Village Square Apartments, a public housing project, in 1963. He left the following year.

In 1965, Dr. Ernest Dixon led the college. He expanded the physical assets of the college, but served during a time of the greatest unrest, a time which included the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He left the college by 1969. During the Dixon administration, the college also grappled with the new realities of higher education. With the *Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision opening up all higher-education institutions to people from underrepresented groups, specifically African Americans, the college saw its pool of applicants dwindle. The 1960s was also a decade of community college growth. Over the course of the decade, hundreds of schools opened up nationwide, focused on providing basic skill development for high school graduates.

A New Mission

In 1966, a faculty committee began to review the catalogue and reframe statements regarding the educational aims of the college. In particular, the new statements indicated the college would offer support for students needing assistance in developing their basic academic skills. This review continued into the administration of Dr. Walter Hazzard, a Methodist minister from Delaware, who became the president of the college in 1969. Hazzard was a graduate of Lane College, Crozier Seminary, with doctoral studies at Temple University. During his tenure, Hazzard added classrooms to the Harris Fine Arts Center and oversaw the construction of the Mabree-Kresge Science building, completed in 1979.

The new mission of the college was expressed in the 1971–1972 catalogue. The college noted that all schools were willing to educate the A and B student, but Philander Smith College was going to educate C students who struggle academically. By an evaluation of potential, the college was determined to educate students who simply needed a

fair chance. It was during this era that the college's mission shifted toward open admissions, a significant change in philosophy from the Harris administration that focused on quality students and high academic standards for admission.

Hazzard was followed by Dr. Grant Shockley, who became the third president of the previous four to serve a term of 4 years or less. Shockley was a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, Union Seminary, with a doctorate from Columbia University. Shockley came to the college after serving as president of the Interdenominational Theological Seminar, also a UNCF institution, making him the only president with prior presidential experience.

The last two decades saw tremendous growth in the physical campus. In 1983, Dr. Hazo Carter began as the ninth president of the college. Carter is a graduate of Tennessee State University and completed a doctorate at Vanderbilt University. He came to the college after administrative duties in student affairs at Norfolk State University. Carter served only 4 years, but during that time, the teacher education program was approved. He left the college to serve as president of West Virginia State University.

Carter was succeeded by the third alumnus to become president, Dr. Myer Titus. Titus was a 1953 graduate of the college, having served the college as student body president as an undergraduate. Titus received his doctorate from the University of Missouri. One of the major initiatives was the Philander Smith Management Institute (PSMI). PSMI was created as a degree completion program, targeting adults who were less than 2 years away from receiving an undergraduate degree. Using a model that became popularized by for-profit universities, students entered cohorts that took classes in short intervals in a year-round program.

Great improvements were made to the campus infrastructure. During the Titus administration, the college added an academic building, named the Titus Academic Center, and a new gym named after Crawford Mims, a longtime administrator who had served as head basketball coach and vice president of academic affairs. The college added a business building and a physical education building.

Titus was followed by Dr. Trudie Kibbe Reed, who became the first woman president of the

institution in 1998. Reed was also the first African American president not to have graduated from a historically Black college, as she was a graduate of the University of Texas, with a doctorate from Columbia University. Reed came to the college after almost 20 years of experience at the headquarters of the United Methodist Church in Nashville, Tennessee. Reed sought to transform the physical campus completely with a \$15 million capital campaign that garnered over \$20 million.

Several key facilities were constructed during her 6-year tenure. The college received an \$8 million grant from the Donald W. Reynolds Foundation of Nevada to construct a library and technology center that opened in 2003. The Harry R. Kendall Foundation, affiliated with the United Methodist Church, awarded another grant near \$8 million for the construction of a health science mission center. This center was unique in that it would also house the Arkansas Conference of the United Methodist Church, presenting a very public link between the college and the church. Reed's experience at the United Methodist headquarters was key to this grant being funded.

Finally, the college made an effort to improve campus housing. Utilizing a privatized housing model, the college was able to replace and even increase the number of bed spaces on campus through the new housing facility that opened in the fall of 2003. Reed left the college in 2004 to become the second woman to lead Bethune-Cookman College.

The 21st Century

In October of 2004, the college selected Dr. Walter M. Kimbrough to serve as the 12th president. Kimbrough came to Philander Smith College from Albany State University where he served as vice president of student affairs. Kimbrough earned degrees from the University of Georgia, Miami University, and Georgia State University. Kimbrough's early study of the college revealed several weaknesses, and he sought to lead a renaissance of the college through the implementation some of the philosophies from the Harris administration.

The Renaissance Plan was introduced in 2006 with a strategic plan designed to develop a unique identity for the college and to attract a stronger

student body. The college began to examine all its operations to focus on key indicators including retention and graduation rates. In the fall of 2007, the college launched a social justice initiative as a unique identity. The mission of the college was changed to indicate a desire to produce academically accomplished students, grounded as advocates for social justice, determined to intentionally change the world for the better. With the new initiative, a new logo and tagline were introduced. Within the first 3 years of his administration, the college saw its retention rate increase, and the incoming student body profile that fared above the national averages for African American student high school grade point averages and ACT scores.

Walter M. Kimbrough

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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PLESSY V. FERGUSON

In its 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Homer Plessy's attack on the constitutionality of Louisiana's Separate Car Act, which required separate railroad cars for African Americans and Whites. The decision was

used to establish a constitutional rationale for segregation in the United States, where race determined what facilities a person could use, from washrooms and lunch counters to bus seats and even textbooks. The legacy of *Plessy* was the constitutional sanction of racial caste that went largely unchanged until *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) when the Court finally accepted the position argued by Plessy's lawyers over 50 years earlier that forced segregation by race violated the core principles of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Historical Context

The struggle for racial justice that led to the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* actually began a decade earlier, in 1876, in the conflict over the continuation of Reconstruction. The contested presidential election between Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, and Samuel Tilden, his Democratic rival, presented stark contrasts over how African Americans would be treated in the aftermath of this contest. The "radical" Republicans had initiated Reconstruction in the South, which had transformed the status of African Americans from that of enslaved African to one of free citizen. But the Democrats were determined to preserve vestiges of racial caste that had been customary since the period of enslavement and sought to diminish federal presence in the South. This election and its impact on race and Southern politics set the stage for the issues that the Supreme Court would later address in *Plessy*. This case not only would usher in the legal era of "separate but equal," but also would accelerate the social, economic, and political marginalization of African Americans in the South into a system of apartheid that would last for over 50 years.

In 1876, more than the presidency was at stake; the revolutionary U.S. experiment with equality was hanging in the balance. Although enslavement officially ended in 1865 with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, this was not enough to end a system of subordination that had become an integral part of every aspect of Southern life. The challenge in the aftermath of the Civil War was how to make the promises of freedom to the 6 million newly freed Africans a reality rather than a

mere declaration of law. White resistance made it soon apparent that if the civil rights of African Americans were left to the respective states, Southerners would simply ignore those laws or resist them wherever possible.

Congress responded to these conditions with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. In its sweeping language, it declared as follows:

No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (Article XIV, Sect. 1).

Although African Americans made amazing progress in the short life of Reconstruction, by 1876, many Northern politicians had tired of “supporting the Negro,” and discrimination against African Americans was almost as rampant in the North as it was in the South. As White Southerners gradually regained political power from the Republicans and their African American allies, they became bolder and more ingenious in their efforts to resist the social economic and political changes that the amendment promised. African American aspirations were also met by increasing violence during this period. The formation of White Leagues, the Ku Klux Klan, and White militias ushered in a period of intense efforts to stifle the political power briefly held by African Americans during reconstruction.

New Orleans, Louisiana, became one of the battlefronts in this struggle where in 1874 pitched racial battles were fought in the streets that resulted in 40 deaths and over 100 wounded. Racial conflict intensified over the presidential election when violent resistance to African American suffrage resulted in the shifting of several Southern state electoral votes from the Republicans to now favor Tilden. With a tie in the electoral college, a commission was appointed to resolve the impasse. Tensions ran high, and there was even movement in some Southern states to send armed militia to Washington, D.C., to back their candidate. But backroom maneuvering by the commission proved successful in defusing the conflict and Southern

Democratic congressmen agreed to swing their votes to the Republican Hayes for president in exchange for his promise to withdraw federal troops from the South. With the exit of federal authorities in 1878, Reconstruction effectively came to an end and the rollback of African American rights began in earnest. It was against this backdrop that the stage was set for the constitutional drama that became *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Facts of the Case

With the end of Reconstruction, Louisiana, like many states, began passing laws that required segregation in a number of public venues. Their efforts were supported when in 1883 the Supreme Court held that the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which barred discrimination in a variety of public accommodations, was unconstitutional. Although that case limited Congress’s authority to proscribe private acts of discrimination, Louisiana next targeted horse-drawn trolley cars and railroads as the focus of new segregation laws.

The Louisiana statute that became the subject of the *Plessy* case was passed in 1890 and required equal-but-separate accommodations for African Americans and Whites in trains running in Louisiana. Violating the statute was a crime punishable by fines ranging from \$100 to \$500. The law not only punished African Americans and Whites for sitting in a car not designated for their race but also provided for fines against conductors or other train personnel and even the railroad company if they failed to enforce the separation law. The law did grant an exception for a conductor who might mistakenly seat an African American person in a White car because of the person’s light complexion. The other exception was for colored nurses or servants who routinely accompanied White children in their charge in the “Whites-only” car. Although in theory the same rules applied to White nurses, as a practical matter this version of equal application of the law had little meaning.

These separation laws quickly drew opposition from a number of African American civic organizations in New Orleans. Editorials decried this effort to demean African Americans, so an African American organization decided to challenge the law in court. A Citizens Committee to Test the Constitutionality of the Separate Car Law was

formed around the leadership of Louis Martinet, a prominent Creole in New Orleans. Under his leadership, the committee eventually raised nearly \$3,000 and pledged to fight the case to the end. To conduct the litigation, they hired Albion W. Tourgee, a prominent lawyer living in New York who was known to be friendly to the cause of African American equality and who agreed to take the case without fee.

A Legal Challenge

The committee held a number of meetings to determine the best strategy to challenge the law. However, their first effort was cut short by the Louisiana State Supreme Court. In a case titled *State ex rel. Abbot v. Hicks* (1892), the court held that a conductor's conviction for seating an African American man in a White car was invalid because the African American passenger had boarded the train in Texas and that made his trip one of interstate commerce, which only Congress could regulate. The Citizens Committee had arranged for one of their group to get arrested traveling from Mobile to New Orleans, but with this new ruling, they correctly reasoned that charges against their man would be dismissed.

Finally, in July of 1892, Plessy, a Creole of one-eighth African American blood boarded a train within the state and was arrested for taking a seat in the White's only car. His arrest was carefully planned so that the constitutionality of the separate cars law could be challenged on its face. The committee's plan from the beginning was not simply to gain some advantage in the application of the local law, but to strike at the very heart of this rising tide of racial hostility by having all such laws forcing segregation declared unconstitutional.

The case went from a local police court, where Plessy was convicted and fined, to the Louisiana State Supreme court, which framed the issues that would eventually be addressed by the U.S. Supreme Court. Although Plessy's lawyers made a number of arguments, the court distilled them down to these issues of law. Did the separate-car statute violate the Thirteenth Amendment by imposing a badge of enslavement on African Americans? Did the law violate the rights to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment by forcing segregation by race even though the

accommodations were equal? Finally, did the law vest the railroad personnel with authority to decide who was White and who was African American, an authority that *Plessy* argued could be carried out only by a court?

The State Supreme Court denied each of *Plessy's* claims and offered a hint of the long shadow that this case would cast on African Americans in the future. The state court said that if *Plessy* could successfully argue that forced legal separation in railcars was unconstitutional, then all such laws, including the forced separation in public schools, would similarly be brought into question. This possibility, they argued, was not supported by legal precedent, and despite *Plessy's* argument that the Fourteenth Amendment fundamentally changed the legal status of African Americans, it was not one the court was willing to entertain.

The Supreme Court Rules

When the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, the issues were essentially the same as those addressed by Louisiana's highest court. The opinion was written by Justice Henry Billings Brown. He first addressed *Plessy's* Thirteenth Amendment argument, that the separate car act was a badge of slavery. The Court responded that this was a complete misreading of the amendment. Brown wrote that while the Thirteenth Amendment clearly outlawed involuntary servitude and chattel bondage,

[a] statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or reestablish a state of involuntary servitude. . . . It would be running the slavery question into the ground, to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make as to . . . the people he will take into his coach or cab or car, or admit to his concert or theater, or deal with in other matters of intercourse or business. (163 U.S. at 543)

The Court similarly dismissed *Plessy's* claim that Plessy had a property interest in not having his race decided arbitrarily.

The Court then addressed *Plessy's* Fourteenth Amendment arguments. They conceded that the Fourteenth Amendment required equality before the law for both African Americans and Whites. However, again citing the civil rights cases, this formal equality could not eliminate the natural distinctions between African Americans and Whites, which may be taken into account by the states. He declared that political equality for African Americans was protected, but integrating public transportation was a claim for social equality, which the amendment was never intended to support:

So far, then, as a conflict with the fourteenth amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation. . . . In determining the question of reasonableness, it (the state of Louisiana) is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. (163 U.S. at 550)

Brown then argued that these separate car laws are no different than separate school laws that were upheld by state courts as early as 1850 in *Roberts v. City of Boston* and were currently maintained in the District of Columbia. This not-so-subtle reminder was offered to point out that the version of equality that *Plessy* argued for was not even practiced in the North where the amendment originated.

The obstacle that *Plessy* had to overcome was not simply in the interpretation of the statute that *Plessy* urged, for history would 50 years later vindicate his legal theory, but he faced the prevailing notion of the time, that African Americans were inferior to Whites and that separation laws merely reflected that reality. Racial biology had long attempted to justify enslavement arguing that without the firm hand of White masters, African Americans were mentally and physically incapable of taking care of themselves. This prevailing sense of natural Negro inferiority was further expressed as the court commented, "The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to African Americans except by an enforced commingling of the two

racess. We cannot accept this proposition" (163 U.S. at 551).

The lone dissent in this case was by Justice John Marshall Harlan, a former enslaver from Kentucky who became a successful attorney after the Civil War before joining the Court in 1877. For Harlan, the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments had to be read together to get a true understanding of their meaning. In his view, the amendments not only abolished enslavement, but all badges and incidents of its practice, including all formal discriminations that might be imposed by state law that the equal protection clause was designed to eliminate. The Fourteenth Amendment had also elevated African Americans to the status of citizen of the United States. To be equal before the law as a U.S. citizen meant to be free from any distinctions imposed by law based upon race or color. State laws that drew distinctions between citizens might be reasonable in other respects, but could never be reasonable if their distinctions were based on race. Louisiana's statute while calling for separate-but-equal accommodations did not meet this standard simply because racial distinctions at law were precisely what the equal protection clause prohibited.

Harlan aptly pointed out that the real purpose of the law was not to keep Whites from sitting in rail cars designated for African Americans, but the reverse. This he saw as simply another disability flowing from customs practiced prior to the reconstruction amendments, now carried out by law. Although Harlan harbored the same biases about African American inferiority as Brown, he was adamant that the equal protection clause did not sanction this false distinction between social rights and political rights. This law he argued was a "badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and equality before the law established by the Constitution" (163 U.S. at 562).

Harlan added to his reputation as the great dissenter with this opinion and his similar views from the civil rights cases. He further warned,

In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. . . . The present decision, it may well be apprehended, will not only stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the

admitted rights of colored citizens, but will encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments of the Constitution. (163 U.S. at 560)

But the Court had spoken, and from its perspective, the *Plessy* opinion was not remarkable in any way. The Court had already validated several other state discrimination laws, including those involving rail car segregation and now, based on *Plessy*, would continue to do so until *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.

Impact of the Ruling

The story of the *Plessy* case is a complicated tale for complicated times. The case did not mark the beginning of forced segregation since a number of cases had upheld the propriety of segregation statutes in both Northern and Southern states prior to 1896. What *Plessy* did do, however, was slam a constitutional door in the face of African Americans who urged an expansive view of the Fourteenth amendment as an avenue for pursuing equality. Little is recorded about Plessy's activities following the case, although we do know that he died in 1925. Tourgee received a consular appointment to serve the U.S. government in France under the administration of President William McKinley. He died in France in 1905. Martinet went on to continue to his work in New Orleans as a lawyer and a physician and died in 1917. The Citizens Committee to Test the Constitutionality of the Separate Car Law had a few hundred dollars left after the litigation, which they gave to charity and then disbanded.

Brown's opinion in *Plessy* focused mostly on the constitutionality of Louisiana's separate car statute, but gave little attention to the equal requirement for those separate accommodations. If Louisiana's statute was unique, it was not that it permitted the state to deny service to African Americans, but that it imposed a criminal sanction on anyone who sought to circumvent its mandate.

Forced separation was the new law of the land, and separation laws were soon passed to cover a host of public services that were either denied outright to African Americans or only provided with inferior

quality. The constitutional principles from *Plessy* were not confined to matters dealing with transportation. This pernicious equal-but-separate doctrine crept into every conceivable aspect of life in the Deep South. Not only was transportation affected, but schools, public housing, restaurants, hotels, libraries, parks, and every type of public welfare institution including hospitals were now segregated by law. The level and degree to which separation was enforced seemed only limited by the White imagination and was quickly followed by the rule of law. Interracial marriage was outlawed, prisons were rigidly segregated, wash houses in coal mines, every aspect of the military service, and even telephone booths were segregated. A Florida statute even went so far as to require textbooks that were used by different races in the public schools to be stored in separate facilities.

Maintaining these laws that were now constitutionally sanctioned also required a vigorous assault on the African American franchise. During Reconstruction, African Americans had gained considerable political influence in the statehouses throughout the South. Although most of their representation was lost with the end of Reconstruction, the African American vote was still significant and often was the swing vote between competing White factions. But even this degree of political influence was seen as a potential threat to segregation, so Whites responded with laws, intimidation, and violence to gradually suppress the African American vote and to ensure unchallenged White supremacy throughout the South.

Victor M. Goode

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *Roberts v. City of Boston*

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POVERTY AND EDUCATION

The relationship between poverty and education is complex. Although living in poverty does not

determine children's educational paths, poverty certainly has a profound effect on poor children's access to high quality educational opportunities. Poverty affects children's physical, emotional, and cognitive development, and the schooling experiences of children living in poverty are full of severe obstacles to high-quality education. However, children living in poverty are not uneducable. Contrary to stereotypical beliefs, most parents with children living in poverty want the best for their children and care about their education. This entry provides information on poverty in the United States, particularly pertaining to children, and discusses how poverty influences the schooling experiences of African American and poor and low-income children.

Social Causes and Consequences of Poverty

Poverty affects rural, urban, and suburban areas. The official poverty measure in the United States is based on data collected in the 1950s. These data indicate that families spent about a third of their income on food, so the poverty level was set at 3 times food costs. Since then, the measure has been updated only for inflation. The measure is widely accepted to be inadequate. Other factors for the cost of living such as housing, child care, health care, and transportation have grown disproportionately and are not currently factored into the measurement.

Causes of Poverty

Poor people do not cause poverty. Stereotypical characteristics attributed to poor people (laziness, promiscuity, lack of work ethic, poor judgment, devaluation of education, failure to accept personal responsibility) are not causes of poverty. Poverty in the United States is a result of the politics of distribution. In wealthy countries such as the United States, there is no scarcity of food, shelter, health care, or opportunity; rather, poverty in this country results from the ways in which social goods and opportunities are distributed. Poverty is created and sustained by numerous human decisions institutionalized in social politics and practices.

Many jobs simply do not pay enough to support a family. Nearly 35 million U.S. citizens—one quarter of the U.S. labor force—earn poverty-level wages with little opportunity for advancement.

The gap between the rich and the poor more than doubled between 1979 and 2000. The richest 1% in 2000 had more money to spend after taxes than the bottom 40%. Such economic disparity did not just happen. Government policies beginning in the 1930s encouraged racial and economic segregation. For example, the work of the Home Owner's Loan Corporation distributed racial and ethnic demographics maps to banks and used the maps to hold banks to a certain standard when loaning money for homes. Practices such as this contributed to the creation of poor inner-city neighborhoods and the phenomenon known as White flight. Other government policies that supported White flight include the GI Bill of 1944 and the Interstate Highway Act of 1956.

Social stratification is at play between the rich and the poor. As a result of geographical and economic segregation, the poor are pitted against each other. The current rhetoric of Latino immigrants being willing to do more work for less wages than African Americans only fuels racist notions of African Americans being parasites and undeserving welfare recipients.

Although poverty is detrimental to the poor, it can be quite profitable for others. Check cashing businesses are plentiful in poor communities. They prey on people without access to banks or who are unable to meet minimum balance requirements. In 1993, these enterprises cashed 150 million checks and charged \$700 million in fees. Rent-to-own stores are also abundant in poor communities. These establishments often end up charging 5 times as much as people would pay for furniture or appliances in retail stores.

Demographic Data

The official poverty level in 2007 was \$20,650 for a family of four. Yet it takes nearly twice that to meet a family's needs. Millions of low-wage workers have incomes above the federal poverty level, but cannot afford to meet their families' most basic needs. To assist low-wage workers and their families, the federal and state governments provide a set of work-supports benefits such as earned income tax credits, child care subsidies, health care coverage, and housing assistance. These benefits are means tested, so as earnings increase, particularly as they rise above the official poverty level,

families begin to lose eligibility even though they are not yet self-sufficient. The result is that parents can work and earn more without their families moving closer to financial security. A low-wage job simply is not enough to make ends meet.

U.S. child poverty rates exceed those of all other wealthy industrialized nations. There are 13 million poor children living in the United States. Child poverty in the United States continues to grow. Every 36 seconds, a child is born into poverty. Today, there are 1.2 million more children living in poverty than there was in 2000, an increase of 11%. Although there are more poor White children in the United States, children from underrepresented groups are disproportionately represented: 10.8% of White children are poor, 40% of American Indian children are poor, 35.3% of African American children are poor, 28% of Latino children are poor, and 12% of Asian children are poor. According to the Children's Defense Fund, there is a dangerous intersection between race and poverty. African American children are more than 3 times as likely as White children to be born into poverty and to be poor and are more than 4 times as likely to live in extreme poverty (meaning their families have annual incomes of less than half the federal poverty line). One in three Latino babies and two in four African American babies are born into poverty.

A majority of children living in poverty have working parents who, despite playing by the rules, cannot earn enough to escape poverty. More than 80% of children living in poverty have at least one parent who works; 55% have a parent who works full-time year-round. A minimum wage job pays only 58.9% of the federal poverty level for a family of four. Poor children are more susceptible to suffer from hunger, homelessness, untreated illness (such as asthma, ear infections, and tooth decay), lead poisoning and other forms of environmental pollution, violence, and family dissolution. Many children who grow up in poverty do well despite the hardships; however, as a group, poor children are behind their middle- and upper-class counterparts in educational achievement. Schooling is not a level playing field for children living in poverty.

Schooling Experiences of Poor Children

Social class stratification in U.S. society influences educational outcomes for all children. Children

differ in the kinds of knowledge they bring with them when they enter school, and these differences are strongly influenced by their social class backgrounds. Children from middle-class or more affluent families have had the financial resources to acquire particular kinds of social experiences (e.g., trips to museums, lavish family vacations, participation in organized sports, music lessons) that are rewarded in school. Middle-class values are typically aligned with those of schools, and therefore the home-to-school transition is more seamless for middle-class children. Given that the current teacher populace is composed of mostly middle-class teachers, a child who enters school from a middle- or upper-class background will be considered easier to teach than one who has not had experiences similar to most teachers, so the achievement gap begins.

Social class also influences the kinds of parental involvement valued by schools. Teachers perceive parents who are able to volunteer in the schools, classrooms, and on fieldtrips; attend parent teacher conferences; and immediately return phone calls from the school as highly involved. Parents who may not be able to participate and respond in such ways because of having lower wage jobs with less flexibility or lack of transportation are viewed as uninvolved and not caring about their children's education. This perceived lack of parental involvement is then cited as reasons for low academic achievement among poor and low-income children.

Poor and low-income children are more likely to attend low-quality schools. Such schools are characterized by scant resources, untrained and undercompensated teachers, and run-down or unsafe buildings. Jonathan Kozol has well documented the deplorable schooling conditions for poor and low-income children. In schools across the nation, children are allowed to attend schools where there are crumbling foundations, holes in roofs, raw sewage in the basements, and mold and mildew; where there is no toilet paper or hand soap and no playground equipment; where there are outdated textbooks; and where there is overall insufficient funding.

In addition to poor schooling conditions, the problems that poor children are more susceptible to affect their learning in school. Because of lack of access to health care, poor and lower-income students, overall, are in poorer health. Fifty percent or

more of poor children have vision problems that interfere with their academic work. Poor and low income children also have more hearing problems. Children with toothaches pay less attention in class than children with healthy teeth. Children who live or attend school in older buildings have greater exposure to harmful environmental toxins. Poor and low-income children have higher blood lead levels than middle-class children.

Reform Efforts

Over the years, many reforms have been put forth in attempts to close the achievement gap between poor and middle class students. Education reform efforts aimed at closing the achievement gap across K–16 education include Head Start, Title I Schools, and the Federal TRIO Programs such as Upward Bound.

Head Start is a national program that promotes school readiness by enhancing the social and cognitive development of children through the provision of educational, health, nutritional, social, and other services to enrolled children and their families. The Head Start program provides grants to local public and private nonprofit and for-profit agencies to provide comprehensive child development services to economically disadvantaged children and families, with a special focus on helping preschoolers develop the early reading and math skills they need to be successful in school. Head Start programs engage parents in their children's learning and help them in making progress toward their educational, literacy, and employment goals. Significant emphasis is placed on the involvement of parents in the administration of local Head Start programs.

Title I is the largest federal aid program for U.S. schools. Title I began in 1965 under President Lyndon B. Johnson as part of his war on poverty. The purpose of this title is to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging state academic achievement standards and state academic assessments. Title I money is given to districts to help students in schools affected by poverty. It is intended to help close the achievement gap between schools in affluent neighborhood and schools from poor communities. Title I money can be used in

two different ways in a school. In one program, called a Targeted Assisted Program, the money is used to provide support for students targeted as low performing in reading or math. Another type of Title I program is called a schoolwide program. In a schoolwide program, Title I money is used to benefit all of the children in a school. A schoolwide program is guided by the schoolwide program plan and a school leadership team. Title I money is typically used to provide extra staff, materials, or professional development for these schools. The program specifically supports reading and math. The federal government measures a school's poverty level by the number of students receiving free or reduced lunch. All children attending a Title I school operating as a schoolwide program are eligible to receive services from Title I. Thus, in a schoolwide program, all students are Title I students and all teachers are Title I teachers. How Title I resources and staff are used in a schoolwide program is decided by the school leadership team and guided by the schoolwide program plan.

The Federal TRIO Programs are educational opportunity outreach programs designed to motivate and support students from disadvantaged backgrounds. TRIO includes six outreach and support programs targeted to serve and assist low-income, first-generation college students, and students with disabilities to progress through the academic pipeline from middle school to postbaccalaureate programs. TRIO also includes a training program for directors and staff of TRIO projects and a dissemination partnership program to encourage the replication or adaptation of successful practices of TRIO projects at institutions and agencies that do not have TRIO grants. Upward Bound provides fundamental support to participants in their preparation for college entrance. The program provides opportunities for participants to succeed in their precollege experiences and ultimately in their higher-education pursuits. Upward Bound serves high school students from low-income families, high school students from families in which neither parent holds a bachelor's degree, and low-income, first-generation military veterans who are preparing to enter postsecondary education. The goal of Upward Bound is to increase the rate at which participants complete secondary education and enroll in and graduate from institutions of postsecondary education.

In the end, raising the achievement of poor and low-income children requires restructuring of the social and economic conditions of their lives.

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See *also* Economics of Education; Head Start; TRIO Programs; White Flight

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- U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education: <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/trio/index.html>
- U.S. Department of Education. Title I: Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged: <http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg1.html>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services: <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/index.html>

PREDOMINANTLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Predominantly Black colleges and universities (PBCUs) are those institutions with a 50% or

greater enrollment of African American students. These colleges are not to be confused with historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Like HBCUs, PBCUs serve large numbers of African American students. Whereas HBCUs refer to institutions of higher learning founded to educate the descendants of formerly enslaved Africans prior to 1964, PBCUs were not necessarily founded with a mission of educating African Americans. The year 1964 is also significant because it marked the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin regarding federally assisted programs and activities. HBCUs are federally designated as institutions that were founded prior to 1964. However, PBCUs may or may not have been founded prior to 1964.

The term *predominantly black colleges and universities* denotes distribution of a race of students rather than a historical mission or federal designation. Federal data show that approximately 54 PBCUs exist nationally (see Table 1). Unlike HBCUs, PBCUs are spread across the nation from the East Coast to the West Coast. In addition, PBCUs are more easily located in urban-metropolitan region, more likely to hold 2-year institution status, or more likely than HBCUs to be branch campuses of a larger college system.

The extant literature on predominantly Black colleges is often mistakenly embedded with the literature on HBCUs. This confounding in the literature leads to misconstruction of the two institutional types that, though they serve similar groups of students, have two divergent realities. HBCUs are eligible for special federal aid, while PBCUs do not share the same federal designation that would shape these institutions' eligibility. Unlike PBCUs, HBCUs were founded during legal segregation expressly for the education of formerly enslaved Africans. Over time, African American students have come to make up a larger part of the enrollment at PBCUs, a percentage which has contributed to conflation of the two institutional types. At the same time, HBCUs increasingly began serving White students over time. These changes are important in viewing both institutional types within a larger higher education discourse.

Another characteristic of PBCUs has been institutional mergers with other institutions. In some cases, newly established colleges and universities

Table I Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities by State

Alabama

Wallace Community College-Sparks Campus (public, 2-year, 1927)
 John M. Patterson State Technical College (public, 2-year, 1962)
 Reid State Technical College (public, 2-year, 1963)

California

Charles R. Drew University of Medicine & Science (private, 4-year, 1966)
 Compton Community College (public, 2-year, 1927)
 Los Angeles Southwest College (public, 2-year, 1967)
 West Los Angeles College (public, 2-year, 1968)

District of Columbia

Southeastern University (private, 4-year, 1879)

Georgia

Albany Technical Institute (public, 2-year, 1974)
 Atlanta Metropolitan College (public, 2-year, 1974)
 Bauder College (private, 2-year, 1964)
 Columbus Technical College (public, 2-year, 1961)
 DeKalb Technical College (public, 2-year, 1961)
 Georgia Military College—August-Fort Gordon Campus (public, 2-year, 1879)
 Georgia Military College—Fort McPherson Campus (public, 2-year, 1879)
 Gupton Jones College of Funeral Service (private, 2-year, 1920)
 Herzing College-Atlanta (private, 4-year, 1949)
 Central Georgia Technical College (public, 2-year, 1989)
 Savannah Technical College (public, 2-year, 1929)

Illinois

State University (public, 4-year, 1867)
 East St. Louis Community College (public, 2-year, 1969)
 East-West University (private, 4-year, 1935)
 Kennedy-King College (public, 2-year, 1935)
 Malcolm X College (public, 2-year, 1968)
 Olive-Harvey College (public, 2-year, 1970)

Indiana

Martin University (private, 4-year, 1873)

Kentucky

Simmons University (private, 4-year, 1873)

Maryland

Baltimore City Community College (public, 2-year, 1947)
 Prince George's Community College (public, 2-year, 1958)
 Sojourner-Douglass College (private, 4-year, 1972)

Massachusetts

Roxbury Community College (public, 2-year, 1973)

(Continued)

Table I (Continued)

Michigan

Davenport University-Dearborn (private, 4-year, 2000)
Davenport University-Flint (private, 4-year, 2000)
Wayne County Community College (public, 2-year, 1967)

Mississippi

East Mississippi Community College (public, 2-year, 1927)
Mississippi Delta Community College (public, 2-year, 1927)
Natchez Junior College (private, 2-year, 1884)

New Jersey

Bloomfield College (private, 4-year, 1868)
Essex County College (public, 2-year, 1966)

New York

Cohen College (private, 4-year, 1964)
Fiorello H. LaGuardia Community College (public, 2-year, 1971)
Helene Fuld College of Nursing of North General Hospital (private, 2-year, 1945)
Long Island College Hospital School of Nursing (private, 2-year, 1858)
Medgar Evers College (public, 4-year, 1967)
New York City Technical College (public, 2-year, 1971)
York College (public, 4-year, 1966)

North Carolina

Edgecombe Community College (public, 2-year, 1967)
Roanoke-Chowan Community College (public, 2-year, 1967)

Ohio

Cuyahoga Community College (public, 2-year, 1963)

Pennsylvania

Peirce College (private, 4-year, 1865)

South Carolina

Williamsburg Technical College (public, 2-year, 1969)

Tennessee

Tennessee Community College (public, 2-year, 2000)

Texas

Ridge Christian College (private, 2-year, 1962)

U.S. Virgin Islands

University of the Virgin Islands (public, 4-year, 1962)

Virginia

Virginia University at Lynchburg (private, 4-year, 1888)

Source: Brown, M. C., Donahoo, S., & Bertrand, R. D. (2001). The Black College and the Quest for Educational Opportunity. *Urban Education*, 36, 560–563.

have resulted from mergers of PBCUs and potentially more than two preexisting colleges. For example, Davenport University (Michigan and Indiana) was founded when Davenport College, Detroit College of Business, and Great Lakes College merged in 2000. This merger allowed the individual campuses to maintain geographical locations, maintain local history and identity, and gain the ability to appeal to more students by offering a greater variety of courses and other resources.

Another strategy some PBCUs have used is to change the name of the institution in ways expected to broaden institutional appeal. For example, Macon Technical Institute (in Georgia) is now Central Georgia Technical Institute, and Metropolitan Community College (in Illinois) is now East St. Louis Community College Center. Although these institutions remain the same at the core, their current names better reflect the areas they serve, a change which may also help in attracting students. These institutions represent a full range of institution types, missions, and histories. Like other higher-education organizations, PBCUs also employ a variety of strategies to succeed in maintaining needed student enrollments.

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See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

Predominantly white institution (PWI) is the term used to describe institutions of higher learning in which Whites account for 50% or greater of the student enrollment. However, the majority of these institutions may also be understood as historically White institutions in recognition of the binarism and exclusion supported by the United States prior to 1964. It is in a historical context of

segregated education that predominantly White colleges and universities are defined and contrasted from other colleges and universities that serve students with different racial, ethnic, and/or cultural backgrounds (e.g., historically Black colleges and universities, HBCUs). U.S. higher education is rooted in the establishment of the predominantly White college but over time has changed and proliferated. This entry addresses the historical development, significance, and impact of PWIs.

The patterns and traditions of predominantly White colleges and universities are rooted in those of Western Europe. More specifically, according to John Brubacher and Willis Rudy's 1997 *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities*, predominantly White colleges and universities turned to Oxford and Cambridge for models of higher education in the colonial period. Brubacher and Rudy assert that the prototype for the first predominantly White college is Emmanuel College, Cambridge University. Harvard College, founded in 1636, took its statutes from the Elizabethan statutes of the University of Cambridge and subsequently became the model for colleges founded later in the United States.

In "The Ten Generations of American Higher Education," published in 1999, Roger Geiger details the history of U.S. institutions from the early 17th century to the present era. He identifies the period of 1636 to 1740 as the reformation beginnings. This period is critically important as emerging predominantly White colleges Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), and Yale (1701) developed during this era. Following the pattern set forth by Emmanuel College (1584), church officials were intricately involved with the operation of these institutions. Specifically, the Christian tradition was the cornerstone of the whole intellectual structure of colleges and universities. This religious presence, therefore, heavily influenced the mission of the early colleges, which were intended was to train young White men for the ministry. It has been suggested that because religious leaders during this period held dual positions in the church and the government, the early institutions were responding to the public need for an educated clergy.

Although these institutions served a public good, the reformation era did not provide universal

access to education. Rather, education during this period was located in the Northeastern states and reserved for the upper-class members of society and designed to maintain the established social class system. According to Geiger's 1999 work, the students received a liberal education, focusing primarily on Aristotle's philosophies of ethics, natural science, and metaphysics. Concomitantly, the reformation colleges valued the classical languages of Latin and Greek. Latin was logically the fundamental discipline because it was the language of the law and the church. Due to the oral culture that prevailed, institutions expected students to master this language to communicate and grow in the knowledge of the world.

As time progressed, the birth of various colleges sparked an increase in student enrollment and a change in curricular content. The founding of the College of New Jersey in 1746 was significant because it broke the mold of the reformation, according to Geiger. This institution was a provincial college and served a significant Presbyterian population. Notwithstanding, the proliferation of colonial colleges (King's College, College of Philadelphia, College of Rhode Island, Queen's College, and Dartmouth) increased enrollment by accepting students belonging to other religious denominations. Gradually, however, a more secular approach to education emerged as a result of the development of separation of church and state during the American Revolution and establishment of the United States of America, despite the church affiliations of these colleges. These institutions also began to welcome students from less prominent families, particularly the sons of farmers.

Challenging the Classics

The early 19th century began with criticism of the classical college and its focus on Latin and religion. Frequently, critics argued that colleges were obsessed with dead languages, neglected more practical subjects such as science, and struggled to adequately address disgruntled students' unruliness, according to Geiger. This dissatisfaction with the education system reflects the growing interest of students and institutional types. The goal of pursuing higher education for the sake of training for life was no longer the law of the land. During this period, the world began to change as students

rebelled, and social reform efforts gained momentum. More institutions developed professional schools, such as law, theology, and medicine. Students began desiring a more vocational-specialized educational curriculum. As priorities of the population shifted, the need for liberal education came into question.

Although some demanded that higher-education systems move beyond the classical liberal education, others greatly opposed this suggested change. The Yale Report of 1828 is evidence of such opposition. Issued by Jeremiah Day and James Kingsley, the Yale Report served as the first unified statement of educational philosophy that focused specifically on the nature of liberal education, according to C. Conrad and J. Wyer's 1980 work. The document was a defense of the classical curriculum against the rising interest in more practical courses. According to the Yale Report, the purpose of an undergraduate curriculum is to lay the foundation of a superior education. To accomplish this goal, institutions were to furnish the mind with knowledge and create mental discipline for thinking. The curriculum, therefore, was to be limited to the classic texts, philosophy, and mathematics. The Yale Report rejected the idea that students should specialize in particular areas of study because supporters of this philosophy believed that it crippled students' ability to reason, think critically, and analyze information. This report recognized and appreciated the framework outlined by the reformation and Colonial colleges. It suggested that educational institutions return to the mission as espoused early on by these institutions and revitalize liberal education, teaching students to value the process of learning and to succeed in life rather than training them for the labor market.

Despite the objections of the Yale Report, higher education did become more specialized and market influenced. Many institutions expanded their curricular offerings to include various courses not previously included in the trivium and quadrivium (the classic liberal course preferred by the Yale Report). One of the strongest forces behind this curricular change was the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862, an important event in the maturation of the curriculum shift from the general-liberal model to the utilitarian-vocational educational model. The Morrill act provided for the establishment of public institutions in every state with the support

of the federal government. States did not have the resources needed to subsidize higher education, and government subsidies and land donations presented the best way to ensure that every state entered the realm of higher education. These institutions centered on providing training in industrial education, agriculture, and the mechanical arts. The Morrill act is significant with regard to the mission of higher education because it broadened the scope of educational opportunity. With these new objectives, students gained more choices that enabled them to move beyond the classical curriculum offered at most institutions. During this time, there was increasing interest in specialized education, which grew out of students' desire for training in a particular profession to acquire a specific skill. Practical education attained a greater influence over the mission operating in higher education.

Although the curriculum changed, higher education remained primarily the province of White males until after the Civil War. Following the war, the demise of enslavement promoted other social revisions and reforms including attacks on educational exclusion, which permeated the nation. Women and minorities used this time to fight for educational access and equal rights. Responding to these new demands, higher education took action. Although the process of equalization of educational opportunity occurred gradually, colleges and universities began to open admissions to both women and minorities during the mid-19th century.

Even as education expanded to make place for those previously enslaved, these efforts generally resulted from a need to protect the social, political, and economic dominance of White men. The desire to ensure that the nation's (White) sons received a good foundation and upbringing sparked interest in the educational opportunities available to White women outside of the home. In 1837, Oberlin College became the first institution of higher education to admit women. However, between 1861 and 1875, Matthew Vassar, Henry Wells, Sophia Smith, and Henry Durant created colleges exclusively for women. These institutions allowed women to fully participate in higher education at institutions where they were the focus of both the curriculum and the administration. Although the mission of these colleges catered to the needs of women, the purpose was to educate them to succeed at the tasks assigned to them in an industrializing society, especially

rearing educated children who could contribute to the progress of the nation).

Despite the heterogeneity of the U.S. population, predominantly White colleges and universities were challenged in accepting students who were not White Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) men. When White women integrated predominantly White colleges, the conventions of the Victorian culture of that time insisted upon separation of the genders. Men were viewed as natural leaders in public, political, and economic venues, while women were relegated to uneducated lives in which they tended to household and children. White women, particularly those who lived in the antebellum North, gained access to higher education on the basis that secondary education only equipped women with tools needed to be better wives and mothers. In tandem, unmarried women largely used higher education to prepare themselves for teaching professions. Selective admissions plans became restrictive admissions policies to maintain the WASP tradition.

In the early 1900s, colleges were still seeking to preserve higher education for the sons of WASP businessmen or professionals. Elite predominantly White colleges of the 1920s and 1930s were rooted in ethnic and class prejudice. After World War II, critical numbers of liberal arts colleges chose to limit the size of their classes and to seek national and upper-middle-class students at the expense of local and more diverse students. With little accountability, restrictive admissions policies lent themselves well to excluding Jewish students who were egregiously discriminated against when they applied to elite colleges in the Northeast. This Jewish problem, as it is described in the literature, was further shaped by no formal admissions procedures, modest attempts to attract regionally diverse students, widespread antisemitism, and an increase of Jewish applicants. Institutions adhering to these quotas included Dartmouth, Harvard, and the New England colleges. College admission endeavors were obsessive as intellectually competent students were treated in ways that showed them they were socially undesirable.

Predominantly White institutions have expanded since the founding of Harvard College in 1636 to include an array of institutions. As a result, the early purpose of solely educating wealthy, White males for the ministry evolved into increased access and

educational opportunity for all people in an effort to meet the changing needs of society. Today, predominantly White institutions lead the way in selectivity in higher education, sometimes demanding that all potential students have high grade point averages and standardized test scores. This transformation and expansion, however, remains the subject of much debate and criticism among educational researchers, policymakers, and the public at large.

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See also Desegregation; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities

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PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FUNDING

The question of who should pay for schools has existed throughout the history of public schools in the United States. Historically, the burden for funding schools was placed on parents, lotteries, or philanthropies, but this gradually gave way to notions of public responsibility through levied tax. Education finance debates, both national and statewide, have intensified throughout the years, although the question of who should pay has been decided for the most part by the legal system. Embedded within this debate are conversations on school improvement and educational equity

between students, with specific regard to race, ethnicity, gender, or socioeconomic status. For African American students nationwide, the question of who should fund the schools is particularly important because the very schools attended by a majority of students from underrepresented groups are traditionally underfunded, racially isolated, and criticized as low performing. This entry reviews a key debate involving public versus private funding: the issue of school vouchers.

In the Supreme Court decision in *San Antonio v. Rodriguez* (1973), plaintiffs charged that the Texas system of financing discriminated against poor and minority groups residing in school districts with a low property tax; the decision to fund schools based on property taxes in the locale disproportionately favored wealthier students. The Court ruled that education was not a fundamental right under the federal Constitution, and therefore, students are not entitled to an equal education regardless of class under the U.S. Constitution.

This decision, however, did not affect the federal government's right to collect taxes to be distributed to the nation's public schools. Overall, school funding is provided by multiple sources: municipalities, counties, general tax revenues, states, and school districts, in addition to the support of the federal government. Still, the debate surrounding who should pay for schools and general child welfare persists between those who support a free-market strategy and those who favor strong government involvement and interventions within the educational arena.

Arguments for Free-Market Policies

Free-market policies encourage private enterprise and consumer choice while also rewarding personal responsibility and entrepreneurial initiative. Those in support of placing the education system on the free market to encourage educational reforms propose that this option ensures that schools compete for the best students, which in turn results in better-quality schools for all students on the market, they believe. Proponents assert that schools should not serve teachers and state bureaucracies but should instead serve the students and families—the consumers—who have come to rely on them. They expect newly created parental or consumer choice to guarantee democracy by opening better-quality

schools to more students. By shifting education to the market through school choice plans, which implement vouchers and charters, supporters of this strategy expect education to become a largely self-regulating enterprise. Specifically concerning both race and class, proponents of education as a free-market entity maintain that choice enhances parental voice and allows entrée into traditionally closed spaces.

Advocates contend that the overt goal of choice plans is to provide those with fewer material resources an equal right to exit poorly performing neighborhood public schools in favor of higher-quality options. Due to the increasing competition among schools, the market should serve as a catalyst, producing natural educational reforms, which in turn enhance both the efficiency and responsiveness of schools, while also ensuring a better-quality product.

Opponents of the Free-Market Approach

In stark contrast, proponents of continued and increasing responsibilities of the government assert that any ties between education and the economy should be severed, as this would only lead to the magnification of existing social divisions involving race, class, and gender. Critics of the education-market approach maintain that few students in need will be able to capitalize on school choice programs, and subsequently the static academic improvements resulting from parental inexperience or access will be portrayed as the poor consumer choice of the affected groups.

An additional contention is that the long-term effect of school choice programs will lead to the increase of White flight from public schools into insulated private and secular schools. Also, there is a serious threat to the public school itself, as citizens might become disengaged with public school improvement efforts, resulting in debilitating consequences for at-risk schools. Instead, critics contend that to improve the quality of education for all students, preexisting social, economic, and cultural inequities must be addressed structurally and consequently implemented through federal reforms.

Should the government unleash the market on education, critics insist that such policies in practice would reproduce traditional hierarchies of race, class, and gender. Warning of the negative effects of

school choice programs in England and New Zealand, defenders of the idea of a strong government role in education suggest that U.S. policymakers should approach the free market with caution, as research suggests that markets privilege families with higher-socioeconomic status through their knowledge and material resources and have a negative effect on the academic performance of schools with a majority working-class and minority populations.

Outcomes

Since the Supreme Court ruling in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002), there have been many statewide choice programs. In this judgment, the Court upheld an Ohio law that provided vouchers to families whose children attended Cleveland's failing public schools to be applied to both public and private—including both parochial and secular schools. The controversial debate surrounding the legality of the use of public dollars for private and religious schools was solved as Court decisions in *Agostini* (1997), *Helms* (2000), and *Zelman* (2002) indicated that the religious provisions of the First Amendment would not be interpreted to prevent public funding of religious schools.

After the Court's support of policies instrumental in school choice programs, many choice programs have been implemented throughout the United States. In 1990, the Wisconsin state legislature enacted the nation's first voucher program, affording low-income parents the choice of enrolling their children in private schools. The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program later expanded to include parochial schools. Supporters assert that the original design of the voucher program attracted a majority of African American and Hispanic families with low incomes and thereby serves as an example of the successful targeting of low-income families to improve educational opportunities. Critics of the program argue that it removes the more educated and involved parents from the public school system. After 18 years of operation, results continue to be mixed.

Jasmine Johnson

See also Charter Schools; Economics of Education; Religious-Based Education; School Choice; Socioeconomic Status (SES); Vouchers; White Flight

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RACISM INSIDE THE RACE: LIGHT SKIN VERSUS DARK SKIN

The term *colorism* is used to describe discrimination within a racial group based primarily on skin hue or color and may also include other physical characteristics such as hair texture and eye color. In the United States and in other countries around the world, the practice of colorism, based within a framework of racism, shows preferences for light skin over darker skin within a community of color. People whose physical features of skin color, hair texture, and eye color are closest to the European standards of beauty are more likely to be afforded greater educational, economic, and social status than their brown- to dark-skinned brothers and sisters.

Colorism among African Americans has its origin in the U.S. enslavement period when enslavers mated with enslaved Africans. The lighter-skinned children of these unions were more likely to be enslaved in the household, while the dark-skinned enslaved Africans worked in the fields. Some of the light-skinned enslaved Africans learned the social skills of the enslaver's household, were sent away to be educated, and were sometimes freed upon the death of the enslaver. Following emancipation, many of these light-skinned formerly enslaved Africans were able to lead more privileged lives because of the advantages they had experienced. In order to maintain this light-skinned advantage, affluent African Americans developed a number of strategies to bar their dark-skinned brothers and

sisters from their lives. "Blue vein societies" required skin to be light enough for blue veins to be visible in one's forearm, while other clubs may have required one to be lighter than a "paper bag." These tests were not only used as entry to social clubs but as admittance to selected churches as well. For example, some churches required that the attendees meet the criteria set by the light shade of brown of the painted entrance door, while others were not welcome if they could not meet the "comb test" that was determined by one's ability to use a fine-toothed comb that moved smoothly through the hair and did not snag because of kinky hair.

Because of the preferential treatment given to those with lighter skin by both Whites and African Americans, brown- to dark-skinned African Americans, especially women, pursued various avenues to acquire the attributes of European standards of beauty. Two of the most frequently used practices in the 19th and 20th centuries (as well as currently) were skin bleaching and hair straightening. Advertisements appeared in African-American-oriented newspapers and magazines promoting products to achieve these goals. One such ad appeared in the *American Star* (1903) and featured a black skin remover (bleach) and hair straightener in one box. The ad noted in part,

A PEACH-LIKE complexion obtained if used as directed. Will turn the skin color of a black or brown person four or five shades lighter, and a mulatto person perfectly white. In forty-eight hours a shade or two will be noticeable.

The ad included a “before” picture with black skin and kinky hair and an “after” picture with white skin and straight hair. In the 21st century, brown- to dark-skinned women continue to use skin bleach and hair straightening products (and/or wigs) in attempts to acquire the economic and social advantages that are afforded those who meet European standards of beauty. In addition, for those who can afford it, plastic surgery on lips and noses and the wearing of contact lenses to change eye color are also available.

Several researchers (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Hunter, 2002; Seltzer & Smith, 1991; Thompson & Keith, 2001) have used five major categories of skin tone to describe the differences in skin color often recognized among African Americans: very dark brown, dark brown, medium brown, light brown or light skinned, and very light brown or very light skinned. A case study of an African American school community in a small southern town reported by Morris and Morris (2002) documents events that are a microcosm of findings about colorism practices in the larger society. Citizens of most African American communities are aware of songs or poems that communicate those with light skin are preferred over dark-skinned children or adults, as this poem states:

If you're white, you're right,
If you're yellow, you are mellow,
If you're brown, stick around,
If you're black get back.

Light-skinned girls were preferred as playmates, majorettes, for leading roles in school plays, and as homecoming queens at high schools and Black colleges. They had more boys vying for their affections. High school students were told to consider the color of the person they planned to marry, in the best interest of their children. It was clear that African Americans felt that lighter skin was better. It appeared that most of the African American men who were considered to be well off in the community had light-skinned wives, even though many of the men were brown to very dark. It is evident that this virus of preferential treatment of light skin and other characteristics that symbolize European standards of beauty has invaded communities throughout this country and the world.

During the brief “Black Is Beautiful” period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, African Americans expressed pride in their dark skin and kinky hair. However, despite the political preference for dark skin and natural hair during this period, the advantages afforded light-skinned people still persist in the African American community in the 21st century (see, for example, Golden, 2004; Russell, Wilson, & Hall, 1993; Thompson & Keith, 2001). This phenomenon can be seen in the skin tone of African Americans who hold important positions in national and state government, men and women reporters and anchors on television, women in television dramas and advertisements, and the lighter skin tone of women who successful men choose to marry.

The statement made by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. more than 40 years ago that communicated his dream that his children would be judged by the content of their character and not by the color of their skin is still a dream and not a reality among many African Americans today. Much work remains to be done in our homes, schools, churches, communities, businesses, and in the halls of local state and national government in order to eradicate this very destructive virus that affords educational, economic, and social advantages based on skin color within the African American community.

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See also Body Image; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Identity Development

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REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA V. BAKKE

In 1973 and 1974, Allan Bakke, a White male, was denied admission to medical school at the University of California, Davis (UC Davis). He sued the University of California, alleging that his application for medical school had been rejected because of a special admissions program UC Davis had established to increase enrollment of students from underrepresented groups. Because the program set separate criteria for the admission of underrepresented students, Bakke charged that he had been a victim of reverse discrimination, in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. When two state courts ruled in his favor, the university asked the U.S. Supreme Court to review the case.

In 1978, in a 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled against the university. This decision has had broad repercussions for affirmative action

programs in a variety of contexts. In a carefully worded concurring opinion, Justice Lewis Powell asserted that the goal of diversity was a constitutionally acceptable state interest and set out guidelines for how a program to promote diversity might operate. His opinion, though not the opinion of the Court, continues to have influence in similar cases.

Historical Context

The mid-1960s saw the civil rights movement turn north and target institutional discrimination in areas that had never been part of the old Jim Crow system. It was also a time in which the movement fragmented. Nonviolent civil disobedience gave way to more militant protests and at times even violent demonstrations. In the aftermath of some of these urban rebellions, a number of colleges and universities noted that their campuses were almost all White, a form of de facto segregation. This was especially troubling to schools located in or near urban centers or in states with large populations of underrepresented people. While these schools never consciously excluded members of underrepresented groups, neither had they reached out or encourage their attendance.

Affirmative action as we know it now began its evolution following President Lyndon Johnson’s signing of Executive Order 11246 in 1965. The order not only prohibited discrimination by federal contractors and subcontractors but also required that they take “affirmative action” to correct the effects of past and present discrimination. Recipients of federal contracts had to develop a plan designed to increase the participation of members of underrepresented groups in their workforce. Goals and timetables were required to demonstrate the “full utilization of minorities and women” in these projects.

This was a radical approach to addressing societal discrimination because it did not depend on judicial finding of discrimination in individual cases. This focus on societal discrimination began to extend beyond the field of federal procurement, and many colleges and universities saw the policy as a mandate to recruit, enroll, retain, and graduate increasing numbers of students from underrepresented groups. These plans were based on an acknowledgment that although most U.S. colleges

and universities outside of the Deep South had not formally excluded underrepresented students, that the slow, or in many cases complete failure to implement the desegregation promises of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) millions of students in substandard public schools and at a distinct disadvantage in competing for seats in many colleges and universities.

After 1954, desegregation became at least the technical letter of the law, but by 1965, affirmative action and integration became its spirit. It was against this backdrop that the special admissions program at the UC Davis Medical School was created and the constitutional issues that were to be addressed by a succession of courts began.

There is no single date universally recognized as the beginning of affirmative action in higher education. Different schools experimented with different methods, all seeking in their own way to increase the number of students from underrepresented groups in their classes. If there was a common thread that tied these programs together, it was a general recognition that promising students from underrepresented groups might not all demonstrate the same traditional indicators of success as White applicants who frequently came from better school systems with a tradition of preparing students for college enrollment. While urban schools were generally not legally segregated, many experienced the same degree of racial isolation as the schools in the Deep South. To address these issues of differing levels of college preparedness, affirmative action in higher education used differential enrollment standards to ensure that students from underrepresented groups could enroll in their institutions and take advantage of the social mobility that higher education offered. By the early 1970s, various forms of affirmative action in college enrollment had spread to graduate and professional schools. This was the environment in higher education in 1973, when Bakke made his decision to give up a promising career in engineering and apply to medical school at UC Davis.

Facts of the Case

Bakke was from a modest middle-class background. He graduated with honors from the University of Minnesota in 1962, with a BS in

mechanical engineering. Despite his success as an engineer, including some graduate work, he wanted to become a physician. He attended night school to complete the undergraduate science courses he needed to qualify for medical school and performed volunteer work in a hospital emergency room.

In 1973, Bakke applied for admission to the UC Davis Medical School. At age 32, and despite the accomplishments in his engineering career, he was turned down. In an exchange of letters between Bakke and a member of the admissions committee, it appears that one factor that may have been considered by several of the schools that turned him down was his age. Medical schools often consider the long-term return on their investment by calculating the number of years a graduate will likely have in the field. Bakke was nearly 10 years older than many of the applicants with whom he was competing.

The Davis Medical School had opened in 1968. There was no recorded history of racial discrimination at the school, but the faculty was concerned that in the first class, there were no African American students. As a result, they decided to initiate a special admissions program to “compensate the victims of unjust societal discrimination.” The statement in the school catalogue indicated that the program was specifically for members of “economically or educationally disadvantaged groups.” From 1969 to 1973, when Bakke applied, 26 Blacks, 30 Mexican Americans, and 12 Asians had been admitted through the special admissions program. No White applicants who applied for admission as “disadvantaged” were enrolled through the special admissions program during this same period.

The Admissions Process

By then, the size of each entering class was fixed at 100 students, and to maintain a desired level of enrollment of students from underrepresented groups, the school set aside 16 of the 100 seats for applicants from the special admissions pool. Applicants being considered for the 84 additional seats were reviewed by the regular admissions committee, but applicants who applied through the “special” program were reviewed by a separate committee. Regular admission applicants who had a

2.5 or lower grade point average were automatically rejected. However, applicants for the special admissions program could still be considered with a 2.5 average. In addition, applicants from the disadvantaged student pool could be considered for admissions even though their medical school admissions test scores (MCAT) were lower than the average for the entering class as a whole. In 1973, Davis had 2,464 applicants for 100 vacancies. When Bakke applied in 1973, the undergraduate grade point average for the special admissions program was 2.88, and the score for students in the regular admissions pool was 3.49.

Applicants for the Davis program were evaluated on a 0 to 500 scale. A variety of factors were taken into consideration in calculating this number, including grades, test scores, and the evaluation of faculty members who interviewed the applicant. Not all applicants sought or were granted an interview. In Bakke's applicant pool, about 20% of the applicants were interviewed. Bakke's initial combined score was 468, but Davis had set 470 as the cutoff score for applicants who were being reviewed in the spring of 1973. After receiving his rejection letter, Bakke decided to meet with a member of the admissions committee at UC Davis who had strong reservations about the special admissions program. That officer counseled Bakke to reapply and to keep an eye on a case from the University of Washington School of Law that seemed headed to the U.S. Supreme Court and might challenge the validity of similar special admissions programs. In effect, he counseled Bakke to consider resorting to a lawsuit against UC Davis if he was not admitted in the next class.

During the next admissions cycle, Bakke reapplied, but this time received an even lower score based on the interview that he had with a member of the admissions committee. That member, a Dr. George H. Lowery, felt that Bakke did not understand the broader social issues relating to the Davis special admissions program and that this suggested a tendency for premature judgment without full assessment of possible alternatives, traits that he felt weighed against the qualities needed to be a good physician. Nevertheless, after receiving his second rejection from the Davis program, Bakke decided to file a lawsuit claiming that he had been unlawfully excluded from the school because of his race.

State Courts Rule for Bakke

With little fanfare, the wheels were now set in motion for a monumental constitutional clash. Yet, as with many cases that eventually have national impact, this Bakke's lawyers argued that the 16 seats that UC Davis had set aside for the special admissions program constituted a racial quota that violated the California State Constitution, Section 601 of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. After a relatively brief trial, the court issued a split decision. On one hand, Bakke had prevailed. The court held that UC Davis special admissions program had discriminated on the basis of race in violation of the federal Civil Rights Act and the U.S. and California Constitutions. On the other hand, the court failed to order the university to admit Bakke. They instead held that the admissions process was highly discretionary and that unless Bakke could present additional evidence to show that he had specifically been the victim of fraud, unfairness, or a totally arbitrary choice by the university, the court was not prepared to order that he be admitted to the school. But they did order that he be reviewed for admission again without regard to his race. Ironically, this split at the very beginning of this case would preview the eventual split, albeit on different grounds when the case was finally concluded by the U.S. Supreme Court.

With neither side satisfied by this outcome, both issued notices of appeal. Normally, the next avenue of appeal would be to the Court of Appeals of the State of California. But due to the nature of the conflict and the fact that it was now gaining public attention, the California State Supreme Court decided to accept the appeal directly. The arguments before the California State Supreme Court were essentially the same as those initially brought in the trial court. By now, several amicus briefs had lined up on both sides of the issue, with the American Federation of Teachers filing an amicus brief in support of Bakke, and the Association of American Medical Colleges filing an amicus brief in support of UC-Davis. One group, the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL), saw potential flaws in the university's defense of its program and urged the court to remand the case so that a more comprehensive factual record could be developed.

The NCBL also argued that a critical party with an interest in the case, African American medical students, were not adequately represented by the university and should have a voice in the litigation. Although this was technically accurate, Davis had invited the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to participate in the initial trial, but NAACP had declined. In hindsight, the perspectives of African American students who had faced various forms of discrimination throughout their lives and their lawyers, all veterans of years of civil rights litigation, may not have made a difference in the outcome of the case.

The California State Supreme Court was a highly respected state court bench and was considered one of the more liberal courts. In September 1976, the court issued its opinion and ruled in favor of Bakke. They held that the special admissions program at UC Davis violated the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution, but they avoided ruling on the California constitution and the federal statute. The admissions procedures, particularly setting aside 16 seats only for special admissions applicants, was a racial classification, and despite the university's good intentions, that practice was unconstitutional because it was not the least intrusive means of achieving its goal.

The court also held that even though the special admissions program was designed to assist members of underrepresented groups rather than harm them, it was still subject to the traditional compelling state interest test that was used whenever there was a racial classification by a state actor. This test placed a significant burden on the state to show that its racial classification was compelling, that its use of the classification was narrowly tailored to address that compelling interest and that less burdensome means to achieve the same goal had been explored and found to be unavailing. The California State Supreme Court found that the university had failed to satisfy these requirements.

However, the trial court had held that Bakke was not automatically entitled to admission simply because the program was constitutionally suspect. In a hearing of the case before the state supreme court the university decided to concede that they could not say whether Bakke would or would not have been admitted absent the special admissions program. This concession proved critical because it removed the burden of proof on this point from

Bakke, a burden that he may not have been able to meet. More critically, if he had not been able to show that his denial of admission was caused by the presence of the special admissions program, then he would have lacked standing to carry the case any further. By conceding this point, the university removed that obstacle but reserved for itself the choice to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Had they not made that concession, the case would have remained the law in California, and a different case might have been the one to make the definitive statement on affirmative action in higher education. After some consideration, the university decided to file a petition for cert to the U.S. Supreme Court appealing that portion of the decision that had declared their admissions program unconstitutional. The case was argued before the U.S. Supreme Court on October 12, 1977, but the decision was not issued until the last day of the Court's term on June 28, 1978.

By the time the California State Supreme Court had issued its decision, the *Bakke* case had attracted national attention. Debates that had raged mostly in academic journals for years over the propriety of affirmative action programs now moved to the front pages of national magazines and the editorial pages of newspapers all across the country. Discussions about affirmative action occurred on a regular basis on morning news programs. The subject of affirmative action also became a hotly contested issue on numerous college campuses, particularly those that had affirmative action admissions systems similar to the one at issue at the UC Davis campus. There were teach-ins, demonstrations, and counter-demonstrations all passionately supporting one view or the other, each eagerly awaiting the Court's decision.

The Supreme Court Ruling

The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court can be divided into three main discussions, each separate in its evaluation of the case. Four justices, led by Justice John Paul Stevens, with Warren E. Burger, Potter Stewart, and William Rehnquist, found that the special admissions program violated the non-discrimination requirements of Section 601 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Having reached that judgment on statutory grounds, they saw no need to also rule on whether it also violated the

Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Lewis Powell agreed with them as to the unlawfulness of the program but held that the case should be decided on the constitutional grounds, which he found that UC Davis had also violated. Justice William J. Brennan Jr. was joined by justices Byron R. White, Thurgood Marshall, and Harry A. Blackmun dissenting. They held that the program was constitutional and that race could be used by the university in its admissions programs to address the effects of past discrimination in society.

The Powell Analysis

Justice Powell agreed with the dissenters that race could under certain circumstances be constitutionally employed in admissions but found societal discrimination to be an unworkable justification. Instead, he wrote at length about how a university could carve out a narrow exception to normal equal protection jurisprudence and found support for his view in the importance of diversity in a student body for “the robust exchange of ideas,” which was based in part on the First Amendment. So, by a vote of 5 to 4, the Davis admissions program was held to be unlawful. Ironically, while Justice Powell agreed only in part with the dissent, his opinion has often been read as if it were in fact the opinion of the dissenters and thereby constituted a fifth vote in favor of the dissenting views. In reality, the four dissenters said very little about Powell’s opinion.

Justice Powell began by first addressing the Title VI issue. Since the California State Supreme Court had based its decision on the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, neither of the parties had addressed the Title VI issue in oral arguments. After subsequent briefing, two separate issues emerged. One was whether Title VI provided for a private cause of action or alternatively was only enforceable by the government. The second was whether Title VI and its prohibition against discrimination should be read as encompassing essentially the same protections and prohibitions as the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Powell found it unnecessary to address the first issue since it was not decided by either of the two courts below. On the second issue, he found that “in view of the clear legislative intent, Title VI must be held to prescribe only those racial classifications

that would violate the equal protection clause or the Fifth Amendment.” On this point, Justice Powell was in agreement with the Stevens, Burger, Stewart, and Rehnquist group. But the real focus of Powell’s opinion was on the application of the equal protection clause to the Davis affirmative action admissions program.

The university had argued that the normal strict scrutiny standard for review of racial classifications should be reserved for laws that disadvantaged “discreet and insular minorities,” *United States v. Caroline Products Co.* (1938). Powell rejected this argument and similarly rejected the idea that distinctions should be made based upon whether a racial classification constituted a goal or a quota. He found that as long as the distinction was based upon race, those labels were merely semantic differences. The equal protection clause, he concluded, cannot mean one thing when applied to one individual and something else when applied to a person of another color. He noted the Court’s historical disfavor of any form of racial classification and the carefully developed review standard that required a compelling justification in any use of race.

His rationale recognized that the original framers of the Fourteenth Amendment conceived of it as a means to bridge the vast political and economic distances between “the Negro race and the White majority” that flowed from enslavement. But he argued that the nation had changed considerably since the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment. We are, Justice Powell urged, now a nation of various groups, and in his view, the concepts of “majority” and “minority” reflected temporary arrangements and political judgments. On this basis, he concluded that there was no principled way to decide which groups would merit heightened judicial review and which would not.

In this part of his argument, he was specifically responding to the dissenting opinions authored by Justice Brennan and Justice Marshall. He further added that it would be too difficult to determine whether a racial classification was invidious or benign, making the more flexible standard of review urged by the dissenters impracticable. He added that it is the individual who is entitled to judicial protection against racial classifications, not groups, and that because of the long history of the misuse of racial classifications that strict judicial scrutiny of all forms of racial classifications is warranted.

Further, he concluded that courts or even legislative bodies will continue to be free to use racial classifications as a remedy for specific forms of discrimination, as they have for example in the many school desegregation cases that the Supreme Court had decided. The state, he argued, has a legitimate and substantial interest in eliminating the disabling effects of identified discrimination. But, the record of this case reveals that the university did not make an effort to establish such findings and that its broad mission was education, not the fashioning of legislative policy or adjudicating claims of illegal discrimination.

At this point, Justice Powell had carefully dismissed three of the four rationales offered by the university for the special admissions program. However, it was the fourth rationale that became the cornerstone of his opinion. The university claimed that there were specific benefits that flowed from an ethnically diverse student body. Justice Powell found this to be a constitutionally permissible goal for an institution of higher education. He found its justification not simply in the Fourteenth Amendment, but in the First Amendment, which provides a broad umbrella under which the robust exchange of ideas within a university setting should receive special consideration. He cautioned however, that while race could be used as one of several factors that a university might consider in the admissions process, the university must be careful not to make it the controlling factor lest it fall on the impermissible side of the constitutional line. He referred to this use of race as a “plus” factor. And it was here that he attached an appendix describing the admissions policies at Harvard University, where the methods that he found constitutionally permissible were described in detail.

Other Justices Respond

Justice Brennan, long known as one of the most astute consensus builders on the Supreme Court, wrote a very carefully worded dissenting opinion that made clear that while he and Justices Marshall, White, and Blackmun held a different constitutional theory for the Fourteenth Amendment, there were particular points in the case where they agreed with Justice Powell. They agreed that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be

applied in the same manner as the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. They also agreed that the particular affirmative action program used by UC Davis was constitutionally suspect and violated Title VI and therefore found that Bakke should be admitted to the medical school. But Justice Brennan also pointed out that the four dissenters agreed that the future use of race in admissions programs was not unconstitutional per se. While they disagreed with Justice Powell on the theory that would support this conclusion, they reiterated that it was a conclusion that commanded five votes. This, they argued, had the effect of overturning the decision by the California State Supreme Court that would have prohibited the university from establishing future affirmative action programs that take race into account.

Having established that both Title VI and the equal protection clause should be applied in a similar fashion, the Brennan group went on to argue that, based upon the legislative history of Title VI as well as the equal protection clause, the clear intent of both of these laws was to produce effective remedies for the historical discrimination that Blacks had faced. Recognizing the theoretical problem that this position posed, he argued that rather than giving universities an almost free hand in experimenting with affirmative action, the Court should instead resort to a middle-tier level of judicial scrutiny, similar to that provided for classifications based upon gender. Thus, the Court would exercise a significant degree of oversight while at the same time providing colleges and universities with some flexibility in fashioning their admissions policies. While this theory was well argued by Justice Brennan, it failed to gain that crucial fifth vote that would have dramatically changed the outcome of the *Bakke* case. Although Brennan and Marshall pursued this same theory in several subsequent affirmative action cases, it was never able to gain much constitutional traction with the exception of a brief application in the *Metro Broadcasting Inc. v. Federal Communications Commission* (1990), whose permissive standard of minority preferences was expressly overruled in *Adarand Constructors, Inc v. Peña* (1995).

Justice Stevens authored the third corner of this triangular opinion. He reasoned that since the trial court had based its decision in part on Title VI, the Court should rely on a well-settled practice to

avoid the decision of a constitutional issue if the case can be fairly decided on statutory grounds. He said, "We ought not to pass on questions of constitutionality unless such adjudication is unavoidable." He then went on to argue that based on the plain language of the statute, Bakke had in fact been the victim of discrimination based upon race, which Title VI specifically prohibited. The remainder of his relatively brief opinion took issue with the Brennan group on whether or not the language of Title VI permitted certain types of racial classifications but not others. He concluded that it did not. However, he also added that this case did not require the Court to decide on the congruence, or as he pointed out, lack of congruence between the federal statute and the Constitution. The Stevens group therefore agreed with the State Supreme Court of California insofar as they affirmed the trial court's judgment that Title VI had been violated but added that "to the extent that it purports to do anything else, I respectfully dissent."

Impact of the Ruling

The divided court in the *Bakke* case was in some respects a mirror of a nation divided on this crucial issue. Polls suggest that while a majority of those surveyed disapprove of racial quotas, a slim majority still supports some form of affirmative action. When Justice Powell retired from the Court, he referred to his decision in the *Bakke* case as one of the most important that he had written as a justice of the Court. In retrospect, it was in many ways an astute political decision as well as legal statement. While placing clear limitations on the practice of affirmative action, he nevertheless carved out a small constitutional niche that has not only survived but also has been vindicated more recently by the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Grutter v. Bollinger*. In fact, Justice Sandra O'Connor's majority opinion in the *Grutter* case is very close to Justice Powell's decision in *Bakke*. But, as Justice Powell noted, times have changed, and Justice O'Connor's decision in *Grutter* contains the prediction that within 25 years affirmative action in higher education should no longer be necessary.

After his victory before the U.S. Supreme Court, Bakke entered the UC Davis Medical School and graduated in 1982. He moved from

California back to Minnesota where he practiced anesthesiology until 2003, when it is reported that he retired from active medical practice.

Justice Powell's decision arguing for race as a mere plus factor in university admissions has been the legal cornerstone for those programs up until 2003, when essentially the same rationale was upheld by the Supreme Court in the *Grutter* case. Since 1978, students from underrepresented groups have shown significant progress in high school graduation rates and in college matriculation, though they still lag behind their White counterparts in overall college enrollment. The degree to which this success can be attributed to affirmative action programs in higher education is difficult to measure. It is safe to say, however, that particularly at the most selective colleges and universities, without affirmative action programs both the numbers and percentages of students from underrepresented groups attending those institutions would have been significantly lower than they are now.

However, affirmative action is by no means on solid judicial ground. Neither *Bakke* nor *Grutter* required colleges to implement affirmative action programs. Both merely permitted these programs so long as they were carefully crafted. Yet, the states of California, Washington, and Michigan have passed referendums prohibiting all state institutions from taking race into account in hiring, promotion, or college enrollment. Finally, while the enrollment of students from underrepresented groups in medical schools has remained flat over the past decade, communities of underrepresented peoples, particularly those in the inner cities, remain chronically underserved by medical facilities.

Victor M. Goode

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; *Grutter v. Bollinger*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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RELIGIOUS-BASED EDUCATION

Free and enslaved African Americans avidly supported efforts to educate themselves during enslavement and after the Civil War. After emancipation, White Christian benevolent societies offered sporadic assistance to newly freed African Americans. The contemporary legacy of religious-based education finds Christians and Muslims sponsoring pedagogical innovations for African American education. Historically, religious-based education for African Americans always required educative reforms. With the shift in focus from adult education in the 19th century to primary and secondary education in the 21st century, the legacy of African American religious-based reforms secure the heritage of African American pride and self-reliance in academic excellence. This entry looks at that history.

Before the Civil War

During the colonial period, White Christian churches aborted their opportunity to serve as emancipators. In 1784, White Methodists denounced enslavement and gave ministers 12 months to liberate their enslaved Africans. Baptists denounced enslavement 5 years later. This bright promise of Christian liberty soured as Christian enslavers determined that an educated enslaved African was no longer a precious commodity but a future runaway or potential insurrectionist.

The Anglican missionary organization—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—founded schools in Charleston, South Carolina (1742–1764), and New York City (established by Frenchman Elias Neau). By 1746, the Charleston school had educated 28 children and had 55 more registered for daytime instruction, in addition to 15 adults enrolled in night school. In 1714, Puritan leader Cotton Mather opened a school for Indians and African Americans in Boston. Instruction by these schools was severely limited, teaching the enslaved how to read only the scripture and catechism. Although the mission schools gave a minority of African Americans an academic toehold, the schools were tainted by a race hatred that mandated the creation of independent schools by African Americans.

Rejection by enslaving Christians spurred African Americans in the North to seek their own alternatives. Free Africans established Free African improvement societies, which supplemented the meager institutional support for the African American community. Worship, education, burial service, and insurance were critical services and concerns for the African societies. Their pedagogy presented a positive image of African history and taught emerging African American leaders how to resolve problems and use collective action.

African American clergy moved swiftly to open schools for children and adults. The first New York African Free School was instituted in 1787 under the leadership of Rev. Theodore S. Wright, John B. Russwurm, Edward Mitchell, William Brown, William G. Smith, and Edward Jones—all African American and all college graduates. Their goal was a liberal education for boys and girls. Reminiscent of Prince Hall, who opened a school in his home in 1798, Rev. Richard Allen, national leader of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, opened a day school for African American children and a night school for adults. By the 1800s, African American benevolent societies and church-based groups such as the African Friendly Society of St. Thomas, United Brethren, and the African Female Band Benevolent Society of Bethel, were just 3 of the more than 40 such organizations in Philadelphia between 1795 and 1830. They supplemented efforts by the fledgling public school system in the North with study circles and reading groups that were heralded worldwide.

White Congregationalist colleges in New England produced the first African American graduates. Alexander L. Twilight at Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1823 was the first. Edward A. Jones, Amherst College, Massachusetts, and John B. Russwurm, Bowdoin College, Maine, followed in 1826. Lemuel Haynes was awarded an honorary degree from Middlebury in 1804 and was the first African American minister to be ordained by a predominantly White denomination in 1785.

Church-related Black colleges were founded by African American clergy right before the Civil War. Wilberforce University, chartered in 1856 by the predominantly White Methodist Episcopal Church, had four African Americans on its 24-member trustee board. One was AME Bishop

Daniel Alexander Payne, who later orchestrated the purchase of the school by the AME Church in 1863. Payne served as president of Wilberforce until 1876. At the same time, Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania, was another church-related Black college set up by White Presbyterians. Incorporated in 1854 as the Ashmun Institute, Lincoln matriculated its first students in 1856.

After the Civil War

African American churches were often the first sites for African American institutions of higher learning. Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, traces its history to a school founded in 1866 in the basement of the Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta. Spelman College started in the basement of the Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, while Tuskegee, under the direction of Baptist Booker T. Washington, first convened in the basement of Butler Chapel AME Zion Church in Tuskegee, Alabama.

Autonomous efforts by these few colleges and self-taught enslaved Africans spurred religious efforts to educate the previously enslaved during and after the Civil War. Slave codes of the 1820s and 1830s forbade anyone to teach an enslaved African to read or write. Some White denominations, such as the Disciples of Christ of North Carolina, made a public commitment to teach their charges to read in order to learn the scripture in spite of the law. African American preachers often taught their members reading secretly, with catastrophic results. If discovered, they could be fined, publicly whipped, or killed. The sacrifice of literate African American preachers anchored the burgeoning free church tradition in the South by encouraging enslaved Africans to read the Bible and memorize scripture. Their efforts encouraged freed men and women to start schools for children and adults in the postbellum years.

At the end of the Civil War, White northern churches and philanthropic societies aided the newly freed men and women by sending missionaries, social workers, and teachers. The leading organization was the American Missionary Association with missionaries from the Congregationalist Church, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New

York, and the Friends Association for the Aid and Education of Freedmen. Workers were also commissioned by the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, the United Brethren in Christ, the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Society of Cincinnati, the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Freedmen's Aid Society of Chicago, the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, the New York Society of Friends (Quaker), and the Reformed Presbyterians.

Education by the Quakers was an exception to the common enslaving mentality. Their early commitment to educating enslaved Africans began with a school opened by Anthony Benezet in Philadelphia, which had more than 400 pupils by 1813. Quakers from the Midwest and New York sent missionaries to teach and, when allowed by southern White citizens, to build industrial schools. Quakers aligned themselves with whoever would work with them, such as the African American soldiers of the 56th Regiment, who built an industrial school in Helena, Arkansas, in 1866.

Presbyterians, Methodists, American and Freewill Baptists, Unitarians, and Congregationalists combined their school building projects with church building. White Methodists were especially adept at securing funds from the Freedmen's Bureau to repair churches that housed or adjoined schoolhouses for freed men and women. Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists diligently educated southern African American ministers, because they rightly assumed that their investment would guarantee stronger congregations. Although efforts by the American Missionary Association promoted the establishment of a well-defined public school system throughout the South, the legacy of religious education and equal educative benefits for African Americans faded with the expansion of Jim Crow in the 1880s.

The Civil Rights Struggle

In the 20th century, African American civil rights activists from the African American church emerged to challenge the industrial school model of vocational training fostered by Booker T. Washington. Instead, African American denominations maintained the legacy of historically Black colleges begun in the 1800s and looked for the end of segregation

to introduce proper facilities and staff for African American students. By 1915, African American churches had acquired more than \$2 million in school property. Leaders at the forefront of the Black college and seminary movement were (in descending order) Baptist, the AME Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, followed by White-sponsored Black colleges founded by the United Methodists, Presbyterians, the Episcopal Church, Disciples of Christ, and United Church of Christ.

In spite of civil rights legislation of the 1960s, full educative rights for African Americans remained yet elusive. The alternative of African American students' attending Catholic parochial schools waned in the 1990s, with school closings caused by low inner-city rolls and high tuition. Disappointment in the public school system stirred African American Christians and Muslims to seize the reins of self-determination by starting parochial and charter schools of their own in the 1990s.

African American Christians developed holistic ministries that continued into the 21st century. These ministries promote self-improvement in areas of health, HIV awareness, and General Educational Development (GED) preparation. African American churches bolster public schools through adopt-a-school programs or establish day care centers and Christian academies. By 1996, the independent school movement produced 400 independent Black schools, with more than half religiously affiliated or started by a church. Baptists, AME, United Methodist, and Catholic churches led the trend.

Muslims joined the independent school movement in earnest in the 1970s. By 1991, the American Muslim Mission (formerly the Nation of Islam) had 38 Sister Clara Muhammad primary and secondary schools in major cities across the United States. In addition to the standard curriculum, these schools offer Arabic and intensive courses in African and African American history. The Council of Islamic Schools of North America and the Muslim Teachers College workshops train and prepare teachers in this pedagogy.

Sheila H. Gillams

See also African Free School; African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; American Missionary

Association; Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; Catholic Church; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Industrial Education; Morehouse College; Nation of Islam; Spelman College; Washington, Booker T.

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REPARATIONS

The issue of reparations has been a very important one for African Americans. In light of the enslavement of African Americans and the continued oppression of those people following enslavement, the argument has been put forth in many arenas for the reparations for African Americans from the U.S. government. This is a legitimate request, many argue, given the reparations given to other groups. This discussion and the implications thereof are an important part of the education of African Americans today.

The United States enacted and implemented a reparation program under the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 for Japanese and Aleuts. No such program in the United States has been prepared for African Americans.

A statement of the criminality of enslavement was made by President George W. Bush on July 8,

2003, when he visited the enslavement chamber on Goree Island in the Republic of Senegal, West Africa. Despite President Bush's knowledge of the crime of genocide against the ancestors of today's African Americans, he did not provide assistance when three board members of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA), founded in 1968—Imari A. Obadele, Kalonji Tor Olusegun, and Kuratibisha X Ali Rashid—requested that the U.S. attorney general of the United States provide the same benefits of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to African Americans as provided to the Japanese. The attorney general turned down this equal-protection-of-the-law request on grounds that the three requestors were not Japanese.

In September 2003, this equal protection case was filed before the U.S. Supreme Court, asking for a *writ of certiorari* (a request that the Court hear the case). It was accompanied by a letter from the National Bar Association President Clyde E. Bailey Sr. asking President George W. Bush and Solicitor General Theodore B. Olsen to review and agree to support this case on the basis of the Bar Association's resolution of support. They did not agree to support the case, and the Supreme Court denied the request for the certiorari. The following year, when lawyers Charles Ogletree and Adjoa Aiyetoro took a case concerning the 1921 mob destruction of "Black Wall Street" in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the Supreme Court again denied certiorari.

A predominantly African American town in Florida, known as Rosewood, was destroyed by a White mob that began murdering and destruction on New Year's Day 1923. In the mid-1990s, a Florida Legislative Commission studied the destruction and issued a 93-page report, finding that the county sheriff took no substantial measures to protect the people. In 1995, nine survivors received \$150,000 each from the state. Sixty to 70 other victims received \$145 to \$5,000 each.

Reparations for African Americans continues to be viewed by many as important, particularly in light of compensation given to other groups and the reality of the above-cited cases of victimization of African Americans.

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See also Jim Crow; Slave Narratives

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RESEGREGATION

A trend toward greater racial desegregation in U.S. public schools, set in motion by landmark U.S. Supreme Court rulings declaring segregated schools unconstitutional, began to reverse direction in the first decade of the 21st century. Recent Court rulings have restricted the use of race in desegregation plans and ended districts court-ordered busing arrangements. These legal trends, coupled with residential patterns in which African Americans and Latinos are often isolated, have led to increasing resegregation in public schools. These trends have important implications for African American students, who, research shows, made greater progress both academically and socially in desegregated schools. This entry looks at the history of segregation, desegregation, and resegregation.

Moves Toward Desegregation

Although judicially permissible school segregation emerged in the United States as early as 1850, legal scholars point to the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) as the legal milestone that promoted racial segregation in trains, restaurants, restrooms, and classrooms. In *Plessy*, the Court ruled that as long as separate facilities for African Americans and Whites were "equal," these segregation practices did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. School segregation policies prevailed for more than 50 years following *Plessy*, until local activists and attorneys with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fought to end racial segregation and to equalize educational facilities and opportunities for African American children.

In the early 1950s, the U.S. Supreme Court heard a series of school segregation cases, the most notable being *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954). The *Brown* unanimous opinion set the stage for racial desegregation in U.S. public schools, striking down the use of race as a constitutionally permissible (de jure or based on law) mechanism to segregate African American and White children. The promise of *Brown* took more than 20 years to be realized fully—partly as the result of organized resistance among elected officials and education leaders in the South that was exacerbated by the famously ambiguous directive in *Brown II* (1955), in which the Court instructed states and school districts to “move with all deliberate speed” to dismantle their dual (or separate) educational systems.

Nonetheless, the Court’s 1954 decision produced a series of significant shifts across the landscape of U.S. public education. The aftermath of *Brown* is best measured in the impressively large academic gains made by African American students following the dismantling of segregated systems in the 1970s and 1980s—the height of desegregation activity in U.S. schools nationwide—and in the move toward more positive racial attitudes, increases in college attendance among African American students, and in the drift toward greater residential integration. In a subsequent landmark legal opinion, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Swann v. Mecklenburg* (1971) that districts could implement crosstown busing and student reassignment strategies to ameliorate the combined effects of segregated housing patterns and neighborhood school attendance zones (known as de facto segregation).

Although most of the research on the effects of desegregation has focused upon academic outcomes, more recent studies have explored the social outcomes of desegregated school settings. Research in developmental psychology has documented the social and developmental benefits of intergroup contact and school diversity. These research findings suggest that school diversity leads to positive social interactions, and those interactions lessen stereotypes among racial groups. Additionally, research concludes that students who reported they have more contact with people of other racial groups demonstrated more tolerant and inclusive viewpoints about racial and ethnic inclusion than

did students who had less interracial contact. Overall, these findings suggest that school contact between youth from different groups, including cross-race friendships, corresponds with more positive intergroup attitudes.

Emergence of Resegregation

The degree of cross-racial exposure in public schools has declined since the 1990s, as a pronounced pattern of resegregation has emerged with increased momentum. Resegregation is continuing to grow in all parts of the nation, but it is accelerating most rapidly in the South. Researchers assert that U.S. schools are resegregating due to changes in the racial composition of neighborhoods and in response to the end of court-ordered desegregation plans, known in legal terms as a “grant of unitary status.” Resegregation trends are evident in the most recent public school data (2005–2006) reported by the U.S. Department of Education. These data indicate that African American and Latino students are slightly more isolated—or segregated—from White students than they were in 1993–1994. Approximately 3 out of 10 African American and Latino students attended schools in 2006 in which fewer than 5% of the students were White. White students, in contrast, are slightly less segregated or less isolated from African American and Latino students than they were earlier. The explanation for the decrease in White student segregation rests with the surge in Latino student enrollments as a percentage of the total public school population. Still, Latino students are the most segregated racial group, followed by African American students.

This pattern of resegregation is expected to expand in light of the most recent and most significant ruling on race in education since the landmark *Brown* decision in 1954. In *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007), the Court struck down the use of race in student assignment plans designed to achieve racial desegregation. This ruling may signal the practical end to decades of district policies that use race—even if used voluntarily—to achieve racially diverse schools.

The implications of the Court’s majority opinion pivot on the conditions that persist in the absence of racial desegregation (or diversity) plans.

Racially segregated schools for African Americans students often translate into isolated, high-poverty schools in which there are a higher proportion of inexperienced teachers, a higher turnover among teachers and students, more limited curriculum and educational resources, lower average achievement and higher dropout rates.

In response to a flurry of legal opinions in the past decade hostile to the use of race in student assignment plans and student choice programs (for example, magnet schools) except under the most “narrowly tailored” conditions, some districts have moved to using socioeconomic status as mechanism for maintaining diversity in schools. Wake County, North Carolina, is a notable example, where students are assigned to schools based upon household income or poverty status. The district’s student assignment plan is pegged to a cap on the school poverty rate at 40%, as measured by participation rates in the free and reduced-price lunch program at each district school. The success of this diversity strategy, however, depends upon the density of poverty in a district. The Wake County poverty rate is a relatively low 24%, making the 40% cap attainable and producing a pattern of both racial and socioeconomic integration. In most urban school districts, the rate is much higher, rendering the goal of socioeconomic integration—or racial desegregation—unreachable.

Claire Smrekar and Sheneka M. Williams

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Busing; Desegregation; *Parents Involved in Community Schools v Seattle School District No. 1*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*; Unitary Status

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RIDDICK V. SCHOOL BOARD OF THE CITY OF NORFOLK

The national resegregation movement began with a little-known case resolved in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, *Riddick et al. v. School Board of the City of Norfolk, Virginia* (1986). In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case, but the strategy employed by the attorneys in *Riddick* took on a life of its own. Exploiting the notion of unitary status—the dissolution of dual school systems—and capturing the support of an ineffective Justice Department, attorneys for the School Board of the City of Norfolk employed an approach that served as the impetus for disassembling desegregation efforts. Pledging support for diversity and touting the progress made since the end of massive resistance in the Norfolk, the board successfully avoided court oversight, promised a reversal of White flight trends, and resegregated 12 elementary schools by both race and class. Since *Riddick*, schools throughout the South have found ways to dissolve or dilute diversity initiatives using unitary status. Districts have been released from court oversight by becoming partially or fully unified

and reverting to pre-desegregation activities with little difficulty.

Historical Context

Norfolk, Virginia, was in a unique position with regard to desegregation issues, for which complex remedies were sought. The primary revenues for the city were for the most part linked to the U.S. Navy. Norfolk lay in a region of the nation called Tidewater that housed the largest naval installation in the world. While the armed services were desegregated in the early 1940s, Virginia considered race mixing taboo and rejected any efforts to desegregate public facilities, including schools. After the war, former Navy housing turned over to Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority (NRHA) was used to house many low-income families. The NRHA use of the property had left Norfolk with pockets of African Americans in neighborhoods surrounded by Whites. African American students living in these areas were physically closer to White schools, and before *Brown*, parents were responsible for transporting children to the African American schools nearest their homes.

Desegregation litigation in Norfolk began one year after the *Brown II* decision. Fearful of the obvious mandates of *Brown I* and *Brown II*, city leaders determined the apparent threat of mandated desegregation possible with a favorable resolution for plaintiffs in *Beckett v. School Board of the City of Norfolk* (1956). The case involved students living in the Atlantic City area of the western quadrant of Norfolk who lived closer to two all-White schools. Norfolk leaders, in cooperation with NRHA, condemned homes in the area and closed two schools to avoid the required desegregation. In addition, Norfolk built “vest pocket” schools. The vest pocket schools were small, and they were built so quickly that gymnasiums, cafeterias, or normal school structures associated with education were left out of the facilities. The schools were located closest to African American neighborhoods, sometimes across the street from White schools serving the same age group, to avoid the proximity mandates of the *Brown* decision.

From 1956 to 1971, Norfolk public schools fought any form of mandated desegregation. Such extreme disdain for race mixing had left 10,000 White students out of school from September 1958

to February 1959. Transfer applications of 38 African American students to attend the White schools closest to their homes had prompted the redrawing of district attendance lines and more “vest pocket” schools, illegal use of test scores as a qualifier for transfers, and threats of violence to African American families. After every possible strategy was applied to avoid desegregation, 17 African American students still qualified for transfers. It was at that point that the Senator Harry F. Byrd’s strategy of massive resistance was employed in Norfolk. This method involved closing the schools and selling the property to private interests with the caveat that the private schools would remain segregated. For 6 months, six all-White junior high and high schools were closed to prevent African American student attendance. Business and community leaders realized that the destruction that would result relative to the fragile military-based economy was much more important than blocking the 17 African American students and pushed for reason to prevail. The schools opened and the Norfolk 17, as the students were called, began their educational experiences in the hostile school environments.

The need for covert methods of segregation appeared to be more appealing to Norfolk leaders, and the struggle continued to avoid desegregation though the courts. Norfolk leaders claimed that though de jure segregation in housing had ended, the de facto segregation in housing prevented the reasonable redrawing of district lines. The 1971 ruling in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* eliminated Norfolk’s former excuses, and a court order forced the city to develop a cross-town busing plan that would provide racial balance in Norfolk’s K–12 schools. The plan was implemented in the fall of 1971, and for the next 12 years, Norfolk schools were desegregated. Three fourths of the city had a full busing plan, and the most affluent portion of the city in west Norfolk used a choice option. After the election of President Ronald Reagan, conservative leaders in Norfolk began to push for an end to court supervision of formerly segregated schools. The leaders found that a sympathetic justice department and a supportive presidential administration created a positive atmosphere for persons opposed to desegregation. Recommending that the busing plan be ended for elementary schools, the school board chair found

little resistance, as he was only opposed by only two African American school board members. When public hearings began on the issue, an African American businessman, Paul R. Riddick, spoke passionately against the plan. The school board and the city attorney were so angered by the audacious young African American man that the two parties attempted to sue Riddick. Enraged and insulted by the show of White hegemony and the attempts to intimidate him, Riddick and several other African American parents filed a lawsuit themselves.

Facts of the Case

In July 1971, when Norfolk's busing plan was instituted, the population of the city was 307,951, with 70% (215,096) White and 28% (87,261) African American. The public school population was 56,830, with 57% (32,586) White students and 43% (24,244) African American students. By 1983, the city population was 266,979, with 61% (162,300) White citizens and 35% (93,987) African American citizens. During the 12-year period, the racial population of Norfolk schools had shifted, and 58% (20,681) of the students were African American and 42% (13,327) were White. In 1970, there were 54 elementary schools, and in 1983, there were only 36 elementary schools. The city had lost 37% of the overall school enrollment. Norfolk claimed that the loss of the White population and the White students and parent-teacher association members resulted from mandatory desegregation through crosstown busing.

The plaintiffs argued that a proposed plan to end crosstown elementary school busing in Norfolk for children in Grades K-6 for the purpose of desegregation was racially motivated. Riddick and other African American parents involved in the lawsuit claimed that implementation of the proposed plan would violate the rights of the plaintiffs under the Fourteenth Amendment. The plaintiffs also argued that the proposed plan would have the effect of creating 12 resegregated elementary schools. The proposed plan was adopted by the school board on February 2, 1983, and was scheduled to be implemented in September 1984.

Norfolk's proposed plan would involve a release from court oversight and recognition of unitary status based on the factors identified in *Green v. New Kent County* (1968), resolved earlier with the

verdict in the 1975 *Beckett* decision. The plan also involved the dissolution of busing for elementary-age students in grades K-6 and a provision for students to attend *single-zone districts* or *neighborhood schools* (a term popularized during the massive resistance era). Norfolk city schools acknowledged that the plan would involve an increase from 7 to 12 racially identifiable schools or schools with more than 70% single race configurations. To counter the concern over the creation of more segregated schools, a plan for majority/minority (M/M) transfers was devised. Under the proposed plan, a student who held majority status in a neighborhood school with a 70% or more majority population could choose to transfer to a school that had a population of 50% or less of that majority. The school administration predicted that in year one of the plan, 10% to 15% of those eligible for M/M transfers would use the option. The board also contended that within the next 5 years, 30% to 40% of the eligible students would participate in the M/M process. After M/M transfers were considered, only one school, Bayside Elementary, would be more than 70% White.

Impact of the Ruling

Riddick plaintiffs lost the case at the district level in 1984, with the court noting the willingness of the school board to accept the proposed plan and the district's prior attainment of unitary status. The attainment of unitary status, according to the court, signaled an end of segregation in the district. An appeal to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals was lost as well. The case was closed when the U.S. Supreme Court in 1986 refused to hear *Riddick*.

The district's attainment of unitary status served as a license to return to pre-desegregation behaviors. When fully implemented, the proposed plan resulted in the resegregation of 12 African American and 6 White elementary schools, with a population in 10 African American schools that ranged from 97% to 100% African American. Further, subjective measures employed to determine approval or disapproval of M/M transfers and the choice plan for Ghent Elementary School in west Norfolk provided little relief. To pacify parents and concerned board members, a "playdate" type program was established to voluntarily bus children to afterschool programs to

foster race mixing. As predicted, the program failed miserably. Additionally, with the exception of one school, Bowling Park Elementary (99% African American), student performance in the segregated African American schools plummeted.

It is important to note that the district's move to resegregate elementary schools was accomplished after the district hired its first African American superintendent. After hiring the district's second African American superintendent, Norfolk reseggregated its middle schools. The second superintendent publicly indicated a lack of support for the board proposal.

Of greatest significance in the matter of *Riddick et al.* was the use of unitary status as a means to avoid court oversight. Achieving unitary status was the goal to which districts aspired in the struggle against desegregation. Unfortunately, the term now describes districts that have used the privilege of unitary status as a tool to resegregate public schools.

Judith Brooks-Buck

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Busing; Desegregation; Resegregation; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*; Unitary Status; White Flight

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rites of passage programs

The rites of passage process (preparation, separation, transition, and reincorporation) is the fundamental process through which human development and social integration take place. The rites of passage process is a structured system of rituals, symbols, and ceremonies developed to aid initiates to successful transition from one stage of life to another. The rites of passage process is the social and cultural foundation in which the basic tenets of the modern formal educational process are rooted. This entry describes the process and the programs for African Americans that have been developed according to this model.

General Description

The primary purpose of the rites of passage process is to transfer the collective cultural wisdom of a people to the members of the group. The rituals and ceremonies provide metaphors for the philosophies and values that shape that society. These structures are arranged typically to correspond with stages of life (that is, birth/naming, puberty, adulthood, marriage, elder, and death), states of consciousness, or membership as defined by the society or group. The function of the rites of passage process is to provide a sociocultural context in which active “meaning making” can take place to foster personal development and group cohesion.

Arnold van Gennep coined the phrase rites of passage in his book *Les rites de passage* (*The Rites of Passage*) published in 1908, in which he describes rites of passage rituals as divided into three stages: preliminary, liminal, and postliminal. *Les rites de passage* was highly influential. As an anthropologist, van Gennep was concerned with identifying the rituals (rites) that were unique to specific cultural groups and the significance associated with

such rituals. However, as scholars concerned with education and cultural transmission applied the rites of passage concept, the preparation stage was identified as the first stage of the rites of passage process (see Figure 1). The four stages can thus be described as the following:

1. *Preparation*. In this stage, the participants learn the basic skills and responsibilities associated with the new status to which they hope to transform.
2. *Separation (preliminary)*. This change is accomplished by separating the participants from their usual social setting. In this stage, the participants are tested and seek approval from the elders.
3. *Transition (liminal)*. This is the period during which one is “betwixt and between,” “neither here nor there.” This is the stage in which the ceremony to mark the transformation takes place. It is often the most outwardly ritualized and symbolic.
4. *Reincorporation (postliminal)*. This is a stage during which one’s new social status is confirmed, and one has the rights, privileges, and responsibilities associated with the new status.

The successful completion of the former process is the prerequisite for the next level of development. Thus, it serves as the preparation for the next process. The rites of passage process is an ongoing experience, not an event.

While the rites of passage process is universal to the human experience, the rituals, symbols, ceremonies, values, and the subsequent development make sense only within their cultural context. For example, both the Maasai and Jews

have an adulthood initiation rite of passage that follows the basic process of preparation, separation, transition, and reincorporation. However, the rituals and ceremonies of each group are not interchangeable. The bar or bat mitzvah makes sense only within the Jewish context, and the Maasai rituals and ceremonies make sense only within their own context. Likewise, any use of the rites of passage process must be specifically situated within the experiential and cultural context of the initiate. It is the continuity between cultural heritage and personal development that makes the rites of passage process so transformative and aids in building cohesion among a group.

The rites of passage process is so fundamental to the human experience that it is one of the first processes attacked by an oppressor seeking to subjugate a group of people. Be it the experience of Africans in the Americas, the Aborigines of Australia, the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, or the systems of colonialism and apartheid in Africa, whenever there is a group seeking to institutionalize its power over another group, the rites of passage process of the oppressed is disaffirmed. Rituals, symbols, and ceremonies that were metaphors for the values and philosophies rooted in the collective cultural wisdom are replaced with rituals, symbols, and ceremonies that reinforce the circumstance of the oppression.

It is this strategy to which African American educator and historian Carter G. Woodson refers in his famous quote in *Mis-Education of the Negro*: “If you can control a man’s thinking, you do not have to worry about his action.” Therefore, when the oppressed seek to liberate from oppression, they will seek to restore the rites of passage process to the original cultural roots, even if the rites of passage model is not discussed explicitly.

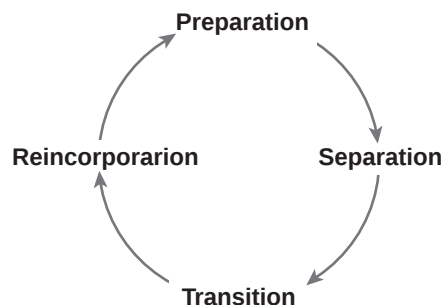


Figure 1 Rites of Passage Process

African-Centered Rites of Passage

One of the early calls for resocialization was articulated in *David Walker's Appeal* (1830). Though Walker does not explicitly call for new educational alternatives for African America people, he is clearly suggesting that African Americans must not succumb to the schooling provided by “White Americans” but must

find a way to educate themselves in light of the African arts, sciences, and philosophies. In the early part of the 20th century, scholars and activists like W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, and Marcus Garvey furthered the concept. Though an African-centered rites of passage process was not identified by name, the need to resocialize the “negro” and to center a sense of self and community around African principles and heritage was made clear. One of the most enduring works of the time, Woodson’s *Mis-Education of the Negro* specifically details the consequence of removing African heritage from the consciousness of the “negro.”

Likewise, as African countries emerged from European colonialism, African leaders and scholars sought to reconnect to cultural heritage that predated the colonialism. Kwame Nkrumah (1961), Jomo Kenyatta (1962), and Julius Nyerere (1967) were among the first to articulate how to authenticate the African self through educational institutions rooted in the cultural heritage of their respective people and the way citizens find meaning for their lives.

The current surge in the establishing of formal African-centered rites of passage programs is an extension of the cultural nationalist, Black power, and alternative education movements of the 1960s and 1970s and the organizing of African principles into scholarly discipline in the 1980s. This popularized an African worldview and the need to socialize African American youth to it.

Orita for Black Youth: An Initiation Into Christian Adulthood (1977) and *Bringing the Black Boy to Manhood* (1985) were among the first publications to explicitly discuss a rites of passage process for African American youth. By the 1990s, a number of articles and books had been written about rites of passage for African American youth. The most prolific author was Nsenga Warfield-Coppock, who has published curricula, books, and scholarly articles. However, it was *African-Centered Rites of Passage and Education* in 1996 that explicitly made the connection between the tenets of the rites of passage process, pedagogy, and educational assessment, particularly as they pertain to the academic success and performance of African American students. Since then, there has been a growing interest and study of African-centered rites of passage and their implications for delivering and assessing education for African American students.

Lathardus Goggins II

See also African-Centered Education; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Mentoring Programs; Woodson, Carter G.

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ROBERTS V. CITY OF BOSTON

Roberts v. City of Boston (1849) was an early challenge to school segregation in Boston, Massachusetts, where a large abolitionist community had experienced some success in seeking equal rights for African Americans. The court found that the school committee had the right to keep separate primary schools for African Americans and Whites, even though doing so was a repugnant distinction of class. Like the later ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this decision supported “separate-but-equal” policy.

Historical Context

In the early to mid-1800s, legal enslavement dominated the southern states, and overt segregation

was a way of life in most parts of the United States. In many states in the North, however, enslavement was not permitted, but segregation based on race and class was common practice. Massachusetts was a northern state in which enslavement was forbidden by the state constitution but racial discrimination was fully accepted. African Americans and Whites fought together against racial inequality and injustice in the state.

In 1833, the Massachusetts General Colored Association, an African American organization, joined the New England Anti-Slavery Society, a White abolitionist group, to oppose enslavement and racial discrimination in Boston and throughout the North. The revolutionary New England Anti-Slavery Society challenged the Massachusetts legislature to repeal several discriminatory statutes. By 1844, the New England Anti-Slavery Society had successfully convinced the state legislature to repeal statutes prohibiting interracial marriage and the Massachusetts railroad companies to end segregated rail cars. The legislature and the courts did not deem racial discrimination illegal, Massachusetts statutes did not set forth any distinctions based on race, which was a major victory. Nevertheless, the Boston Board of Education's school committees upheld the nearly century-old practice of maintaining separate schools for African American and White children as seen in the *Roberts v. City of Boston* case.

Facts of the Case

In 1849, Benjamin Roberts, an African American man, sued the Boston School District on behalf of his 5-year-old daughter, Sarah C. Roberts, who was denied access to the primary school because of her race. Roberts claimed that his daughter was unlawfully excluded from the primary school that was closest to their home. Furthermore, he cited the Massachusetts Constitution and laws, which emphasized that all persons, without distinction of age or sex, birth or color, origin or condition, are equal before the law.

The school district argued that the Roberts girl had access to a school, set apart for African American children, which was a part of the school committee's regulation to keep White and African American children separate. The school committee believed it was legal, just, and in the best interests

of African American children to have a separate educational facility from White children. Therefore, the Massachusetts Supreme Court had to ascertain the rights of individuals with regard to schools and whether the school regulations of providing separate schools violated African American children's rights under the state laws and the constitution.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court held that Robert's lawsuit could not stand because the school committee had the power to regulate the school system in the absence of special legislation. The court concluded that the school committee used its experience and judgment when it determined that it was best to maintain separate primary schools for African American and White children. The Massachusetts court further noted that maintaining separate schools perpetuated the loathsome distinction of class, but these prejudices were not created by law and probably could not be changed by law.

Although the *Roberts* case took place in a state that did not practice enslavement, the Massachusetts courts and its society considered race and class to be one in the same. African American children were of a lower social class, and those individuals in the White race were of a higher class. Given their lower status, African American children were not to attend the same schools as White children. Despite African American Bostonians and the New England Anti-Slavery Society's dramatic efforts and numerous petitions to Boston's school committees to desegregate schools, the school committees refused to acquiesce. The Massachusetts courts deferred to the wisdom of the school committees, particularly in the *Roberts* case; thus, the courts upheld that practice of "separate but equal."

Impact of the Ruling

In 1855, the state of Massachusetts made great strides to end racial segregation in public schools. Specifically, the legislature enacted a school desegregation law that specifically forbade public school districts from considering race or color as qualifications for school admissions. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, abolitionists and elite, well-educated African American Bostonians continued to fight for total desegregation and equality in White mainstream society, especially after the Fugitive Slave Act and the *Dred Scott* case of the

1850s. While they made progress in the state of Massachusetts, namely in education, segregation and discrimination increasingly became a national problem. Efforts were stalled by a landmark U.S. Supreme Court case.

In the infamous 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the U.S. Supreme Court had an opportunity to deem the practice of race separation an illegal act, especially in light of the recent enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment specifically included the equal protection clause to bring about equality for formerly enslaved Africans. The Supreme Court, however, chose to make the doctrine of separate but equal the law of the land for the next 55 years. Accordingly, the long-standing practice of race separation was immortalized in 1896 with legal authority behind it.

After the *Roberts* and *Plessy* cases, several education cases followed where the separate-but-equal doctrine took precedence over the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. For instance, in the 1899 case of *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*, African American parents complained that using their tax dollars to maintain a public high school for the sole purpose of educating White children without a similar school for African American children violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Supreme Court held that the Georgia Board of Education did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment by not permitting the African American and White children to attend school together, even though 60 African American high school students did not have a school of their own to attend, because race separation had to be enforced in schools. The Court decided that the White children should not be denied educational privileges just because the board of education could not afford to maintain a separate school for African American children. Simply put, segregation in education was a bastion of U.S. society; Massachusetts was an anomaly.

Dana Thompson Dorsey

See also *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*; Desegregation; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; *Roberts v. City of Boston*

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ROSENWALD FUND

The Rosenwald Fund, established in 1917 by philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, became a major agency pivotal to the provision of African American education in the South during the early 20th century. Unlike other industrial philanthropists, Rosenwald and his fund earmarked funding for a particular campaign: the erection of school buildings and structures. By the program's end, the Rosenwald Fund participated in the creation of more than 5,000 schools across 15 states. The Rosenwald Fund's school-building program ended in the early 1930s, and Rosenwald died in 1932. Although its curriculum narrowed the type of schooling African Americans received, the Rosenwald Fund left a positive legacy in that the schools it created helped make the concept of universal schooling a reality for African Americans in the South. This entry looks at the fund and its contributions.

Historical Context

Julius Rosenwald, a White Chicago businessman made wealthy by his involvement with Sears, Roebuck and Company, began his career in philanthropy in 1910. Influenced by liberal Judaism and the ameliorative spirit of the Progressive Era, he donated funds to African American and White organizations that served poor and immigrant populations in Chicago.

Rosenwald preached personal initiative and social responsibility and often paired his donations with the demand that the communities and organizations to which he contributed raise matching funds. Gradually, his attention turned from the

North to the South, but the notion of challenge grants remained. Beyond his southern focus, he began to concentrate nearly all of his philanthropic attention on African American schooling.

At the time, very few African American primary and secondary schools existed in the South, and many of those that did were in horrid condition for lack of local tax support. Rosenwald sought to remedy the situation by promising financial donations if African American communities contributed matching funds. Rosenwald also attempted to influence the curriculum at the schools by supporting the construction of certain types of school buildings.

His close relationship with Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee Institute, influenced his opinions on the proper curriculum for African Americans as well as their proper place in the social, economic, and political order. In particular, Washington supported the notion that African American education should focus on economic advancement through vocational education without challenging segregation and African American political disfranchisement, a controversial stance at the time.

Washington's belief in self-help and social stability closely mirrored Rosenwald's own ideas on community uplift, and Rosenwald's first foray into the building of schools was the construction of six schools in rural Alabama overseen by Tuskegee and built in 1913 and 1914. The small-scale project foreshadowed the role the Rosenwald Fund took after its creation in 1917.

Programs of the Rosenwald Fund

The curriculum at Rosenwald schools, which was supported by the school structure, focused primarily on industrial training and manual labor training at the expense of the liberal arts curriculum. The fund accomplished its task by surveying the area in which a school was to be built for occupations open to African Americans and then translated that reality into school structures that included spaces for the appropriate training.

The school building campaign touched both primary and secondary schools. With regard to the primary schools (also called common schools), the Rosenwald Fund accelerated the growth and proliferation of schools in rural areas. By 1928,

one of every five African American rural schools was a Rosenwald school, and those schools housed one third of the South's rural African American students and teachers. The curriculum included rudimentary literacy skills.

By the late 1920s, the fund was playing a vanguard role in the creation of high schools in which agricultural and manual training for boys and home economics for girls dominated the school day. The fund also financially supported the creation of industrial shops and teacher's homes to facilitate the educative enterprise.

As required by the Rosenwald Fund, African Americans matched the grants for primary and secondary schools with their own monetary gifts as well as free labor, materials, and land. Though Rosenwald Fund contributions were pivotal, African Americans donated the most resources to the school-building campaign. James D. Anderson found that the Rosenwald Fund contributed \$4,364,869 over the course of its history, while African Americans donated \$4,725,891 during the same period.

African Americans did not wholeheartedly accept the fund's ideological bent regarding racial relationships and the curriculum. Some communities, in dire need, allowed the fund to create schools with a Tuskegee-style education, while others demanded schools that at least merged vocational education and the liberal arts.

The Rosenwald Fund also supported certain Black colleges. Believing that African Americans should be educated to assume positions in a parallel society that did not challenge the existing racial hierarchy, institutions with a similar ethos—like Tuskegee—received large donations. In fact, Rosenwald himself had joined the Tuskegee Board of Trustees in 1912.

The fund and other industrial philanthropic organizations dangled the carrot of monetary contributions to liberal arts colleges to alter their curriculum to fit a conservative notion of the proper end to which African Americans should be educated. Fisk University initially accepted their generous donations and altered the curriculum, initiated segregated on-campus entertainment (which had never occurred previously), and promised to educate students to adapt to the existing racial hierarchy.

Fisk students and alumni, including W. E. B. Du Bois, were infuriated and initiated letter-writing

campaigns and demonstrations. College officials eventually relented. Their actions presaged the end of vocational education writ large. The mission to direct the path of African American education through physical space became outmoded during the 1920s in the aftermath of World War I and the emerging spirit of the New Negro.

Joy Williamson-Lott

See also Anna T. Jeanes Foundation; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Fisk University; Industrial Education; Industrial Education Versus Liberal Arts Education; Phelps Stokes Fund; Slater Fund; Tuskegee University; Washington, Booker T.

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RURAL EDUCATION

Rural communities share a uniqueness that most urban and suburban communities do not. Rural communities have social relationships that are personal and close; people are known as individuals, values are traditional, and the family structure is more intact. Consequently, inhabitants of rural communities share close personal and professional networks, and such close ties extend to the school community.

In most small, rural communities, the school is the common core of the community. Not only does the school provide an education for the children, but it also serves as a community center where residents come together for various social events. Because the school plays a number of roles in rural communities, rural residents fight school consolidation efforts. Proponents of smaller schools in rural districts argue that small schools have lower rates of crime and violence and greater rates of parental involvement and community support. Additionally, research by Rural Policy Matters in

2006 states that where schools are small, there are more citizens who directly take part in and responsibility for the process of schooling in their community through participation in things like parent-teacher groups, community fund-raising efforts, boosters clubs, and school activities and events. However, Lareau's 2000 study found that parents in rural areas tend to be less involved in their children's lives and are more intimidating in their child-rearing tactics. Although the research is mixed on parental support in rural schools, it seems that rural communities provide an educational basis for its residents that extend beyond the academic curriculum.

Research suggests that rural education tends to benefit students from a school-community relations perspective; however, many rural districts face many challenges in the education of their students. Rural schools and districts are confronted with unique challenges stemming from loss of population, declining enrollments, and lack of resources. However, researchers and policymakers often focus their attention on urban education due to the large numbers of students that are served by urban districts. According to a report published by the Rural School and Community Trust in 2007, nearly 10 million students attend school in rural districts, and 29% of public school students attend school in communities with fewer than 25,000 people. With approximately one third of the nation's pupils receiving education in rural districts, there is a pressing need for researchers and policymakers to understand the context of rural education.

Rural educators and students struggle to thrive academically in environments plagued by scarcity of financial and human resources, fewer highly qualified teachers, low graduation rates, and geographic isolation. An understanding of community context is important when comprehending how rural schools function and in determining the causes of educational failure. Rural education also suffers from the lack of political capital. Often, researchers and policymakers who have an interest in rural education are overshadowed by the demands of urban education. Given the societal constraints that affect rural education, this entry highlights rural education from the following perspectives: school finance, recruiting and retaining teachers, and technological advances.

School Finance and Rural Education

Debates and court cases abound concerning the funding inequities that exist among urban, suburban, and rural schools. Because schools are primarily funded by local property taxes, school districts with more expensive residential and commercial property have substantially greater resources available to support education. Thus, small rural districts have fewer economic resources, and this disparity trickles down to the classroom level. There are three levels of funding provided by the government—local, state, and federal—that add to educational spending. If rural schools are to give the same services to their students as larger schools, the cost of program per person should be higher, but these schools do not receive extra money.

In rural areas, fiscal management is often provided at very small units of administration, because both schools and districts are small. Thus, fiscal personnel in such districts are rarely specialized and frequently have inadequate training for the work. Thus, rural districts face challenges in determining the equitable distribution of their financial resources. Several southern states, including North Carolina and Georgia, have faced challenging lawsuits involving the discrepancies in financial resources dispersed among rural, suburban, and urban school districts.

School Funding

A North Carolina case, *Leandro v. State of North Carolina*, is a 1997 decision that is ongoing at the North Carolina Superior Court. Plaintiffs in the case alleged the following: (a) Children in their poor school districts are not receiving a sufficient education to meet the minimal standard for a constitutionally adequate education, and (b) children in their districts are denied an equal education because there is a great disparity between the educational opportunities available to children in their districts and those offered in more wealthy districts of our state. Plaintiffs allege that their districts lack the necessary resources to provide fundamental educational opportunities for their children due to the nature of the state's system of financing education and the burden it places on local governments. They further allege that although their poor districts are the beneficiaries

of higher local tax rates than many wealthy school districts, those higher rates cannot make up for their lack of resources or for the disparities between systems.

Teacher Salaries

According to Reeves, teachers in rural districts make only 88% of the salaries of their nonrural peers, and the disparities that exist among teacher salaries are due in large part to state funding formulas. In *Tennessee Small School Systems v. McWherter* (1993), the Tennessee Supreme Court held that the Tennessee General Assembly must maintain and support a system of free public schools that affords equal educational opportunities to students in small counties as well as large, and rural counties as well as urban.

Teacher pay in rural districts, such as those in Tennessee, also plays a role in recruiting and retaining highly qualified teachers. Reeves notes that attracting teachers to smaller rural districts might require higher salaries. School districts that do not have the resources to attract teachers find themselves at a loss in recruiting and retaining highly qualified teachers. Gibbs also found that urban salaries are approximately 21% higher for starting teachers and 35% higher for teachers with master's degrees and 20 or more years of experience. Although various reasons explain the gap between the salaries of rural and urban teachers, the lower prevailing wages in rural school districts may mean that these districts make do with less-qualified pools of candidates and face retention problems.

Recruiting and Retaining Teachers in Rural Districts

Recruiting and retaining quality teachers remains a major concern for rural school districts. Many teachers do not want to stay in rural areas because of isolation, whether it is social, professional, or cultural. In addition, teachers in rural areas face many challenges, such as low salaries, lack of access to professional opportunities, and the responsibility of taking on multiple duties. The greatest pool of teacher applicants for rural districts is students who were educated in the district and feel a compelling need to return home. It has

been suggested that the “ideal” rural teachers balance multiple duties: teach multiple grades or subjects, organize extracurricular activities, and adjust well to the environment and the community. Combined, these needs make it difficult to recruit qualified teachers to rural districts.

Not only is it hard for rural districts to recruit highly qualified teachers, but it is difficult to retain the teachers that they do attract. A major reason for high teacher turnover in rural schools is the lack of suitable living quarters. Teachers who must drive long distances to work because of a lack of housing are more likely to leave their positions than teachers who live in or near the community where their schools are located, according to Lowe.

As noted earlier, low salaries also deter highly qualified teachers from teaching in rural areas. Rural districts must develop creative strategies to retain highly qualified and highly effective teachers. Lowe suggests that rural districts should consider offering teacher incentives such as bonuses. Such incentives should be available to veteran teachers as well as novice teachers. Additionally, some rural districts offer teachers loans whereby school districts assume full or partial responsibility for payment of student loans and other less expensive debts for beginning teachers. Although some rural districts may find it financially difficult to fund such incentives, the long-term result may be worth the short-term debt.

Rural Education and the Achievement Gap

Rural district leaders understand that they lead hard-to-staff schools. Additionally, they also understand that they are not exempt from meeting the demands of the federal No Child Left Behind Act (2001) and closing the academic achievement gap. The achievement gap exists among all students, and it exists among lower- and higher-socioeconomic status students. Consequently, due to the large numbers of underrepresented students and students raised in poverty, rural education is often hit hard in the achievement gap. People who live in rural communities in the U.S. are generally poorer than their urban and suburban counterparts, and Williams showed that rural poverty rates are highest in areas with large concentrations of people from underrepresented groups. Despite

the high poverty rates, Lee found that students in rural areas tend to score as well as or better than their urban peers on standardized tests. Smaller class size often outweighs the poverty effects of students who attend schools in rural districts. Howley, Strange, and Bickel note that small schools tend to have lower student–teacher ratios, higher graduation rates, and lower rates of absenteeism. Combined, these factors compensate for the poverty factors that often plague rural school districts. Additionally, positive school–community relations accounts for students’ success in rural districts.

Stepping into the 21st Century: Technology and Rural Education

Since rural districts face difficulty recruiting and retaining highly qualified and highly effective teachers, distance education fills the gap in hard-to-staff math and science courses. In order for rural students to compete for college admissions, they must take higher-level math and science courses. Often, individuals who are qualified to teach such courses do not reside in rural areas, nor do they teach in rural systems. More important, they often do not choose teaching as a career.

Given these conditions, students in rural districts often take trigonometry or chemistry via satellite. Although this method of instruction may not be the best, it does offer courses that would otherwise not be taught in rural districts. In an effort to support rural education, the National Science Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education determined more than a decade ago that technology would be the link to providing adequate education in rural communities. Combined, they argued that the appropriate use of technology would improve teaching and instruction, expand and enrich learning opportunities, support systemic change, and provide equal access to learning opportunities.

Twenty-first century advancements in the capabilities of high-speed Internet and advanced telecommunications systems give rural regions their first real potential to overcome geographic isolation. Due to the vast growth in technology and telecommunications systems, geographically isolated rural districts are able to receive an education that

is no longer inferior to their urban and suburban counterparts.

Shedding Light on Rural Education: What Next?

Historically, the term *rural* denotes White farmers, poverty, and ignorance as a way of life. Still today, the negative connotation associated with *rural* overshadows the significance and relevance of rural education. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, the definition of rural schools was revised in 2006 after working with the Census Bureau to create a new locale classification system to capitalize on improved geocoding technology and the 2000 Office of Management and Budget definitions of metro areas that rely less on population size and county boundaries than proximity of an address to an urbanized area.

Regardless of the change in definition of the term *rural*, rural areas continue to be plagued by stagnation in employment and industry. Many students who leave rural communities for higher-education purposes never return. This continued cycle of stagnation leads to a decline in the overall population of rural areas, and it leads to a decrease in the educational attainment of inhabitants in rural communities.

Although today's rural students leave and return at a lesser rate, they leave with a unique characteristic. Often, they have been educated in underfunded schools with less than highly qualified teachers; however, rural students tend to succeed because they have rural qualities, such as strong community ties, that help propel them in their careers. Given the positive social relations formed in rural communities, students educated in rural communities tend to succeed against the odds.

Sheneka M. Williams

See also Economics of Education; No Child Left Behind

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SABBATH SCHOOLS

Sabbath schools sprung up throughout the South during and after the Civil War; they were established and almost exclusively maintained by formerly enslaved African Americans. These church-sponsored schools operated mainly in the evenings and on weekends, and they provided basic literacy and religious instruction to thousands of students who were not able to attend weekday schools. The Sabbath schools, numbering more than 1,000, represented yet another remarkable example of formerly enslaved African Americans seeking, establishing, and supporting their own advancement when freedom universally came in 1865. This entry looks at their history and contributions.

Historical Context

Prior to the Civil War, and throughout much of the South, it was against the law for enslaved African Americans to become literate, freely attend their own places of worship, or legally marry. It was feared that a literate enslaved African or an enslaved African with too much autonomy would be dangerous and discontent; therefore, laws were created to discourage teaching enslaved men and women even the alphabet or allowing them to attend church or marry.

When universal freedom came in 1865 with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished enslavement, the denial of literacy, and the most basic human dignities, it

evoked in formerly enslaved African Americans the will to obtain all things deprived to them during enslavement. One way to combine their desire to become educated and attend a place of worship at the same time was to establish a school that did both.

Sabbath schools, about which very little is known, operated largely on the strength of the formerly enslaved community. Frequently, Sabbath schools were established before free or public schools, and they were part of a larger network of grassroots schools that aided and educated freedpeople. Between 1863 and 1870, they existed alongside (a) the day school, which educated primarily freed children; (b) the night school, which educated laboring freed adults; (c) the regimental schools, which educated African American men enlisted in the Union Army; and (d) the hundreds of self-supporting schools started by free and freed African Americans throughout the South. Combined, these grassroots schools educated more than 900,000 freed African Americans during these years.

Consequently, Sabbath schools served as an additional place of instruction for freedpeople. They offered not only a place of learning but also a place of worship, and they became an easy way for teachers to coordinate and offer instruction to a mass number of people at one time. Every Sunday, hundreds of freedpeople attended a Sabbath school at which students sang, learned to read, and participated in patriotic lessons alongside religious instruction. Freedpeople learning the rudiments of literacy in a day, night, regimental, or self-supporting school started by free or freed African Americans could expand and demonstrate

their newfound skills by reading and reciting the Bible during Sabbath processions. Reading, explaining, and understanding scripture in Sabbath school allowed freedpeople to coalesce two of their most personal ambitions: becoming literate and being versed in the Bible.

Contributions

Sabbath schools were truly a testament to the self-determination and value African Americans—free or freed—placed on literacy. Despite their limited recognition in U.S. educational history, they were startlingly successful. They might have been relegated to further obscurity if it were not for the detailed records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the Freedmen's Bureau. Between 1865 and 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau was the only organization laboring in the South to chronicle the activities and progression of Sabbath schools. John Alvord, general superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau, deduced that the Sabbath school played as significant a role in the education of formerly enslaved African Americans as any other school established for freedpeople in this period.

Perhaps more than any other school of the time, Sabbath schools educated a generation of freedmen and women in literacy, the ways of civic responsibility, and religion, as well as systematically assisted in the reducing illiteracy among adult freedpeople. It is estimated that, in 1866, 1,512 Sabbath schools with 6,146 teachers and 107,109 pupils existed throughout the South. Sabbath schools continued to grow in the African American community, and by 1868, the African Methodist Episcopal Church enrolled an additional 40,000 pupils in its own Sabbath schools. By 1885, the church reported nearly 200,000 children enrolled.

The role Sabbath schools played in the educational and religious advancement of a people just removed from enslavement cannot be overestimated and should be placed within its proper historical context. In contemporary times, it reminds the public of the agency of a people landless, illiterate, penniless, and just removed from enslavement and having the resolve to effect change for themselves. U.S. popular consensus portrays African Americans during this epoch of U.S. history as helpless, formerly enslaved Africans and displaced

people, rather than as a people who emerged from enslavement—despite its disadvantages and vices—with strong values, a sincere belief that literacy and knowledge were pathways to freedom; vision, leaders, and an ability to establish institutions critical to their own advancement.

Freed African Americans wanted schools, churches, the vote, legal marriages, judicial equality, land, and a host of other considerations that would define them and their children as free. When the opportunity arose, they did everything within their power to acquire these historically denied rights and opportunities.

Christopher M. Span and Richard D. Benson II

See also African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; Bureau of Refugee, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands

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SANKOFA SHULE (LANSING, MICHIGAN)

Despite its modest beginnings, Sankofa Shule at its zenith was touted as “one of the educational powerhouses of charter schools” by *U.S. News & World Report* in its April 27, 1998, issue. Sankofa Shule began in Lansing, Michigan, as a charter school that served students from preschool through third grade; it continued to add a grade each year for the next 5 years to retain its students through middle school. Under the leadership of Dr. Freya Rivers, Sankofa Shule was able to transform the educational experience for African American children in the Lansing, Michigan, area, and because of its success, Sankofa

Shule became a model for other African-centered and charter schools. This entry describes the philosophy, teachings, and operating principles of Sankofa Shule.

Principles and Curriculum

As an African-centered school, Sankofa Shule used several guiding principles, ideas, and ideologies that were based in African thought and practice. The ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) principles of Maat and the teachings of Ptah Hotep served as guidelines for righteous behavior. The principles of the Nguzo Saba from Dr. Maulana Karenga's Kawaiida Theory served as daily living guidelines for students, their families, and the Sankofa Shule village. The African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child," served as the platform on which the faculty and staff stood.

Although a charter school, Sankofa was largely guided by the Council of Independent Black Institution's (CIBI) protocol for African-centered education: the acknowledgment of African spirituality, the act of redefining people of African descent, the emphasis on nation building through reliance on the strength of the family, the preservation of relevant customs, the insistence of viewing all things from an African worldview, and the idea that none of this can be accomplished if those who are teaching have not yet reached self-actualization (CIBI Web site).

Sankofa's philosophy of African-centered education began with the belief in the child, the genius that lies within each child, and the perfectly balanced, holistic education needed to educate that genius. Students' physical, emotional, social, academic, and spiritual well-being was key when considering curriculum, student placement, and discipline. Parents' roles, indicating the strength of the family, were also crucial for the students' and the shule's success. Therefore, the curriculum included the usual fare—language arts, science, mathematics, history, Spanish, French—and the not so usual—Swahili, Japanese, sign language, martial arts, African dance, African drumming, and drill team.

Policy and Practice

Students were not placed in classrooms based on traditional grade levels. Instead, the four Dogon

principles that indicated levels of cognitive ability: *Giri so* (front speech; knowledge of the world only through literal and concrete examples), *Benne so* (side speech; building on the knowledge developed in *Giri so*, but moving toward multiple interpretations of things in the world), *Bolo so* (the "back" speech; moving from the literal to the abstract by learning how to synthesize information), and *So dayi* (the clear word or understanding; understanding and relating to the world beyond synthesizing information, rather manipulating, interpreting and reacting to its abstract qualities based on one's personal transformation)—were used as the measuring stick by which students were assessed and grouped.

Discipline for various infractions was determined only after considering the child's physical, emotional, and spiritual health. Different challenges required different remedies or solutions. Students who did not complete their homework or who did not perform well on an assessment did not have the same consequences as those who had had behavioral challenges in the classroom. And, in the rare instances when there were behavioral problems that required more substantive deeper interventions, both students and parents found that the shule's position on suspensions—"not the student from school, but the parent from work"—required the strength of the village to keep the child in a nurturing, educational environment instead of excusing the child from his or her responsibilities by way of suspension.

In addition to their support of the discipline policies, parents' supported the shule by adhering to and supporting the shule's other policies (for example, uniform, attendance, homework, field trips) by volunteering within the school and by attending school functions. They also had a strong presence on the board. At its inception, Sankofa Shule was managed by a board comprised of dedicated parents, community and educational leaders, and teacher and staff representatives. The original board of Sankofa Shule worked tirelessly. Although not an obligatory part of their duties, board members recruited new students, provided supplies for the shule, sewed uniforms, served lunch in the building, and truly supported the work of the faculty and staff. Board members supported the founder's ideas about "schools without walls" by launching vigorous fund-raising campaigns, many times committing

their personal resources, to support the shule's field trip fund. Because of these efforts, in addition to the in-state field trips the students took every year, students at Sankofa Shule also had opportunities to visit major cities and states across the United States (for example, Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles; Chicago) and Egypt.

Finally, the success of the shule was rounded out by its leader, Dr. Freya Rivers, who led by example, and a dedicated staff. Dr. Rivers, whose responsibilities included being the administrator and a teacher in the shule, required that her teachers employ a 10-step plan (*From Heshima to Hotep*) for educating the African American child and achieving peace in the classroom. Using these 10 steps as the foundation for creating master teachers, Rivers ensured that all teachers were teaching from the same base and that no child or teacher would be "left behind." Rivers did not believe that teachers had to be certified through a traditional teacher education program. Indeed, she believed that, in order to teach African American children in an African-centered environment, it might have been better if the teachers had not come to teaching by the traditional route. To help her teachers reach self-actualization, Rivers required the teachers to attend *Indaba* (Swahili for "serious discussion") every morning. These meetings included (a) discussions around a reading selection from both a cultural and educational text; (b) conversations about the students, which focused not only on academics but on the children's overall well-being, including family issues; and (c) teaching strategies and suggestions, based on classroom observations, to reach every child in the classroom.

Shariba Rivers

See also African-Centered Education

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SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE

Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, Afro–Puerto Rican historian, scholar, and bibliophile, known especially for his impressive and extensive collection of books, periodicals, and artifacts pertaining to people of African descent in the United States, Latin America, and Spain, lends his name to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Starting as a branch of the New York City Public Library, the center became and remains what its namesake desired: a research center as well as a civic and cultural agency for the community. This entry tells the story of Schomburg and the center that bears his name.

Biographical Background

Schomburg was born in 1874, in St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands, but was raised in Puerto Rico by his mother's family. Little is known of his life prior to his emigration to New York in 1891. There he began to immerse himself in African American culture, including freemasonry, community activism, and research. Dedicating his efforts at collecting materials of affirmation to the history, contributions, and identity of people of African descent, he became widely known and respected as a keeper of African American history and for his ability to find rare and lost items.

He was motivated by what he called "our false history" and argued, "History must restore what slavery took away, for it is the social damage of slavery that the present generation must repair and offset." As one of the founders of the Negro Society for Historical Research and president of the American Negro Academy, he sought to coordinate bibliographic information to be used by libraries, scholars, and collectors nationally, and dreamed of a single repository to ease the burden of researching and allow the process to move more quickly than his own experience had been. Although not formally educated, he was nevertheless viewed as an authority worldwide on issues pertaining to people of African descent.

In 1925, the New York Public Library established a Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints at the 135th Street Branch. With every free

space of his home overflowing with books, prints, and other memorabilia, Schomburg was persuaded in 1926 to sell his private collection to the Carnegie Corporation and to deposit it at the branch. His collection is estimated to have contained more than 10,000 pieces. Schomburg served as curator for the library from 1932 until his death in 1938, and soon afterward, the branch was renamed the Schomburg Collection.

In 1972, it was named a national resource by the National Endowment for the Humanities, attracting professional librarians nationally. Soon after, it was transferred to the Research Library Division of the New York Public Libraries system, moved to a larger facility, and renamed again as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Resources and Achievements

Today, the Schomburg Center is recognized as a premier national research library and educational center devoted to collecting, preserving, and providing access to resources documenting the experiences of peoples of African descent throughout the world. The center's collection contains more than 5,000,000 items, including art objects, audio and video tapes, books, manuscripts, motion picture films, newspapers, periodicals, photographs, prints, recorded music discs and sheet music; it also provides services and programs for constituents from the United States and abroad. Library materials at the Schomburg Center are housed in five collection divisions: art and artifacts; general research and reference; manuscripts, archives, and rare books; moving image and recorded sound; and photographs and prints.

The Art and Artifacts Division contains more than 20,000 items from African and the African Diaspora, including sculpture, paintings, works on paper and textiles, and material culture. The center's collection is especially strong in art produced during the New Negro Movement, Harlem Renaissance, and Works Progress Administration, with murals by Aaron Douglas, Jacob Lawrence, and Romare Bearden; 19th-century artists such as Henry Ossawa Tanner are also represented. Rare items from Ghana, African weaponry and bronze adornment from Nigeria, Mali, Morocco, and Ivory Coast, and anti-apartheid posters are also included in the collection.

The Jean Blackwell Hutson General Research and Reference Division, the largest section of the center, contains more than 150,000 volumes, 85,000 microforms, more than 6,000 serials that include 400 African American newspapers and 1,000 worldwide periodicals, mostly focused in humanities and social sciences, and including some resources that cover medicine and the natural sciences. Items in this collection are primarily in English but also include works in a variety of African and European languages. The center's search engine, the Ernest D. Kaiser Index to Black Resources, provides nearly 200,000 citations to articles in thousands of issues of African American magazines and newspapers.

The Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division allows scholars and researchers to work directly with original source materials and contains more than 3,900 rare books, 580 manuscript collections, and 15,000 pieces of sheet music—including European classical music by composers of African descent—and rare printed materials, dating from the late 16th through the 20th centuries; these include the original manuscript of Richard Wright's *Native Son* and records of the Civil Rights Congress.

Offering more than 5,000 hours of oral history recordings and more than 5,000 motion pictures and videotapes of early African American film classics, documentaries, and radio programs, the Moving Image and Recorded Sound Division is unique indeed. The collection is complemented by a current special Oral History/Video Documentation Project that videotapes interviews with historically or culturally significant figures.

Photographers represented in the Photographs and Prints Division include James VanDerZee, Gordon Parks, Carl Van Vechten, and Bert Andrews. The more than 500,000-item collection boasts images from mid-18th-century graphics and portraits of several prominent 19th- and 20th-century African American artists, political figures, and social activists. It is especially strong in images of enslavement, the Civil War, Harlem, and the civil rights movements.

In keeping with Arturo Schomburg's vision, the center's Educational and Cultural Programs complement the research work and collection; seminars, workshops, film screenings, and the like are presented year-round in the renowned Langston Hughes Auditorium. The center also presents yearly

exhibitions from its own holdings and other institutions. The Traveling Exhibitions Program features exhibits on various themes, including the African American press, migration, and anti-apartheid struggle. Also offered are Summer Institutes for teachers and curriculum guides. In 1986, a Scholars-in-Residence Program was established; this provides long-term fellowship support for research projects that draw heavily on the center's collections and resources.

Adenike Marie Davidson

See also American Negro Academy

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SCHOOL CHOICE

This entry begins with a description of the various forms of school choice, including charter schools, magnet schools, alternative schools, small schools, vouchers (publicly and privately funded), tuition tax credits, and homeschooling. Each of these school choice forms has distinct political origins and different assumptive foundations in terms of policy goals. Still, with all of their popularity, school choice reforms are undeniably controversial. The entry also discusses the charged issues related to school choice, including race and equity, accountability, finance, and governance. Many school choice forms are contested because they fundamentally alter the traditional mechanisms and structures that govern schools and school systems. The most controversial school choice forms

tend to emphasize market-driven approaches. Specifically, school choice forms that rely heavily on the deregulation of equity provisions, the dismantling of teachers unions, competition, and the private sector often draw the most ire.

School choice is one of the most popular educational reforms in the United States. In recent years, it finds increasing favor among African American parents and community advocates who have been frustrated by how their children fare in traditional public schools. Yet school choice is also a politically charged educational issue, one that intersects with racial inequality and the role of public education in a democracy.

Some of the most vocal critics of some forms of school choice are traditional civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), national teachers unions, and public school advocacy groups. Their historical opposition to choice stems, in part, from one southern response to court-ordered school desegregation, that was that local school district officials would establish state-funded, private school choice plans—what some have termed “segregation academies”—that excluded participation by African American students.

Yet, because school choice encompasses a wide set of policy initiatives, and because it also has progressive roots in the community control and alternative schools movements, it is exceedingly popular with policymakers of all persuasions, community advocates, parents, teachers, and school leaders, and members of the private sector. Moreover, “new” civil rights organizations have emerged, such as the Black Alliance of Educational Options (BAEO) and the Hispanic Council for Reform and Educational Options (HCREO), whose primary focus is to advance school choice for Black and Latino communities.

The support for choice from these disparate groups stems from different ideological, philosophical, and pedagogical orientations. Community advocates, parents, teachers, and school leaders who support choice tend to favor the policies because of their potential to empower those who lack power under bureaucratic school governance structures. They also believe that school choice can facilitate the development of more rigorous, responsive, and innovative schools. Many policymakers and business leaders support school choice because they adhere to

the tenets of the market metaphor for school improvement, namely, the theory that competition for students will cause schools to ratchet up their teaching lest they go out of business for lack of “customers.” Central to this theory is the assumption that parents will choose schools that have strong academic programs and student outcomes.

Traditional public school advocates—teachers unions, parent-teacher associations, and civil rights groups—have been opponents and/or tepid supporters of some forms of school choice, primarily because they reject the market metaphor for schooling, based upon a multipronged argument: (a) The most likely choosers will be the most advantaged, leaving the least advantaged—poor students of all racial backgrounds and African American students—segregated in underresourced schools; (b) parents choose schools for a number of reasons besides achievement data, such as the racial demographics of the school, their perceptions of the school’s safety, and the school’s proximity to work or home; (c) some forms of choice undermine teachers unions; (d) school choice reforms cause traditional public schools to lose needed funding and political support; and (e) the notion that schools should compete for students the way businesses compete for customers misunderstands and corrupts the democratic purposes of public education. The contested nature of school choice reforms has resulted in a myriad of policies that reflect the multiple goals and points of dissension surrounding school choice theory.

Forms of Choice

Charter Schools

Minnesota legislators passed the first charter school law in 1991, quickly followed by California in 1992. The premise upon which charter school reform is based is that bureaucracy has stifled educational innovation and consequently student achievement. Charter school policy provides schools with freedom from many state and local regulations. In exchange for their freedom, schools promise that their students will produce greater achievement on standardized assessments. If schools fail to live up to their achievement goals, they can lose the charter granted to them by their district or chartering authority.

In 2007, there were roughly 4,000 charter schools in operation serving just over 1 million students in 40 states and the District of Columbia. Most charter school policy stems from state legislative action, and each state’s law differs in terms of the degree to that it is permissive or regulatory. The majority of charter school students are in five key states: Arizona, California, Florida, Michigan, and Texas. In general, charter schools appear more often in cities and tend to be small, averaging 200 students a school.

Magnet Schools

Magnet schools accompanied desegregation efforts. As policy instruments, they are meant to retain White and middle-class parents who might otherwise flee schools and school systems that are diversifying by providing a specialized educational focus such as technology, science, or the arts. Most magnet programs have racial balance guidelines and admissions criteria so that schools do not become racially homogenous. Their place in the school choice landscape is that of an institutional hybrid; parents are able to select magnet schools for their children, but schools also choose the students they will admit, based on a number of criteria besides racial-ethnic background: academic achievement, alignment with school focus, and overall educational background.

Vouchers

Vouchers provide subsidy or full tuition children attending private, tuition-based schools of their choice. Voucher programs differ from one another in structure, regulation, and scope. For example, some programs are universal—meaning all school-aged children are eligible, while others are targeted—allowing vouchers to only a specific population, most frequently poor children. Funding mechanisms also differ, since vouchers can be funded publicly or privately. Recently, there have been six publicly financed voucher programs in operation: Colorado; Cleveland; Milwaukee; Washington, D.C.; Florida (this plan is being contested in the courts); and Utah (voters overturned this plan in 2007).

While the state constitutionality of vouchers is continually in question, given that the majority of

private schools are sectarian, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 2001 in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* that the Cleveland school voucher program did not violate the U.S. Constitution—specifically, the establishment clause of the First Amendment preventing states from establishing an official religion. Still, at the local level, state constitutions often have provisions preventing taxpayer funds to be allocated even inadvertently to religious schools. Voter referenda to enact statewide voucher programs in California and Michigan have also been unsuccessful.

Homeschooling

African Americans comprise one of the fastest-growing groups of homeschoolers. Homeschooling is perhaps the most radical form of choice, since it shuns the state provision of schooling. Parents or tutors teach children, sometimes in cooperatives with other homeschooling parents. Homeschooling can intersect with charter school reform; in California, some of the largest charter schools are homeschooling charters.

Parents who choose to homeschool do so for several reasons. Some adhere to religious beliefs that they feel are undermined by public education, and schooling at home allows them to instill their values into their children. There are liberal and progressive parents who choose to homeschool because they reject the state provision of education and government-sanctioned curriculum. Finally, some parents choose to homeschool their children because they have special educational needs—learning disabled or gifted—that are not being met in traditional public schools.

Tuition Tax Credits

Tuition tax credits vary in program design and by state. In general, these provisions allow corporations and individuals to deduct from their taxes monies spent for donations to or tuition for private schools. Some see tuition tax credits as an end run around the more controversial school voucher concept, while others worry that they are simply vouchers for the middle and wealthy classes whose incomes allow for private school tuition costs. K–12 tax credits exist in Arizona, Illinois, Iowa, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota, and several other states are considering enacting them.

Alternative and Small Schools

Alternative and small schools tend to be overlooked when observers survey the school choice landscape. There are many types of alternative public schools, and most provide a unique educational environment for students who have struggled in traditional public schools. While the movement to break up comprehensive high schools and replace them with small, specialized academies has been in development since the 1980s, it has recently gained significant momentum due to the significant financial backing of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

Alternative and small schools share a focus on a particular curriculum or student population, and there are usually application and admission processes. Advocates of these choice reforms argue that alternative and small schools provide better options for students to find their educational niche. Critics worry that the choice process will allow for schools to discriminate in their student selection based on indicators that correlate with race and poverty—such as residence and academic record—and that the schools will increase already existing stratification.

School Choice Politics

Finance and Governance

The ways in which choice schools gain funding and govern themselves has implications for equity and empowerment—two of the central issues driving school choice reforms. Critics worry that school choice reforms will siphon needed resources from traditional public schools. They also worry that parents will lose the opportunity to have a say in the school beyond the choice to enroll their child in it. Research in these areas, as in many aspects of the political aspects of choice, is complicated.

Charter school funding is intertwined with state politics. Many state lawmakers enacted charter school legislation that did not provide schools with start-up funds or monies for rent or capital expenses—key issues in urban areas where starting a school and maintaining a school facility can be financially prohibitive, especially for grassroots groups. Many lawmakers failed to provide adequate funding because they ascribed to the market-informed theory that schools could do more with less. In fact, charter schools increasingly rely on the

private sector for financial and political support. Educational management organizations (EMOs) or charter school management organizations (CMOs) provide school management on a for-profit and/or nonprofit basis. In key states, such as Michigan and Ohio, the majority of charter schools are managed by an EMO or CMO. Thus, the charter school movement has fed the broader movement to privatize public education.

Voucher programs raise similar and distinct issues. Most publicly and privately funded vouchers do not meet the cost of tuition at schools beyond the Catholic school sector. This means parents must supplement the tuition if they enroll their children into more expensive schools. In addition, there is evidence that in Cleveland and Milwaukee, students who were never in public schools have been voucher recipients, thereby increasing the overall state expenditures on education. Privately funded voucher programs require parents to pay partial tuition.

Related to the issue of finance is governance. Charter schools and voucher schools, for example, have boards that oversee the schools' operations and vary in the degree to which parents and teachers are allowed to participate. Whether or not school choice results in greater empowerment as indicated by representation in formal governance, then, is an important issue. Often, school choice rhetoric describes the empowerment aspect as parents being allowed to choose a school, but it says little about parents being able to effect change in a school once they have chosen it. There is great diversity in terms of how parents and community members are able to shape school-level policy in choice schools.

Race and Equity

Also controversial is the relationship between school choice policies and race. The most persistent issue is segregation. Because early school choice plans emerged from segregationists seeking to avoid implementing the desegregation ordered by federal courts, the relationship between school choice and racial exclusion is complex. For some conservative advocates, the hope is that this choice process can disentangle the connection between residence and school assignment, thereby providing more desegregation without the need for state action.

Meanwhile, some progressive advocates believe that the choice process can enable urban parents to

select more diverse and well-resourced schools than that which is available in their current public districts. Besides magnet schools (which are under attack), few school choice plans require or enforce racial balance criteria. Some choice advocates, frustrated with school desegregation efforts that often placed the diversity burden on the shoulders of African American students or resegregated them into low-track courses once they enrolled in predominantly White schools, have started schools designed to serve racially homogenous student populations with a culturally centric curriculum.

Accountability

Because there exist so many different forms of school choice, assessing performance across them is difficult. The difficulty arises from a number of complex policy issues. First, state assessments differ from one another, making it difficult to compare achievement data across states. Researchers have tried to navigate this issue by examining student performance on the National Assessment of Education Progress. While this research is contested, preliminary analyses indicate that traditional public schools tend to slightly outperform private schools and charter schools serving similar populations. Second, there is not agreement on what constitutes a quality school. Consequently, some parents choose schools for their children even though the schools' academic performance is lackluster; they instead consider factors such as safety or school demographics. The third issue is related to the second one. Even among advocates, there is dissention about the purposes of school choice reforms. School choice goals include empowerment, innovation, competition, and equity. Outcome measures for these goals do not yet exist.

Therefore, school choice advocates tend to look favorably upon their preferred programs and consistently call for their expansion, while opponents advocate for their curtailment or complete eradication independent of student achievement data.

Outlook

Despite the political controversy and inconclusive research that often accompanies school choice, choice policies will likely continue to expand in the coming years. School choice is a key component of the No Child Left Behind Act (2001), in which

parents of students in schools designated in need of improvement or as unsafe are able to send their child to a better-performing public school or charter school. The George W. Bush administration provided millions of dollars to support the development of new charter schools and to support the advocacy activities of pro-school choice groups such as BAE0 (Black Alliance for Educational Options) and HCREO (Hispanic Council for Reform and Educational Options).

As philanthropists continue to subsidize the development of charters, vouchers, and small and alternative high schools, parents will be able to avail themselves of a number of school choice options, especially in major U.S. cities. African American parents in U.S. cities continue to clamor for better educational options and tend to be satisfied with their choice of charter, voucher, small and alternative schools, and homeschools. The questions about whether school choice reforms result in greater equity, empowerment, academic achievement, and student learning for African American children remain unanswered in any definitive way and require careful and ongoing study.

Janelle T. Scott

See also Charter Schools; Community Control of Schools; Desegregation; Homeschooling; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); No Child Left Behind; Resegregation; Vouchers; White Flight

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SCHOTT FOUNDATION BLACK BOYS INITIATIVE

The Schott Foundation Black Boys Initiative is a conceptual and operational framework a movement to improve African American male schooling, make high school graduation a certainty, and cultivate successful future citizens. Convinced that the state of African American male education warrants intensive and systematic focus, the foundation stepped forward with a detailed plan for improvement. Early indexes confirm the promising results that proceed from multi-stakeholder commitment to public education, especially for African American male youth. This entry describes how the initiative developed and operates.

Program Context and Origin

In 2001, members of the Cambridge, Massachusetts-based Schott Foundation for Public Education reviewed findings from a commissioned study on gender and academic outcomes in K–12 public education. The process proved pivotal in redefining the organization's focus and mission. Although pleased to learn about the progress of girls and young women in elementary and secondary settings, officials were troubled by dismal findings among African American males.

Nationally, for instance, African American males are overrepresented in special education programs, disproportionately disciplined, and under-enrolled in the most challenging academic courses and programs; too often, they do not graduate with their high school cohorts. The national reach of such challenges is detailed in the Schott Foundation report, *A Positive Future for Black Boys: Building the Movement*. Calculations based on the Schott Education Inequity Index (SEII) suggest that distressed outcomes primarily appear in areas such as New York City and Chicago, which have high concentrations of African American students.

To correct recurrent racialized and gendered gaps, Schott leaders undertook an ambitious set of goals in 2003 designed to improve this situation. Based on foundational work completed during inaugural meetings in New York City and Boston,

the need to (a) alter the political thrust and direction of the dominant culture and (b) revamp technology and modes of instruction emerged as guiding lenses through which Schott seeks to change the trajectories of African American males. A subsequent meeting at the Cantigny Conference Center in Chicago led participants to narrow their energies to effecting change in public policy, making use of new and existing community efforts, and stimulating public determination for change.

How It Works

The ways in which Schott hopes to animate and sustain its organizational goals echoes much of what educators, community organizers, and researchers have called for since the 1960s, such as devoting close attention to early childhood education programs, rethinking school financing, broadening the range of participant involvement in public education, and using community pressure to force measurable improvements in graduation and student discipline rates. Starting points and plans of action, both locally and regionally, may be mapped according to a series of worksheet templates available through the Schott Foundation. The nature of each template is described as follows:

- *Worksheet #1: Elements of Organizing* sorts out the role of involved factions, sets timelines, organizes research plans, and identifies appropriate work tactics.
- *Worksheet #2: Outreach Planning* pushes participant identification and the development of meaningful engagement options.
- *Worksheet #3: Assessment of Potential Allies* distinguishes among stakeholders, constituents, and associated groups that may be involved in or affected by advocacy strides.
- *Worksheet #4: Research* acts to guide forthcoming policies and practices based on empirical data.

The research strand of the Black Boys Initiative has proved fundamental in highlighting African American males' voices in dilemmas in which they are heavily affected.

For example, interviews conducted in conjunction with an Ohio pilot project assisted efforts to understand the spectrum of African American male

school performance. In the participants' collective view, success is driven by intellectual stimulation, college preparatory experiences, straightforward and nondiscriminatory discipline policies and practices, well-maintained facilities, interpersonal respect, and fidelity to teaching and learning. Low expectations, decrepit schools, and few course choices, in contrast, make underachievement predictable. Such observations by young African American men bring additional endorsement to claims that equity-minded individuals, particularly African Americans, have advanced for years.

Recent results from collaborative work in Ohio promises transformations in targeted areas. Along with the Ohio Department of Education, the foundation recognized three state high schools (Bowsher High School in Toledo, Brush High School in South Euclid/Lyndhurst, and Walnut Hills High School in Cincinnati) for strong student results and exemplary learning conditions. African American males in each school rank well on measures of achievement and are furnished with the needed opportunities to learn, such as access to well-developed libraries and expansive course offerings.

As a recipient of the Schott Awards for Excellence in the Education of African-American Male Students, each school may select an outstanding male African American graduating senior to be given a tuition scholarship for his freshman year at a state university (or equivalent). Schott, the KnowledgeWorks Foundation, and the Toledo Community Foundation provided funding for the tuition scholarships.

Certainly, scholars, researchers, educators, and policymakers have debated the need for and shape of civic reform efforts in the African American community for decades. Yet, the gendered overlay of race-conscious conversations is too often diminished in the academic and public consciousness. As a consequence, deliberate and collaborative decisions seldom place African American males at the forefront of education and school-based resolutions. The Schott Foundation Initiative is a critical step in reshaping conversations about public education.

Carla R. Monroe

See also Academic Achievement; Gender in Precollegiate Education

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SCIENCE EDUCATION

For several decades, institutional reports on the performance of U.S. students in science, from elementary school to postsecondary studies, have indicated underperformance for African Americans in general. Most recent reports show improvement for African American elementary students. The data from these reports are evidence of several challenges in science education. Programmatic efforts that nurture the development of African Americans in science, along with research that investigates and critiques the structures surrounding the underperformance of African Americans in science education, address some of these challenges. This entry looks at the current status of African Americans in science education, research in this area, and future projections.

Status of African Americans in Science Education

In 2005, the National Assessment of Educational Progress reported that, in comparison to previous

years, African American fourth graders had higher average science scale scores and a higher percentage of students performing at or above basic competency. The average scale scores rose from 120 in 1996 to 129 in 2005. The percentage of students performing at or above basic competency increased from 29% in 1996 to 38% in 2005, but only 5% and 8% of the students performed at or above the level of proficiency in 1996 and 2005, respectively.

The performance patterns of African American eighth graders in 1996 and 2005 were similar to those of the fourth graders. African American eighth graders averaged 121 on the measures in 1996 and 124 in 2005, and the percentage of students demonstrating at or above basic competency increased from 23% in 1996 to 28% in 2005, with a very small percentage (5% in 1996 and 7% in 2005) scoring at the level of proficiency. At the 12th-grade level, the performance of African Americans decreased from 1996 to 2005, with average scale scores dropping from 123 to 120; the percentages for performing at or above basic understanding dropped from 23% to 19% and for performing at or above proficiency dropped from 3% to 2%. The underperformance of African Americans in precollege science is reflected in the procurement of bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in related fields.

Whereas African Americans made up 12% of the U.S. population and 12.5% of fall 2004 college enrollments, they were underrepresented in the conferral of degrees in science and engineering. In 2003–2004, approximately 5%, 6%, and 8% of African Americans received bachelor's degrees in engineering, physical sciences and science technologies, and life sciences, respectively. One fourth of those with bachelor's degrees in the sciences graduated from historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). In comparison to bachelor's degrees, a lower percentage of African Americans received master's and doctoral degrees in science and engineering.

About 3% of master's degrees and 2% of doctorates were awarded to African Americans in engineering; 2% received master's and doctoral degrees in the physical sciences and science technologies; and 6% and 3% received master's and doctorates, respectively, in life sciences. Over the past several decades, colleges and universities have implemented various recruitment and retention programs to

increase the number of African Americans pursuing science and science-related degrees.

Programmatic Efforts

Programs for the recruitment and retention of African Americans in the sciences differ in the age of those who participate but are very similar in the services they offer. Programs with undergraduate students among their participants offer financial assistance, structured research, and other opportunities for students to interact with mentors in the sciences, and provide early guidance in understanding the intricacies of postundergraduate studies. Some of the college- and university-based programs begin working with students as early as middle school. These programs often provide out-of-school science experiences like summer institutes and weekend excursions for the participating youth.

The encouragement, access to material and human resources, and mentoring that the student participants in these science recruitment and retention programs receive often continue after they begin advanced studies in the sciences and secure jobs in industry. These programs that report laudable successes regarding the recruitment and retention of African Americans in the sciences are largely absent in a systematic, institutionalized way in K–12 settings. As noted in the research in science education, comparable efforts are needed for improving the state of precollege science education for African Americans.

Research in Science Education

In their critiques of equity, excellence, and access in precollege science for African Americans, scholars have identified and discussed numerous structures that negatively affect the performance of African Americans. Various barriers limit the opportunities for African Americans to have high-quality learning experiences in science. These inhibiting structures include but are not limited to science curricula, teacher quality, and teacher expectations.

Research has highlighted the impact of course-taking patterns and the curricula of those courses upon the performance of African Americans in science. African American students' limited access to the necessary prerequisite mathematic courses for

rigorous studies in precollege science and limited enrollment in advanced placement (AP) science courses (only 4% of AP test takers were African American in 2004) adversely affect pursuits and participation in science at and beyond K–12 schooling. Racial disparities in the locales where AP courses were offered and in enrollments of African American students in AP course offerings situated in schools heavily populated by African Americans have been documented. The advanced placement courses are typically the sites of high-quality science experiences (for example, problem solving, scientific inquiry, use of technology) and are usually taught by high-quality teachers.

In accordance with federal and state guidelines, the quality of teachers is generally determined by the number of years of teaching experience, the extent of undergraduate and graduate science coursework, and performance on teacher licensure examinations. Teachers with 5 or more years of experience, who have undergraduate or graduate degrees in the subjects in that they teach, and whose performance on certification examinations exceed a specified cutoff score are considered high-quality teachers. In contrast, low-quality teachers have less than an undergraduate minor in the subjects they are assigned to teach, are not fully certified in the relevant subject matter, and have less teaching experience than their more experienced and more knowledgeable high-quality counterparts.

Larger percentages of teachers with the previously described low-quality profiles teach science in schools predominated by students from minority groups. Administrators often assign these teachers basic science courses that are typically taught as part of the vocational and standard academic tracks—the educational tracks in which African Americans are disproportionately represented. The science instruction in the vocational and standard academic tracks can be characterized as back-to-basics in which drill and memorization constitute both the means and ends of learning and reflect low teacher expectations.

Research conducted in large public urban school districts in United States, settings in which a disproportionate number of African American students are educated, has indicated that teachers' expectations for African American students and their abilities to excel in science are lower than the expectations they have for their White or Asian

American students. Because teachers with low expectations do not believe African American students can and do excel in science, they restrict the students' exposure to remedial science curricula and science instruction that does not nurture the higher-order cognitive functioning that is necessary for studies in the sciences. In addition, these teachers do not provide academic support and feedback that prepares students for future participation in science, and they do not offer the encouragement that facilitates the persistence needed in pursuing science degrees. Altering teachers' low expectations for African Americans is the focus of some research in science education.

In addition to the goal of highlighting the structures that inhibit the performance of African American people in science education, recent research replaces the deficient paradigm from which African Americans have been traditionally viewed. A more recent strand of research in science education employs a perspective that esteems what African Americans bring to the science classroom. The basic tenet of culturally relevant pedagogy—using cultural referents to facilitate learning—is employed in the domains of language and in expressive cultural styles like communalism, movement expressiveness, and verve in the teaching and learning of science. This direction in science education research is recent, and much work remains.

Future Directions

Science education, viewed as a civil rights issue by some, heralds a call to action. In order to effect substantive change in the precollege science experiences of African American students, research and programmatic undertakings currently located in higher education must culminate in joint endeavors that begin very early in the schooling of African American students. Concerted attempts in the early grades may create the conditions in which the performances of the low percentages of African Americans who have successfully matriculated through the sciences can be replicated. It is unnecessary for the success stories of various programs and HBCUs that notably contribute to the U.S. science pipeline to remain exceptions; these successes can be the rule.

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See also Academic Achievement; Advanced Placement; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Desegregation

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SELF-ESTEEM

Researchers and social scientists have long possessed an interest in the effects of discrimination and its impact on the development of self-esteem in African American children. Most early studies concentrated on the self-esteem differences between African American and White children and posited higher degrees of self-esteem in Whites. It was believed that the African American experience with oppression, legal segregation, and racial discrimination contributed to the children's low self-worth. The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, ruling was very significant, and although it supported this argument, it also sparked an intense interest and encouraged

further research in this area. Contrary to earlier views, most African American children who are educated in separate school settings possess higher degrees of self-esteem than Whites.

Self-esteem is the evaluation an individual makes about his or her own personal self-worth (personal self-esteem). It is a direct reflection of one's personal belief in his or her virtue, value, and competence. Self-esteem is often seen as the emotional grounding of the "self" and includes an individual examination of how one values his or her identifiable group (group-based self-esteem).

Self-esteem has always been and continues to be an important element in the development of African American children. The importance of feeling good about yourself, family, and community, valuing self and your abilities, and taking pride in all that you do are lifelong lessons that are handed down. African American children often receive such esteem training at an early age. Self-awareness, cultural awareness, knowing yourself, and valuing your heritage are a few examples of the common themes of the vital esteem training. These lessons are deemed useful survival tools to the young as they become of age and begin venturing outside of their protective communities. African American adults, having experienced adversity from dominant society, are mindful of the strong destructive forces the youth may encounter in society given their assigned (inferior) status.

It is believed that the self-esteem of African American children is directly influenced by a long history of discrimination and exclusion. Exclusionary practices are embedded in the historical fabric of the African American plight in the struggle for equal rights and equal access. Prior to the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, laws in southern states forced African Americans in those states to live in a separate, segregated, unequal society from that of Whites. African Americans lived a life of subordination, forbidden to enter or occupy the same public facilities as those of White citizens (de jure segregation). African American children were required by law to attend separate schools packed into small overcrowded, rundown buildings with limited funding, books, and other needed supplies; while White students attended large, well-kept and newly built schools that were well equipped with resources and funding. The culture of the northern states also supported the practice of

segregation by assigning African American children to separate buildings, classrooms, and seating arrangements (de facto racial segregation, or segregation by custom).

In this light, previous research had concluded that African Americans manifested low levels of self-esteem relative to Whites. Although the *Brown* decision succeeded in ending legal segregation in the southern states, it had very little impact on changing the culture of segregation. African Americans continued to experience blatant and overt acts of discrimination and racism. Discriminatory laws were erased from the books; however, the norms of society (thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about African Americans) remained intact. The school environment was a direct reflection of how society viewed and valued its African American citizens.

Although the *Brown* decision gave African Americans access to better schools and what was thought to be access to equal educational opportunities, it proved to be anything but equal. The mixed school environment was the breeding ground that cultivated and supported the ideology of racial discrimination, exclusion, and oppression, an environment that stifled the confidence and self-esteem of African American students. African American students in mixed school environments are more likely to experience racial insults, putdowns, feelings of powerlessness and isolation and are less likely to receive support and encouragement from teachers and staff. African Americans are less likely to lead or head teams or councils and in some cases may be forbidden to participate in extracurricular activities with Whites. In this environment, Whites, whether students, parents, teachers, and staff resented the very presence of the African American child who visually looked different with his or her brown skin color. In most cases, Whites in this environment went out of their way to make the African American students uncomfortable. It is in this sort of environment that African American students struggle to establish a strong sense of self.

In contrast, the educational experience for students in the segregated environment is more positive because their skills and abilities are valued; they feel a sense of belonging in a safe nurturing environment in which they attend school with their peers, and they are more likely to be instructed by teachers that share their same culture.

African American students in predominantly African American school settings have a stronger sense of self than do students in desegregated schools. More-recent studies reflect that African American students in desegregated settings tend to compare themselves to their White peers, while in segregated settings they display higher levels of confidence because their self-assessments are made solely within their peer group. These findings challenged prior studies that reported African Americans manifesting lower levels of esteem than Whites.

Duwanita D. Clark-Turner

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Identity Development; Self-Fulfilling Prophecy; Socioeconomic Status (SES)

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SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY

A self-fulfilling prophecy occurs when an initially incorrect expectation leads the person holding the expectation to behave in ways that serve to elicit the expected outcome. Self-fulfilling prophecies can be *interpersonal* in nature, as when a teacher's erroneous belief that a student is not very bright leads the teacher to provide less challenging material to the student, resulting in an overall lower achievement level for the student. They can also be *intrapersonal* in nature, as when a person's belief that he or she cannot succeed at a given task leads him or her not to attempt it, thus guaranteeing a lack of success.

In both senses, self-fulfilling prophecy research has serious implications for African Americans. Interpersonal studies have shown that teacher expectations about students—including their low expectations of African American or poor students—have an impact, through their affect and effort, on student achievement. More seriously, intrapersonal studies of a phenomenon known as “stereotype threat” have shown that merely reminding African American students of their race may have a negative impact on their work. This entry begins with an overview of research on self-fulfilling prophecies, then looks more closely at work on teacher expectations, the behavioral mediation of teacher expectancy effects, and stereotype threat processes.

Classic Examples

A classic example of a self-fulfilling prophecy is the bank failures that were common during the Great Depression: A rumor would circulate that a given bank was about to fail, and people holding accounts at the bank would rush to withdraw their funds. Because banks do not keep enough cash on hand to cover all deposits, the unexpected demand for withdrawals would result in the failure of the bank. A more recent and humorous example of self-fulfilling prophecies occurred when Johnny Carson announced on his popular late-night talk show that there was an imminent nationwide toilet paper shortage. Although he was merely joking, enough people believed the story that they went out and stockpiled toilet paper. The unanticipated demand quickly exhausted the normal supplies of toilet paper at local stores, culminating in, yes, a nationwide toilet paper shortage.

Note that both of these examples possess the essential characteristics of a self-fulfilling prophecy: They start with an initially *incorrect* belief, and this belief causes the individual holding it to behave in such a way as to bring about the (initially incorrect) expected set of events.

Experimental Research

In the realm of psychology, research on self-fulfilling prophecies had its start with Robert Rosenthal's program of research on experimenter expectancy effects. In a series of studies that numbered in the

hundreds, Rosenthal and others showed that experimenters' expectations that participants' behavior would support their hypotheses could act as self-fulfilling prophecies.

In a prototypical example of a study in this area, a sample of experimenters was told that they would be replicating the well-documented phenomenon that rats could be selectively bred to perform either very well or poorly on a maze-running task. The experimenters were led to a room containing cages of rats, and each rat had a label affixed to the cage identifying it as being either a specially bred "maze-bright" or "maze-dull" rat. In reality, the rats were standard laboratory rats and had not been specially bred; instead, the labels had been randomly assigned. Analyses showed that those rats that had been randomly labeled "maze-bright" did in fact run the maze significantly faster than rats labeled "maze-dull," presumably as a result of different handling by the experimenters.

The uncomfortable implication of this and other studies on experimenter expectancy effects was to call into question the validity of nearly all experimental research involving human participants: Perhaps experimenters were obtaining their results not because their theories were correct but because they were unconsciously biasing their behavior to elicit the results they expected. Fortunately, a solution to the potential biasing effects of experimenters' expectations is easily available.

All that is needed to prevent experimenter expectancy effects from occurring is to adopt a *double-blind* procedure, where neither the participants nor the experimenters themselves are aware of the experimental condition of the participant. If experimenters do not know what kind of behavior to expect from a participant, they cannot possibly unconsciously bias their behavior to obtain the expected behavior. Today, the double-blind study remains the gold standard of experimental design in all areas of research.

Teacher Expectancy Effects

As work on experimenter expectancy effects progressed, Rosenthal and others began to wonder about other interpersonal domains where self-fulfilling prophecies might be operating, and education was an obvious choice. In 1968, he and Lenore Jacobson conducted the famous "Pygmalion in the Classroom" study. The researchers administered the

"Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition" to all the students at an elementary school. They told teachers that this test would identify those students who could be expected to demonstrate significant gains in academic achievement during the upcoming year. Teachers were then given a list of names of students in their classes who had thus been identified as academic "bloomers."

In reality, there is no such thing as the Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition; what was used was standardized test of intelligence. Moreover, the students identified as academic bloomers had been randomly selected from the class rolls. At the end of the school year, all students were administered the intelligence test again. Analyses showed that those students who had been labeled academic bloomers did in fact show significant gains in IQ, especially those in the first and second grades.

The Pygmalion study sparked considerable controversy due to its troubling implication that perhaps some children do poorly in school not because they lack ability or motivation but because their teachers do not expect them to do well. This implication was even more troubling for the African American community, because there is considerable evidence that teachers are likely to hold lower expectations of African American children than of White students.

As was the case with the experimenter expectancy effect literature enough replications were conducted to persuade most skeptics that teachers' expectations can act as self-fulfilling prophecies, and that these effects are of a magnitude that can yield socially important consequences. Researchers in this area are not arguing that teachers' expectations are the sole or even primary determinant of academic achievement. As Lee Jussim has convincingly argued in his Reflection-Construction Model, the component of variance in teachers' expectations that is due to accurate judgments of students' ability is larger than the component of variance due to erroneous estimations of ability. However, one could also argue that *any* negative self-fulfilling effects because of teachers' unwarranted low expectations for a student are a social injustice.

Mediation of Teacher Expectancy Effects

One of the most intriguing topics in understanding teacher expectancy effects is the question of "expectancy mediation," or the underlying behavioral

processes that occur in communicating the teachers' positive or negative expectations to their students. While the behaviors that communicate expectations are undoubtedly specific to the context being studied, Rosenthal and colleagues proposed that mediators of expectancy effects could be categorized under the two general dimensions of *affect* and *effort*.

Affect Dimension

The affect dimension refers to behaviors associated with the socioemotional climate of the teacher. Most of the behaviors are nonverbal in nature and take place outside the conscious awareness and control of the teacher. For example, when engaging students about whom they hold positive expectancies, teachers will smile more, engage in more eye contact, touch the student more, and use a warmer tone of voice, as compared with their approach to students for whom they hold low expectancies.

Again, these behaviors are primarily nonverbal and largely outside the conscious control of the teacher. All teachers will say that they strive to treat their students equally warmly and that it would be unfair to let one's personal liking or disliking for a student affect how the student is treated. However good a teacher's intentions may be, though, the reality is that affect leaks out in nonverbal behavior in subtle ways that affect the recipient of the behavior. Consider, for example, the likely reaction of a student to the words, "What do you want?" said in either a bright, cheerful tone of voice versus a sharp, exasperated tone of voice.

The type of feedback provided students also falls under the affect dimension. Teachers who hold positive expectations of their students tend to praise these students more and criticize them less; there is also evidence that they provide more differentiated feedback (that is, pointing out strengths and weaknesses of the student's performance rather than a vague "good job").

Effort Dimension

The *effort* dimension is the second major category of mediating behaviors. This dimension refers to aspects of teaching behavior that relate to the amount of material taught, as well as response opportunities provided to the student. Specific behaviors falling into this category include difficulty

level of material taught, amount of time spent with student, asking questions of the student, and calling on the student to respond. The sheer amount and difficulty level of the material taught is perhaps the most pernicious mediator of teacher expectancy effects: It doesn't matter how capable a student is; if the teacher does not think he or she is capable of learning material at a given level and as a consequence does not attempt to teach it, the student by necessity will not learn it.

This dynamic is one of the central arguments offered against the practice of tracking by ability levels in school. There is ample evidence that African American students are disproportionately placed in lower tracks and/or special education classes. To the extent that these placements are not warranted by the students' academic aptitude or are prompted by conscious or unconscious bias, the students may find themselves doomed to a cycle wherein they are not taught appropriately challenging material and thus are unable to move out of the lower tracks.

Stereotype Threat and Academic Disengagement

Research on teacher expectancy effects focuses on self-fulfilling prophecies at the interpersonal level: A teacher's expectations, positive or negative, about certain students lead him or her to treat those students differentially. This differential behavior affects the students to result in either heightened or lowered performance. Self-fulfilling prophecies can affect African American students' education in another important way, namely, acting as an *intrapersonal* phenomenon. If students have expectations (either high or low) for their own academic performance that do not correspond with their current abilities, this may affect their motivation and effort to the extent that the expected outcomes (either positive or negative) come to pass.

The possibility of intrapersonal self-fulfilling prophecies has been examined in recent years primarily with respect to the exciting research on *stereotype threat* or *stereotype vulnerability* introduced by Claude Steele. Stereotype threat refers to the psychological threat that is experienced by members of stigmatized groups when they are in a context in which they are aware that others are negatively

stereotyping them. For example, most African Americans are aware of the stereotype held by many people that they are not as intelligent as Whites. Steele argues that being aware of this stereotype produces anxiety in African Americans when placed in academic contexts, such as taking a standardized test of achievement, and that this anxiety can interfere with subsequent performance.

In one of the early demonstrations of this effect, Steele and his colleague, Joshua Aronson, had African American and White students at Stanford University complete a test consisting of difficult items adapted from the Graduate Record Exam (GRE). Prior to taking the test, stereotype threat was manipulated by telling half of the students that the exam was diagnostic of their intellectual ability; the remaining students were told that the exam was merely a problem-solving task designed for the laboratory experiment and was not diagnostic of ability. Analyses of the resulting performance on the test (adjusted for students' Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores indicated that when the test was described as being nondiagnostic, Black and White students scored similarly. However, when the same test was described as being diagnostic of students' intellectual ability, Blacks scored significantly lower than Whites.

Even more compellingly, in a second study, Steele and Aronson had some participants indicate their race prior to taking the test, whereas the other participants did not. When race was primed, again the African Americans scored lower than the Whites, after controlling for SAT scores, whereas no difference was found when race was not primed. The implications of this result are both mind-boggling and profound: Something as trivial as merely checking off the appropriate category on a "race" box can have statistically significant effects on test performance. Yet what is one of the first things that test takers do when taking a standardized test such as the SAT or GRE? Fill out a demographic section asking for information such as race or gender.

In sum, stereotype threat research is critically important for the field of African American education because it provides an alternative explanation to account for the well-documented racial gaps in standardized test performance between African Americans and Whites. In addition to the traditional explanations of this gap, such as teacher bias, poorer quality

schools, or less or poorer preschool preparation, the concept of stereotype threat offers an intrapsychic explanation in which the mechanism for underachievement is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The basic stereotype threat finding is robust and has been replicated across a variety of domains, including gender stereotypes; for example, women who are reminded of the gender gap in performance on mathematics tests do less well on a subsequent math test than women who are not reminded of the gender gap. Subsequent studies have concentrated on identifying the cognitive and behavioral mediators of stereotype threat effects. The primary process appears to be that stereotype threat causes emotional distress and disruptive pressures such as evaluation apprehension, test anxiety, self-consciousness, and distracting thoughts.

Scholars in this area stress an important point: Stereotype threat has adverse effects primarily for those individuals who are identified with the domain being stereotyped. Identification with a domain means that the individual feels that he or she has the abilities, skills, and resources to do well in the domain and in essence "belongs" in the domain. It is thus a sad irony that the people who care most about doing well in a domain will be the ones most threatened by knowledge of cultural stereotypes that suggest that their group underperforms in that domain.

A further troubling implication is that one way to avoid stereotype threat is to become disidentified with the domain, so that one's sense of self is not contingent on doing well in the domain of question. Steele and others argue that this process accounts for a significant portion of academic disengagement seen in African American youth. Of course, this strategy also has self-fulfilling consequences of ensuring that the individual never reaches his or her potential in that domain.

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See also Academic Achievement; Learning Disabilities

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SERRANO V. PRIEST

Serrano v. Priest (1971) is a long-standing challenge to state school finances premised on violations of federal and state equal protection clauses as they relate to schools. At its core was the question of whether the State of California's school funding scheme violated federal and state equal protection clauses because the continuum of school funds available to districts as a result of the state funding formula predicated on local property taxes. Although its authoritative power is confined to California, *Serrano* is a pillar and exemplar in school finance literature because of its illustration of a successful state equal protection challenge.

School finance litigation is core to an understanding of revolutionizing developments in the history of public schools. After *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), school reformers confidently began to address fiscal disparities in federal and state courts based upon equal protection challenges, with hopes of rendering a *Brown*-like verdict. Reformers theorized that wealth disparities among school districts amounted to wealth discrimination that could only be upheld if the government's reasoning for doing so survived a strict scrutiny analysis. This entry describes the sequence of events surrounding the *Serrano* case and discusses the ruling's subsequent influence.

Facts of the Case

The plaintiffs in *Serrano* were schoolchildren enrolled in the Los Angeles County public schools and their parents. They brought a class action suit against state and county school officials responsible for the California public school finance scheme. The plaintiffs claimed to have represented all public

school students in California except those children who experienced the best educational opportunity of all school districts in the state.

The California public school system was primarily financed by local property taxes and then supplemental state funds, which resulted in a variation of funds available to school districts according to the local community in which the school district was located. Essentially, the parents' core argument was that the financial scheme made quality education a function of the wealth of each community, irrespective of the children's educational needs. The state provided a foundation program that resulted in a flat grant per child being given to each district, as well as equalization aid based on district need and supplemental aid to subsidize districts that were willing to increase their local tax base. Nevertheless, a wide continuum still existed in the funding available to school districts.

As such, the plaintiffs argued that the wide discrepancy in the quality and degree of educational resources available to the school districts violated the equal protection clauses of the U.S. Constitution and the California Constitution. Second, the plaintiffs believed the financing scheme forced them to pay higher taxes than other school districts in order for their children to experience equal or lesser educational opportunities than were available to students in the other districts. The plaintiffs' third and final complaint alleged that the dispute challenged the validity and constitutionality of the funding scheme in accordance with the U. S. Constitution and the California Constitution.

The parents, on behalf of their children, sought to have the California public school financing scheme deemed unconstitutional; have school officials reallocate school funds to alleviate the aforementioned concerns; and have the trial court retain jurisdiction of the matter so that it might make the necessary alterations if the defendants and the state legislature did not do so in a reasonable time.

The Court Ruling

Given the aforementioned facts, the Supreme Court of California began its analysis by addressing the appropriate level of scrutiny to be relied upon. In accordance with traditional equal protection clause analysis, a particular level of scrutiny is applied

depending upon the type of discrimination in question. The court determined that the applicable legal standard was that of strict scrutiny. The court considered the issue to be one touching upon a suspect classification because the heart of the matter surrounded plaintiffs' wealth. Like racial classification, wealth classifications are closely examined and generally frowned upon because the government has very few compelling reasons to discriminate based upon such characteristics.

Applying the strict scrutiny standard, the court decided that the school financing structure discriminated on the basis of a district's wealth even though such discrimination was not purposeful. Next, the court decided that education is a fundamental interest given its eminent role in U.S. democratic society. The court's final task was to determine whether such discrimination was necessary to accomplish a compelling interest. The state's interest that was at stake was the state's goal to make local communities responsible for the education of their children. In light of this central goal, the court was not convinced that the existing school funding scheme furthered this interest even if it was a compelling interest.

The court was unwilling to sanction a funding scheme that resulted in a quality education that was positively correlated to wealth of a community. The court believed the state could accomplish its goal of local administration and fiscal control of education in a less discriminatory manner. In addition, ironically, the court thought the adopted financial scheme hindered the state's goal of local fiscal choice, because poor districts had limited choices given the lack of funds accrued from local taxes.

Thus, the California public school funding scheme was found to be in violation of both the U.S. Constitution and the California State Constitution.

Impact of the Case

Shortly after the California Supreme Court's ruling in *Serrano*, the U.S. Supreme Court in *San Antonio School District v. Rodriguez* (1973) rendered an opposite opinion on a parallel question of federal equal protection violations based on wealth discrimination by public schools in Texas. Unlike the California Supreme Court, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hold the government accountable for

the economic variations in school district wealth of the surrounding community. As such, the federal, but not the state, claim that was championed in *Serrano* was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court as the supreme law of the land.

Notwithstanding the federal stance articulated in *Rodriguez*, individual states continued to witness state challenges equivalent to that of *Serrano*. According to the National Access Network as of 2008, only five states—Delaware, Hawaii, Mississippi, Nevada, Utah—had not witnessed school finance litigation. In addition, state challenges have primarily shifted from arguments grounded in state equal protection clauses to whether states are providing a minimally adequate education as mentioned in state constitutional provisions. Adequacy challenges differ from equal protection challenges in that the former focuses on the level of state support given to school districts to provide the basic floor of education in accordance with state constitutional provisions, instead of a discrimination line of reasoning as with equal protection challenges. In South Carolina, for example, a group of poor rural school districts continued the adequacy fight by filing an appeal to *Abbeville v. State* (2005). Several of the school districts represented in the lawsuit are located along the Interstate 95 corridor. This region is often referred to as the "corridor of shame" because of its dilapidated educational conditions.

As public schools continue to weather various "movements" geared toward ensuring that all children are afforded the state defined appropriate education, school finance litigation continues to be a catalyst for change. The *Serrano* opinion ignited a flame that has not dimmed as students and parents from lower-socioeconomic communities continue to fight for funding that ensures that no child is left behind.

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See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Economics of Education

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SINGLETON V. JACKSON MUNICIPAL SEPARATE SCHOOL DISTRICT

In an effort to convert segregated schools in the United States that were part of dual school systems into desegregated ones that were part of unitary systems, the courts encouraged the merger of students, faculty and staff, transportation systems, and even extracurricular activities. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) held that the racial segregation of students was inherently unconstitutional and ordered all public schools to convert to a unitary system with “all deliberate speed.” However, some states remained defiant and refused to comply with the Court’s order. In other states, the attempts to merge schools into a unitary system were not effective when the implementation was resisted and drawn out over many years. This entry describes the back story, the effect and the impact of the Singleton case.

In *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District* (1970), the court recognized that, although previous cases had ordered the abolition of dual educational systems and the creation of unitary ones, the courts had failed to provide the states and school districts with the guidelines needed to fully comply with the law. Hence, the *Singleton* court provided a process plus a target date by which school systems in its circuit should be operating under a unitary system.

The first requirement for creating a unified school system included several preliminary procedures. This included the transfer or reassignment of faculty and staff and the reconstructing of bus routes to remove racial segregation and to maximize student integration within the school system. The school board was further required to make publicly available, upon request, a record of any objective evaluation procedures used to move faculty and students around in

the school district. These procedures were designed to facilitate and make orderly the major challenge of transitioning students into a unitary system.

The *Singleton* case also tied qualification for federal financial assistance to desegregation of faculty and staff. Additionally, a failure to desegregate the school system would result in employment benefits being waived or even dismissal. Connecting faculty desegregation to federal aid meant desegregation was no longer within the state’s discretion or control; the level of desegregation was, rather, a necessary and required step for measuring whether the constitutional rights of African American children had been protected as *Brown v. Board of Education* decreed.

The *Singleton* court laid the groundwork for what is known today as affirmative action. Affirmative action policies have been used in many areas, officially and unofficially. It has benefited people of all races, ethnicities, and national origins in employment opportunities, school admissions, and job promotion opportunities.

Historical Context

In the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously held that the racial segregation of students was inherently unconstitutional because it denied equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Brown*, the Court acknowledged education as the most important function of state and local governments and the very foundation of good citizenship. The Court recognized that the education of Whites was largely in the hands of private groups, while the education of African Americans was almost nonexistent. The Court held that separating of students solely due to race is inherently unequal and may affect the hearts and minds of those deemed excluded by generating feelings of inferiority. Therefore, the Court in *Brown* ruled that segregating students based on race was inherently unconstitutional.

However, even 15 years after the *Brown* decision, public school districts were still operating segregated schools despite the Supreme Court’s mandate to desegregate. Then, the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* (1969) that school districts were required to operate as a unitary school system, effective immediately. Moreover, the decision in *Alexander* precluded, as

impermissible, any additional delay in implementing a unitary system. The conversion to a unitary system was required to take place no later than December 31, 1969. The decision in *Alexander* supervened all existing authority to the contrary.

Although *Alexander* provided school districts with a deadline for the conversion to unitary systems and mandated expediency, the court failed to identify the process to be used to accomplish this complex transformative objective. This was a major oversight given the resistance it engendered. However, *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District* did provide a process.

Facts of the Case

The appeals court, in *Singleton*, had already heard 13 cases from various school districts in the Fifth Circuit when the *Alexander* case ruling came from the Supreme Court establishing guiding precedent for desegregation cases. The *Singleton* court considered all 13 cases anew. It subsequently concluded that because there were no plans in place to merge the segregated schools it would be difficult to achieve a unitary system before fall of 1970, as *Alexander* required. So, although the appeals court extended the deadline set forth in *Alexander* to a later date, it still required the school districts to use specific processes to expedite the implementation of a unitary system. First, the school district would set forth all the prerequisites necessary to convert to a unitary system by February 1, 1970. Second, the merger of segregated student populations into one student population had to be done before the 1970 fall term.

The first step required a redistribution of faculty and staff members, so that the ratio of African American to White teachers and staff members in each school remained consistent with the ratio of African American to White teachers and staff in the entire school system. This redistribution was necessary in order to prevent any school being viewed as strictly for Black students or White students. To the extent necessary to facilitate this merger and achieve desegregation, teachers and staff were required to accept new assignments as a condition of continued employment. Furthermore, staff members and administrators who worked directly with children were to be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, and dismissed without regard to race, color, or national origin. The dismissal or demotion

of any staff member required their resulting vacancy to be filled by a person of the same race, color, or national origin. *Singleton* also required, as mentioned earlier, open records concerning the school board's standards and criteria used in the hiring, demotion, or dismissal of any faculty. The *Singleton* ratio was to become the standard used to measure the extent of faculty desegregation.

Additionally, *Singleton* implemented student transfer policies that would permit a student attending a school where his or her race was in the majority to transfer to a school where his or her race was in the minority if space was available. The *Singleton* court also mandated that the school district's transportation system be completely and regularly reexamined to ensure it was operating in a nondiscriminatory basis. And, finally, school construction sites were also to be reviewed regularly to ensure reemergence of the dual school structure did not occur.

Singleton's order to desegregate immediately by fall 1970 necessitated a timeline being established and followed closely. It ordered the school districts to file desegregation plans with their district courts by January 6, 1970, and gave the district courts until February 1, 1970, to enter a final order. If a school district did not submit a plan or submitted an unsatisfactory plan, the district court was then authorized to design a plan consistent with the requirements set forth by *Singleton*.

Once all procedural matters were established, the *Singleton* court applied the foregoing requirements to each of the 13 cases that had been consolidated in the appeal. All 13 cases were reversed and remanded, requiring full compliance with *Alexander*. Assigning students to schools on the basis of achievement test scores could not be employed in any event until unitary school systems had been established. In *United States v. Matthews* (1970), a unitary plan was approved by the district court and appeared to be realistic and workable. Although the desegregation plan was approved and implemented, it did not produce a unitary system. A system operating on a freedom of choice plan produced impressive results but fell short of establishing a unitary system.

Impact of the Ruling

The *Singleton* decision accomplished the desegregation plan proposed in *Brown*: compelling school

districts to take immediate steps to desegregate the school systems. After *Singleton*, school districts were no longer able to delay the implementation of unitary systems through inadequate or modified plans. They had to follow the law.

Although the *Singleton* order to immediately implement unitary systems was slated to be successful, the court recognized that such an order would be disruptive. In their view, it would likely reduce total school personnel because it would eliminate duplicative jobs and cause some school faculty to refuse reassignment to a new school or to refuse to travel the new distance to work. The court's protection plan to help school districts cope with such consequences yielded the "*Singleton* rights," which did help mitigate some problems.

Singleton rights were like affirmative action policies; they sought to minimize a hardship not directly the fault of the victims. They were preferences, or "recall rights," in favor of those teachers and staff members who inevitably would be displaced because of the court order. *Singleton* rights served as a remedy only for teachers who were dismissed during a desegregation process. Thus, teachers and staff members could no longer seek protection under the *Singleton* rights if the school had already achieved a unitary system. Additionally, *Singleton* rights applied as a remedy only if job loss resulted from desegregation policies. It did not apply when poor performance in the classroom, lack of professional credentials, and/or a failure to abide by school regulations caused job loss. Because the desegregation plan established by *Singleton* was adapted by several school districts, the *Singleton* rights covered many displaced staff members in schools that were desegregated.

There were problems with the *Singleton* rights. Even 15 years after *Singleton* was decided, there was uncertainty as to the level of protections afforded to displaced teachers and staff members. While some courts limited the application of *Singleton* rights to cases in which desegregation directly led to a reduction of school staff members, other courts did not. In fact, some courts actually applied *Singleton* rights as though they were legal rights, not linked to a desegregation order. Compare *Campbell v. Gadsden County District School Board* (1976), which implicitly limited *Singleton* rights to court-ordered desegregation, to *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education* (1971), which

held that *Singleton* rights embody a core of substantive rights that, unlike its procedural aspects, may attach retroactively. In *Hardy v. Porter* (1977), it was ruled that *Singleton* entitlements are not constitutional rights.

Later, several cases following *Singleton* addressed deficiencies in its holding. For example, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, a metropolitan school district in the city of Louisville, *Singleton* was interpreted to require the district's schools to each maintain a percentage of minority faculty members between 7% and 22%. This percentage would be a part of the minority composition of the total teaching force at the elementary, middle, and high school levels in the district. Thus, faculty diversity across Jefferson County was realized, although not limited to its previous allocation of 84% White teachers. Soon, however, other problems associated with *Singleton* became apparent.

Urban school populations became increasingly African American. White populations were fleeing to suburban areas in order to resist desegregation plans. The Louisville urban schools in Jefferson County answered this challenge by proposing a consolidation of county schools. Suburban Jefferson County schools on the other hand, opposed this consolidation of schools. In another effort to address urban residential segregation and its impact on desegregation efforts, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Carter v. West Feliciana Parish School Board* (1970) that the *Singleton* ratio could be modified if the district used a non-discriminatory, objective and meritorious standards in selecting faculty.

In *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education* (1970), the court required school authorities to make equitable distributions of teachers and staff members based on the individual's experience and training. The *Spangler* court held that the existing system violated the equal protection clause because it assigned teachers with less experience and training to schools with predominantly African American enrollments. Further, in *Johnson v. San Francisco Unified School District* (1971), the court held that the full benefits of desegregation cannot be achieved merely through "meeting of arithmetical percentages on racial balance."

In short, *Brown*, *Singleton*, and their progeny did not address de facto segregation but only de jure segregation. De facto segregation was not addressed

until 1973 in *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado* (1973), in which the court recognized the need for a systemwide remedy that would address desegregation both in the North and South as well as in urban, suburban, and rural districts. In *Keyes*, Justice William O. Douglas saw no constitutional difference between de jure segregation and de facto segregation, “for each is the product of state actions or policies” (p. 216), as segregated schools often result from the actions and/or omissions of school boards or administrations and not through legislative decree. The court held as follows:

Where the school district is racially mixed and the races are segregated in separate schools, where black teachers are assigned almost exclusively to black schools, where the school board closed existing schools located in fringe areas and built new schools in black areas and in distant white areas, where the school board continued the “neighborhood” school policy at the elementary level, these actions constitute state action. (p. 216)

What is known today as affirmative action has been used as an additional method of redressing discrimination that has persisted in spite of civil rights laws and constitutional guarantees. It is really active measures taken to ensure that victims, in this discussion African Americans and other minorities, enjoy the same opportunities that they were unconstitutionally denied. Affirmative action policies apply to employment hiring (including veteran preferences), salary increases, school admissions, scholarships, and other benefits. With respect to African Americans and other minorities affirmative action encourages public institutions such as universities, hospitals, and government agencies to maximize diversity in all levels of society, as well as to redress the oppression and legacy of oppression minorities have suffered from de jure and de facto discrimination. Although affirmative action has been both praised and criticized as an answer to racial inequality, the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the legality of affirmative action. Indeed, despite progress in eliminating de jure segregation, racial discrimination in the hiring, and dismissal of faculty and staff within public school systems still exists.

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See also Affirmative Action; *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; White Flight

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SLATER FUND

The Slater Fund was established by John Fox Slater, aiming to achieve the “uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education.” Although it was dedicated solely to the education of African Americans, the agents and trustees of the Slater Fund were part of an interlocking directorate of White architects of African American education who assumed leadership positions in the Jeanes Fund, the Phelps Stokes Fund, the Peabody Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and other major entities influencing African American education. They favored an industrial model of education, training African Americans for work in the trades, and a focus on religious principals.

Some attribute the establishment of hundreds of public schools and advances in literacy among southern African Americans from the 1890s to 1930 directly to the Slater Fund. Critics argue that the Fund philosophically and financially supported segregated schools where African Americans would learn only industrial and domestic skills. Still others lament that the Fund contributed mightily to a colonial model of African American education. This entry examines the history of the fund and assesses its impact.

Historical Context

Following the Civil War, the 17 defeated southern states that practiced enslavement were unable to properly fund public education and unwilling to fund African American education. Newly emergent northern corporate philanthropies committed finances to this end.

Millionaire textile manufacturer, commodities trader and financier George Peabody advanced industrial philanthropy in the mid 19th century. Jointly residing in the United States and England, Peabody’s earliest “gift giving” was directed to housing paupers in London. In 1867 he established the Peabody Educational Fund to assist educating the poor in the southern states. The Peabody Fund articulated a rationale, provided a model and trained leaders for educational philanthropy.

An advocate of industrial training for African American people, John Fox Slater of Norwich, Connecticut established his philanthropic foundation in 1882. Inspired by the Peabody model, the agency was chartered in the state of New York with an initial gift of \$1 million. Unlike Peabody and other education foundations, Slater money was aimed at African Americans exclusively.

Powerful political and educational leaders were chosen to lead the effort. Former President Rutherford B. Hayes chaired the initial governing body. Early trustees included Morris K. Jessup, a New York banker and benefactor to George Washington Carver; Daniel Coit Gilman, well-known educator and former president of Johns Hopkins University; William Slater, John’s son; Atticus G. Haygood, a Methodist minister and president of Emory University; Wallace Buttrick, a minister active in the charity movement; and Dr. James H. Dillard, an educator and college president.

Implementation

The Slater Fund’s first two general agents, Atticus G. Haygood, who served from 1882 to 1891, and J. L. M. Curry, 1891–1903, greatly influenced the racial views, political philosophy, and activities of the organization. The third general agent, Wallace Buttrick, 1902–1910, maintained Curry’s policies. The fourth general agent, James H. Dillard, 1910–1940, shifted the focus of the fund.

Haygood was a strong advocate of industrial training for African Americans. He believed African American men should be trained in farming, blacksmithing, tanning, carpentry, and brick masonry. Like other architects of African American education, he supported a curriculum for moral uplift. For Haygood, Bible study should be at the heart of character building. During the Haygood years \$322,000 was gifted. Of that amount, more than 90% went to private institutions with the remainder going to public schools.

Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry brought a lengthy resume to Slater. Reared in the Deep South and Harvard educated, Curry served in the Alabama State Legislature, U.S. Congress, and the Confederate Congress. Along the way he became an attorney, ordained minister, military officer, ambassador to Spain, and college professor. An arch-segregationist and staunch secessionist, Curry made his mark on

the old South as an accomplished orator, defender of enslavement, and indefatigable advocate for states' rights. Having previously served as general agent for the Peabody Fund, Curry further shaped Slater.

While Curry shared Haygood's educational and racial views, they differed in emphasis. Haygood wanted to train ministers to spread the philosophy; thus, he provided large financial allocations to churches. Curry believed the training of teachers was more effective. During Haygood's administration, 62.4% of the disbursements went to assorted colleges and universities, 9% explicitly to Hampton and Tuskegee, and 21.4% went to private secondary schools. In the Curry years, 51.5% of disbursements went to colleges, 36.7% went to Hampton and Tuskegee, and only 1.0% went to private secondary schools.

Wallace Buttrick acted as a caretaker general agent. He continued Curry's general direction. During his stewardship, 41% of the total disbursements went to colleges and universities, 35% to Hampton and Tuskegee, and 7.7% to private schools.

James H. Dillard gradually deemphasized distributions to Black colleges and universities in favor of assistance to the newly conceived county training schools. From 1910 to 1912, \$2,000 was distributed to county training schools. By 1930, that amount reached \$386,000.

By the late 1930s, the Slater Fund joined assorted philanthropies in the formation of the Southern Education Fund. Its legacy has been interpreted, applauded, and critiqued.

Historical Impact

Several observations can be made about the historical role of the Slater Fund. Beyond "gift giving" to African American educational projects, it was a political entity. The fund engaged and employed the political community, fostered notions of power, embraced racial views and participated in reshaping a divided country. This agency helped shape the new South, wherein planter power gave way to northern industrial hegemony. The South was reconfigured as the formerly enslaved African-descended population was elevated to semi-citizenship. Fitting the African Americans into a space and place was a clever bit of social engineering helping to stabilize the region.

Equally important, the fund, an early philanthropy, demonstrated the unlimited possibilities for private money to shape public policy. With the blessing of its financiers, a business foundation could enact or eliminate projects without any democratic deliberations. They could in fact become quasi-lawmaking bodies. Today's foundations possess enormous power as individuals move easily between jobs in large philanthropies and the government bureaucracy.

Finally, the Slater Fund, alongside other major philanthropies, mostly excluded African American voices. With few exceptions, neither African American agents nor African Americans were invited to help shape policy for African American education.

William H. Watkins

See also Anna T. Jeanes Foundation; Industrial Education; Phelps Stokes Fund; Rosenwald Fund; Tuskegee University

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SLAVE NARRATIVES

Slave narratives form a literary genre comprised of autobiographical and biographical accounts about enslavement, written or narrated by fugitive or formerly enslaved persons. The largest body of slave narratives originated from enslaved Africans who were forcibly removed from Africa and transported to Europe, the Americas, and the Caribbean

during the transatlantic slave trade. There are more than 6,000 slave narratives and more than 200 books that illuminate their life histories during the 18th and 19th centuries.

During the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Writer's Project gathered personal oral narratives from 2,500 formerly enslaved Africans. Among former nations that enslaved people, the largest corpus of slave narratives is in the United States. Slave narratives date as early as the 1700s and as late as the 1940s; however, related genres include captivity narratives of contemporary enslavement and neoslave narratives, in which authors, including Margaret Walker, William Styron, Toni Morrison, and Octavia E. Butler, have written from the perspective of enslaved Africans.

Reviewing the Literature

Included in the genre of slave narratives are texts ranging from letters and pamphlets to full-length books. Testimonies about life during enslavement are also found in abolitionist newspapers, diaries, legal records, and church records. Also, related to the genre of slave narratives are recent initiatives by the Slave Route Project of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to document oral narratives about the history of the participation of West African countries, namely Nigeria, Ghana, and Benin, in the trade of enslaved people. This entry attends to major themes and implications of slave narratives in North America, the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom.

Slave narratives have been widely studied by scholars of history and literature and are understood as critical to illuminating everyday lived experiences of enslavement. While most disciplines focus on macrolevel analyses of enslavement, slave narratives portray intimate reflections of lived experiences, identity, and self under the institution of enslavement. Slave narratives are also widely understood as foundational to the genres of autobiography and fiction in the United States.

During enslavement, most of the U.S. South posed brutal and legal consequences for enslaved Africans caught reading and writing or for anyone who may have taught them. Some enslaved Africans acquired skills in reading and writing and began to document their personal experiences, and in doing

so acted as agents in the formation of their own self-identity and authority. These testimonies as acts of social and political resistance inspired the literary tradition of the slave narrative. Given the history of subjugation and domination of African-descended populations by Europeans in the United States, these narratives provide key insight into daily interactions between African Americans as subordinates and Whites as superordinates from enslavement through Emancipation. The earliest slave narratives written during the 1700s provide accounts of life and enslavement in Africa, the Middle Passage, arrival in Europe or the Americas, and experiences of religious conversion to Christianity. Examples of narratives written in this era include those authored by Olaudah Equiano and Venture Smith.

Slave narratives authored in the 1800s often described conditions of daily plantation life, including experiences related to labor, family, religion, punishment, and physical, psychological, and oral acts of individual and collective resistance in the quest for freedom, including learning to read and write. These narratives became instrumental in the abolitionist movement to challenge the racially hierarchical and oppressive system of enslavement. Authors from this critical era of slave narrative production include William Grimes, Mary Prince, Josiah Henson, Jacob Stroyer, Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner, Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown, Harriet Jacobs, Henry "Box" Brown, and Harriet Tubman. Antebellum and post-Emancipation slave narratives describe daily life under the institution of enslavement and after Emancipation, often in southern states, though some narratives provide accounts of flight to northern states and Canada. Examples of these narratives include those by Lucy Delaney, Louis Hughes, Fredrick Douglass, and Booker T. Washington.

Implications for African American Education

From elementary through graduate education, slave narratives provide a useful tool for teaching about individual and collective experiences during enslavement in many social scientific and humanities disciplines including literature, history, African American studies, sociology, anthropology, and family studies. By privileging the autographical voice, these personal testimonies add to the historical

record, a critical component of truth based upon lived experiences. These documents are also helpful for teaching students about geography, sex and gender issues, childhood, the economic and cultural influences on the trade of people and enslavement. Slave narratives provide documentation of the earliest record of activities and aspirations relative to education and detail the earliest personal, sociological, and cultural influences on literacy development in the United States. Slave narratives are a unique tool for teaching the craft of autobiography and the novel. In addition, the portraiture and visual records that accompany the written text of some slave narratives provide insight into representations of self, geography, and movement across space.

Classroom discussions, museum visits, field trips, reviews of historical documents and recordings are representative of pedagogical tools useful for including slave narratives in instruction. Since the 1990s, the applications of curriculum development incorporating slave narratives into educational processes have been greatly enhanced by advances in technology and increased availability of digitized online resources, resulting in wider access to major collections of slave narratives through national and university libraries. The Library of Congress's *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936–1938*, contains more than 2,300 first-person accounts of enslavement and 500 black-and-white photographs. The availability and accessibility of digital and archival collections and other resources, including recordings, create opportunities to enhance instruction about this important period in U.S. and world history. Understanding generated through study of slave narratives may contribute to restorative justice and reconciliation efforts.

Tracy R. Rone

See also Ebonics; Literacy; Washington, Booker T.

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SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

Socioeconomic status (SES) is a concept that is understood and utilized well beyond the scope of African American education; however, given the sociopolitical context of American history, SES has a unique and distinct relationship with the progress and position of African Americans in education. This entry describes and illustrates the connections between SES and African American education in four sections: defining and describing SES, the historical context of SES and African American education, the status of African American education and SES, and summary of SES and African American education.

Defining and Describing SES

SES is most often characterized as the hierarchical rank of an individual or family in a particular community or society. SES spreads across a continuum stratified by social and economic resources. The social indicators of SES negotiate status within society and include intangible characteristics such as educational attainment, occupational prestige, authority, group associations, place of residence, and community standing. Some primary economic indicators of SES are tangible assets and include money, wealth, home ownership, pension plans, and property ownership.

A measure of students' SES relies heavily—and oftentimes exclusively—on the SES of their parents. More specifically, students and their families are generally classified into high, middle, and low SES based on a standardized composite index score of their parents' education level, occupation, income, wealth, and collection of household items that hold value. The terms “high SES,” “middle SES,” and “low SES,” respectively, refer to the upper, middle two, and lower quartiles of the composite index score distribution. While occupation type has remained rather stable over time in measures of

SES, income has continually needed to adjust to control for annual increases of inflation each year.

Decades of research have shown SES to be consistently and significantly correlated with occupational attainment, health status, and social capital. The study of SES is most prominent in sociology, which broadly and most often examines relationships between social and economic class and educational inequality, health, residential segregation, and race. Furthermore, social science researchers in general have used SES as a construct to disaggregate inequalities across racial and ethnic groups.

The Historical Context of SES and African American Education

The earliest measures of SES in the United States were constructed in the 1940s and relied solely on community reputation—that is, the social standing of an individual or family as judged by other members of a particular community or society at large. Community reputation was used to delineate upper-, middle-, and lower-class levels. While three (or in many cases four) levels of SES exist, the boundaries among levels have been often determined arbitrarily. Consequently, there has been no widely accepted and utilized theoretical cutting point for each SES level.

Cecil North and Paul Hatt were among the first researchers to study occupational prestige among American citizens. The level of prestige across employment was determined by studying respondents' identification of approximately 100 different occupations. Since the mid- to late 1960s, the work of Otis Dudley Duncan and Peter Blau has been the most prominent and comprehensive scholarship on SES. Duncan and Blau's seminal work was based on quantitative analyses of the first national survey on social mobility in the United States. Their findings indicate that parents transmit their social standing to their children, especially in regard to educational status. Additional research has expanded this work to illustrate that such transmissions sustain gaps in educational outcomes between Whites and African Americans. Researchers have begun to use a variety of measures to determine SES. While there is no general consensus about the single most appropriate way to measure SES, researchers generally agree that multiple measures of SES more accurately depict

and predict the SES of individuals and families in the United States.

Given the historical context under which Blacks were brought to and subsequently treated in the United States, African Americans have scored significantly and consistently lower on socioeconomic index (SEI) measures than their White counterparts. Beginning in the 1600s, Africans were legally sold to North American colonies and purposefully denied access to educational tools and environments. This allowed slaveholders to continually exploit Blacks for hundreds of years. As such, from the early 1600s to the 1860s, African Americans were situated in the bottom quartile of SES and were largely uneducated.

From the 1860s to the 1960s, increases in African American SES occurred but were terribly slow given legalized segregation and unequal access to educational institutions and resources. The adverse social conditions faced by African Americans created opportunities for Whites to accumulate wealth much longer than Blacks. As a consequence, there has been a persistent wealth gap between Whites and Blacks in the United States. Since wealth is cumulative and passed down from generation to generation, the gap only continues to expand, making it nearly impossible for Black families to approach equal levels of wealth with Whites.

Eventually, legal cases (for example, *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, 1954) and social policies (for example, Civil Rights Act of 1964) created conditions and opportunities for Blacks to increase their social and economic status in American society, particularly through interventions that mandated equal access to education. In the 1960s, only a small proportion of African Americans obtained improved employment opportunities and increased access to quality education systems that placed them in middle or high SES. However, in general, the relationship between SES and African Americans in education was inextricably linked to one another with the majority of Blacks situated in the bottom-SES quartile.

In the 1970s, however, desegregation became widespread and a larger proportion of African Americans were afforded opportunities to attend higher-quality, better-resourced schools that were similar to those of their White peers. Notwithstanding improved educational conditions, increases in SES have perpetuated slowly across

family generations. As such, progress has been unsatisfactory given that large gaps in educational outcomes remain between African Americans and their White counterparts.

The Status of African American Education and SES

Table 1 provides data from the National Center for Education Statistics on the percentage of Black, White, Asian, and Hispanic high school seniors in each SES quartile. Between 1972 and 2004, African Americans have made the largest gains in the proportion of high school seniors situated in the highest-SES quartile, increasing from approximately 5% to 14%, respectively. Accordingly, African Americans have experienced the largest decrease in high school seniors in the lowest-SES quartile, dropping roughly 26% over the same period.

However, in 2004, African American high school seniors were more than 20% more likely to be situated in the lowest-SES quartile when compared to their White counterparts. In addition, White and Asian high school seniors were more than twice as likely as African Americans (31% respectively, compared to just 14%) to be situated in the highest-SES quartile that same year.

Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education

Low SES

While African Americans have experienced enormous SES growth over the past five decades, the historical context under which Blacks were enslaved and uneducated has had significant, long-standing effects on African American education. Consequently, Black families and their children are more likely to experience poverty, reside in low-income neighborhoods, and hold fewer postsecondary credentials than do White families and children. Furthermore, research has shown that the number of parents in a family household is closely related to indicators of SES, and Black youth are substantially less likely to live with both parents than their White counterparts. These household structures have adversely influenced African American education.

African American households disproportionately lack basic necessities. This imbalance requires

Black parents from low-SES situations to place top priority on housing, food, clothing, and health care, which places education training as a secondary priority. African American families with low SES often lack the financial, social, and educational supports that enable Black families from high-SES situations to help their children prepare for early childhood education. African American families from low-SES backgrounds also have inadequate or limited access to community resources that promote and support their children's development and school readiness. Furthermore, African American parents from low-SES backgrounds may have inadequate skills to engage their children in reading and writing activities. As a result, children from low-SES families are more likely to enter kindergarten with significantly less implicit knowledge of books than children from high-SES backgrounds. In general, children from families with low SES are at greater risk of entering kindergarten underprepared and experiencing school failure as compared to their peers from families with middle or high SES.

School choice is another variable that distinguishes the experiences and outcomes of African American students across SES quartiles. African American students from lower-SES backgrounds disproportionately reside in low-income districts and have less access to schools with good resources. Research has shown that African American students from low-SES backgrounds are more likely to be assigned to schools, as opposed to African American students from high-SES backgrounds where their parents are more likely to self-select their schools.

African American students placed in low-income schools with poor resources must generally learn in educational systems that employ unprepared teachers who have basic or minimal teaching credentials. Moreover, low-income school districts experience greater teacher turnover and offer less professional development opportunities for teachers to remain abreast of current knowledge related to teacher pedagogy. African American students from low-SES backgrounds typically must learn in larger class sizes, which may foster increased academic disengagement.

High SES

Conversely, parents who experience higher-SES situations are able to provide their children with

Table 1 Percentage of High School Seniors in Socioeconomic (SES) Quartiles, by Race/Ethnicity: 1972, 1980, 1992, and 2004

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Year</i>			
	<i>1972</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>2004</i>
Asian	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest-SES quartile	25.4	21.2	23.3	27.5
Middle-two SES quartiles	51.5	46.4	43.3	41.6
Highest-SES quartile	23.1	32.4	33.4	30.9
Black	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest-SES quartile	62.8	55.8	42.2	37.1
Middle-two SES quartiles	31.9	35.8	47.3	49.4
Highest-SES quartile	5.2	8.5	10.5	13.5
Hispanic	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest-SES quartile	61.2	51.9	49.4	50.5
Middle-two SES quartiles	31.6	37.8	35.6	39.4
Highest SES quartile	7.2	10.2	15.0	10.1
White	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest-SES quartile	18.5	21.4	18.3	16.4
Middle-two SES quartiles	54.1	50.8	51.9	52.7
Highest-SES quartile	27.4	27.8	29.8	30.9
More than one race	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lowest-SES quartile	—	—	—	26.1
Middle-two SES quartiles	—	—	—	52.7
Highest-SES quartile	—	—	—	21.2

Source: National Center for Education Statistics. (2008). *Trends Among High School Seniors: 1972–2004*. Washington, DC: Author.

Note: Detail may not sum to totals due to rounding.

— = Not available.

high-quality child care, books, and toys that promote learning at home. Moreover, parents from higher-SES backgrounds have increased access to information and resources concerning their children's health, as well as social, emotional, and cognitive development. Lastly, families with high-SES backgrounds often have more time, social networks, and familial support to seek out information to help their children prepare for school.

Given that African American students from middle- and high-SES backgrounds are better

equipped for school, they are more likely to perform well academically and attend schools with sound resources and qualified teachers. In general, the outcomes of African American students tend to be better than their lower-SES peers given the increased access to social and economic resources.

Causes

While the African American students from high-SES backgrounds tend to outperform their low-SES

peers, Whites and Asians outperform African Americans in most academic indicators, such as standardized testing measures in critical subject areas (for example, math, reading, writing, and science) even after controlling for SES. The differences in experiences and performance between Blacks and Whites are due to the social conditions that plague African Americans in education. The dimensions of SES—parental education, income, occupation, place of residence—cannot resolve the adverse experiences African American students encounter in educational settings. As schools have become integrated in many districts, particularly during the past four decades, institutionalized and systemic racism still plague African Americans in education across all SES groups. Other constructs, such as “acting White” and “stereotype threat” posit that the social conditions under which Blacks are educated perpetuates underperformance.

Cures

While many educational environments in both low- and high-SES school districts negatively impact African American education, research has illustrated that certain conditions foster effective schooling on the secondary level. In particular, regardless of SES background, culturally relevant pedagogy, high expectations, supportive school climate, and parental involvement and support have all shown to increase academic outcomes of African American students.

Postsecondary Education

Postsecondary education is valued highly by American society. As such, attaining a postsecondary degree is a primary classifier of SES. The receipt of a postsecondary degree generally comes with increased opportunities for income and job security.

SES has a strong influence on the value and ability to access and succeed in higher education. Students from higher-SES backgrounds attend postsecondary education at much higher rates than do their lower-SES peers. One of the primary barriers that prevent African Americans and other racial-ethnic groups from low-SES backgrounds from attending postsecondary education is the cost of college. The shift from grants to loans during the

past two decades has “priced out” many low- and middle-SES African Americans from applying and enrolling in higher education. In addition, SES strongly influences African American student perspectives on the value and attainability of higher education. The probability of students attending schools of higher education is more likely for students from higher-SES backgrounds.

African American students from low-SES backgrounds are more likely to attend public institutions, community colleges, and historically Black colleges and universities compared to their higher-SES peers. Many low-SES students are also the first in their immediate families to pursue postsecondary education. With less education and income, African American students from low-SES backgrounds have fewer institutional choices from which to select.

African Americans from low-SES backgrounds are much less likely to persist toward postsecondary degree completion once enrolled. Academic, social, and cultural barriers collectively influence African American college student attrition, especially those from low-SES backgrounds. Research has shown that African American students from low-SES backgrounds have less contact with faculty, study less, are less engaged in campus activities, work more, and have lower grades than do their high-SES peers. Last, African American college graduates from low-SES backgrounds are less likely to attend graduate school than are their high-SES counterparts.

In sum, SES plays a critical role in African American education—both historically and currently. Policies, programs, and practices that decrease inequities between African American students across all SES quartiles and, more broadly, across all races and ethnicities are needed to improve the experiences and outcomes of African American students at every stage in the educational pipeline. SES will continue to stand as a defining factor of access to and success in education for African Americans.

Ryan J. Davis

See also Academic Achievement; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Culturally Appropriate Curriculum/Education; Desegregation; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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SORORITIES

See Greek Letter Organizations

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools was founded three decades after the Civil War to provide consistent and higher academic standards among the most prominent White southern colleges and universities, where funding and educational quality had not recovered from the war. In the 1930s, Black colleges asked the association to visit and evaluate their programs and provide an approved list that would facilitate students' applications for graduate and professional schools. This separate evaluation continued until 1961,

when Black colleges were absorbed in the larger association. This entry provides an overview of the association and then looks more closely at its relationship with Black schools.

Historical Background

The March 26, 1895, minutes of the Vanderbilt University faculty indicate that the Civil War had left the South both economically disorganized and educationally unsatisfactory. Southern colleges, which had previously been exemplary, were decimated by the war. Despite the beginnings of an economic and human resources recovery process in the 1880s and early 1890s, the Vanderbilt faculty described the educational picture as “tragic, chaotic, and almost hopeless.”

Vanderbilt Chancellor James Hampton Kirkland, an outstanding educational leader, organized the first meeting of the Southern Association in Atlanta on November 6, 1895. He became the first secretary of the association and served in that capacity from 1895 to 1908. He considered membership by his colleagues to be not an honor but an obligation. The goal was to establish nonprescriptive principles that enjoyed unanimous consensus and were as few and as general as possible.

Kirkland is considered to be father, prophet, and founder of the Southern Association. The first president of the association was President George T. Winston of the University of North Carolina. The six charter institutions were Vanderbilt, the University of North Carolina, the University of the South, the University of Mississippi, Washington and Lee College, and Trinity College (now Duke University).

Article I of the association's constitution indicates that the purpose of the association is to maintain high standards by considering college admission requirements and quality curriculum of preparatory schools. Bylaw No. 6 states that for junior colleges to be admitted, college work must be a significant part of their curriculum. Following adoption of a constitution and bylaws, the first academic resolution was the belief that inclusion of 4 years of Latin and 2 years of Greek was in the best interest of public high schools.

In 1912, the association established a Commission on Secondary Schools, which had a threefold purpose: (1) organizing the southern schools,

(2) raising standards and establishing uniform entrance requirements, and (3) separating preparatory schools from colleges. The Commission on Higher Education was organized in 1917 with 55 initial members—5 from each of the 11 member states.

In 1931, the membership of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States voted to change its name to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Status of Black Colleges

College authorities observed that in 1895, higher education for southern White colleges was chaotic, as a consequence of economic decline following emancipation. They concluded that the situation for African Americans, having been emancipated just 30 years earlier, was even more chaotic. At the same time, association records acknowledged that because of generous contributions from churches and foundations, some African American schools were doing better financially than were their White peers. Dillard of New Orleans is mentioned specifically.

Atlanta and Nashville schools were also cited as being exemplary, including Spelman, Morehouse, and Morris Brown. In Birmingham, Parker High School was the “largest high school for African Americans in the world.” It had been built during the height of the Ku Klux Klan movement in spite of threats to the Birmingham Board of Education.

Leaders of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States had such “tremendous problems of their own that it did not occur to them to meddle in the affairs of their African American neighbors.”

Minutes of the commission’s 1920 report indicate that northern colleges had requested a list of the best African American schools, and the commission recommended that a supplementary list be prepared and published separately.

An Invitation to Evaluate

In 1928, President Thomas E. Jones of Fisk University approached the association as a representative of the Southern Association of African American Colleges to request leadership and experience of the association in formulating and implementing standards for African American schools. Jones made it clear that he

was not advocating that a joint meeting be held. The executive committee of the association extended their cordial cooperation. After a year’s delay, the association appointed a three-person team of members who were advocates of African American education to serve as a special committee on African American schools. The members represented the Meridian, Mississippi, School District; Emory University; and the North Carolina State Department of Education.

The 1930 proceedings indicated that the association approved \$35,000 for the inspection of African American schools. Arthur D. Wright of Dartmouth University, a William and Mary alumnus who previously had been supervisor of African American Rural Schools in Virginia, was appointed executive agent of the special committee.

In the summer of 1930, higher-education institutions for African Americans received letters explaining the committee’s purpose and inviting those who desired a review to request it. The response was overwhelming, as 60 of the 85 African American postsecondary schools requested reviews. Because the executive agent was unable to visit 60 institutions between September and December of 1930, an arbitrary list of 15 institutions was selected for review based on the view that they were most likely to meet the association standards.

The executive agent was able to visit nine institutions: Fisk University, Morehouse College, Johnson C. Smith University, Shaw University, Spelman College, Talladega College, Virginia State College, Virginia Union University, and Winston Salem Teacher’s College. Only Fisk was designated as a “Class A” institution, meaning it was in compliance with all association standards for higher-education institutions. The association set up a “Class B” category for six institutions that were in partial or noncompliance with one or more standards, but the overall quality of the institution warranted recognition as a baccalaureate degree-granting institution. These schools were Johnson C. Smith University, Morehouse College, Spelman College, Talladega College, Virginia State College, and Virginia Union University.

Table 1 shows the number of African American schools by class and by state that were approved by 1939. Association approval is significant because graduates of approved schools are generally considered for admission to graduate and professional schools.

Table I Number of Negro Schools by Class and by State That Were Approved by 1939

State	Class A 4-Yr Colleges	Class B 4-Yr Colleges	Class A Jr. Colleges	Class B Jr. Colleges	Secondary Schools
Alabama	2	1	1	2	6
Florida	1	0	1	1	5
Georgia	5	3	0	0	13
Kentucky	2	0	0	0	13
Louisiana	3	0	0	0	4
Mississippi	0	2	0	1	4
North Carolina	6	4	1	0	22
South Carolina	1	1	0	1	6
Tennessee	2	2	0	0	4
Texas	3	3	0	0	15
Virginia	3	0	1	0	14
Totals	28	16	4	5	106

Source: Snively, Guy E., *A Short History of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools*. Durham, NC, Association of American Colleges, 1945, p. 68.

Annual meetings of the association were suspended from 1942 to 1945 because of World War II, but the executive committee continued to meet; and it approved the establishment of a Committee on African American Schools. In 1961, the separate listing of approved African American colleges was discontinued, and the 67 qualified African American colleges were absorbed into the association's general membership list.

Vicki Vernon Lott

See also Fisk University; Morehouse College; Spelman College

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SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

Southern University, one of the largest historically Black universities in the United States, began admitting students in 1880. The university has played a major role in the education of African Americans. Today, its graduates live across the United States; many of them are leaders in their fields and have made significant contributions to the uplift of African Americans. From schools of law, education, nursing, engineering, science and mathematics, medicine, theology, and technology to its record in athletics, Southern University has built an institution that has served African Americans well.

Now a system with campuses in Baton Rouge, Shreveport, and New Orleans, the university offers 86 baccalaureate programs, 23 associate degree programs, 26 master's programs, 1 postmaster's program, and 5 doctoral programs. Although its New Orleans campus was destroyed in Hurricane Katrina, Southern University is poised to be one of the leading

universities in the state of Louisiana, the nation, and the world. This entry looks at its history and then briefly summarizes the university's present outlook.

Southern University and A & M College (SUBR), the Baton-Rouge-based flagship campus of the Southern University system, produces more African American nurses than any other institution of higher education in the United States. SUBR is number five in the production of African American engineers in the United States. The campus also boasts being number five in the production of African American baccalaureates who go on to earn a PhD.

University Leadership

Southern University was initially conceived in 1879, when P. B. S. Pinchback, T. T. Allain, and Henry Demas proposed the establishment of a school that would serve people of "color." It was first located in New Orleans, Louisiana, with 12 students and an operating budget of \$10,000. The former Israel Sinai Temple Synagogue was one of the original locations of the newly established campus in New Orleans. The university was relocated to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1914. The Baton Rouge campus provided the university with the much-needed land to continue its growth.

Father and Son

Dr. Joseph Samuel Clark served as the first president of the campus in Baton Rouge. Clark was active in the Louisiana colored teachers association as well as other organizations concerned with the education of African Americans. During Clark's tenure as president, the university's enrollment grew from 47 students to 500. When he retired in 1938, his son, Dr. Felton Grandison Clark, assumed the role of president.

During Dr. Felton Clark's administration, the university underwent major changes in both enrollment and campus infrastructure. The campus enrollment grew from 500 students to nearly 10,000 students. In addition to this, numerous campus buildings were erected on the growing campus. The climate of racial injustice and the unwillingness of Louisiana State University's law school to admit African American students resulted in a special Louisiana Convention that allowed the

university to establish a law school in 1947. The university later founded campuses in New Orleans and Shreveport. The additional campuses were incorporated into the university system in 1974. The Southern University system is the only historically Black university to have its own system and governing body. Dr. Felton Clark retired from the university in 1969. His successor was Dr. Leon G. Netterville.

The Activist Era

Dr. Netterville's administration was highlighted by the student activism of the tumultuous 1960s, when African Americans united to tackle inequality. In 1972, students gathered to protest on campus and were confronted by law enforcement. Two students were shot, but the murders of Denver Smith and Leonard Brown have remained unsolved. The 1960s and 1970s saw the growth of a campus that was the hub of African American intellectualism and activism that affected the state of Louisiana.

Lawyers from Southern University were prominent activists in filing lawsuits to challenge unjust laws. Marion White and Charles Bryant, two lawyers in St. Landry Parish, vehemently fought to end racial injustice in a parish considered to be one of the most hostile for African Americans in the state. Southern University had an impact on the education of African Americans in the state of Louisiana. Its College of Education produced some of the finest teachers in the nation. A large majority of its teachers were socially conscious and vocal critics of injustice.

The graduates of Southern University's teacher education programs were equipped with the intellectual skills and activism needed to uplift African American students. Contrary to common belief that African American schools were inferior, Southern University's College of Education produced graduates who were highly committed to social justice and the education of African American students. The impact of Southern University teachers could be seen in nearly every African American community in Louisiana. The College of Education has continued to be a leader in graduating African American teachers in the state of Louisiana. In the preparation of future teachers, Southern University Laboratory School serves students from prekindergarten to 12th grade.

Current Situation

After settling the consent decree (a court order between the U.S. Department of Justice and the State of Louisiana concerning desegregation), the university experienced changes to both the physical campus and academic programs. The university constructed 13 major facilities, which included the J. S. Clark administration building, John B. Cade Library, Mayberry Dining Hall, the Health Research Wing, Performing Arts building, Nursing School building, and several other campus facilities.

The university has recently celebrated the settlement of a \$60 million bond project designed to bring significant changes to the campus. The changes will include construction of new buildings, renovation of existing buildings, and infrastructure improvements throughout the SU System. One of the most anticipated projects includes a 75,000-square-foot intramural facility. The intramural facility will house an aerobics studio, weight and training spaces, a natatorium, and basketball and volleyball spaces.

One of the major challenges facing the Southern University System, which comprises Southern University at the New Orleans campus (SUNO), Southern University at Shreveport, Southern University Agricultural Research and Extension Center, Southern University Law Center, and Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, is the rebuilding of its New Orleans campus, which was completely destroyed by Hurricane Katrina.

Abul Pitre

See also Desegregation; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities

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SPECIAL EDUCATION

Special education has been described as the provision of specialized instructional strategies and supports designed to meet the educational needs of students with disabilities. Since the passage of the Education of All Handicapped Children's Act in 1975, states have been required to provide free, appropriate, public education to all students with disabilities. This law was reauthorized in 1997 as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). However, despite a number of reauthorizations since its inception, the central provisions of the original law remain intact. These include provisions such as individualized education plans (IEPs), education in the least restrictive environment, appropriate assessments for eligibility determination, parental consent for assessment and placement in special education, and due process for disagreements between parents and districts with respect to the provision of special education services. This entry looks at the impact of special education on African American students.

Historical Perspective

Special education has played a complex role in the education of African American students. This complexity is reflected in court cases such as *Larry P. v. Riles*, a 1970s class action lawsuit filed in California that alleged that the use of standardized intelligence tests in the placement of African American students in special education was inappropriate. The court found that these instruments did have a discriminatory impact on African American students, causing them to be greatly overrepresented in classes for what at the time was called the "educable mentally retarded."

The issue of disproportionate representation of African American students in special education became a dominant theme in the field during the

late 1960s and early 1970s. In Lloyd Dunn's seminal essay, "Special Education for the Mildly Retarded: Is Much of It Justifiable?" the author not only pointed out the existing disproportionate representation of minority students in programs for the mentally retarded; he also questioned the efficacy of such programs, arguing that they unnecessarily separated students with disabilities from their nondisabled peers and provided inferior educational programs to students with disabilities. Such critiques of the role of special education in the education of African American students were common during that time.

Some of the provisions of the Education of All Handicapped Children's Act were designed to address these issues. For example, nondiscriminatory assessment is required in determining eligibility for special education. Further, the law mandates that decisions regarding special education eligibility cannot be made based solely on the results of one assessment. For example, in the case of mental retardation, intelligence test scores cannot be the sole basis for placement. Other tools, such as assessments of adaptive behavior, also must be used. This mandate is designed to avoid mislabeling any student as retarded who may score below average on an intelligence test but may otherwise function normally.

The Education of All Handicapped Children's Act also addressed the issue of "least restrictive environment." This gave rise to the term *mainstreaming*, which commonly referred to attempts to educate students with disabilities with their nondisabled peers to the maximum extent possible while still meeting the educational needs of all students. The concept of mainstreaming has its roots in civil rights legislation that overturned the "separate-but-equal" concept. Court cases such as the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case provided the legal foundation by which the practice of separating students based solely on disability status could be challenged.

Current Issues and Trends

The field of special education continues to face a number of challenging issues and trends in the education of African American students with disabilities. These issues and trends include factors that emanate from within special education itself as well as those that are born of influences

within general education, and from within society as a whole. Some of these issues and trends are highlighted next.

Disproportionate Representation

Despite increased attention and safeguards built into law, the disproportionate representation of African American students in special education persists, along with trends that suggest that these students are segregated from their nondisabled peers at a higher rate than students with disabilities of other races. For example, the *27th Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of IDEA* in 2005 revealed that African American students are 1.5 times more likely than their peers to be identified as disabled. This disproportionate representation is particularly striking in the category of mental retardation, in which African Americans are 3 times more likely to be represented than is the case for their peers. In the category of emotional disturbance, African American students are 2.3 times more likely to be represented.

The stigmatization associated with the labeling process is one reason that disproportionate representation is a significant issue in the education of African American students. Labels such as "mentally retarded" and "emotionally disturbed" have an inherently negative connotation. Such labels can encourage educators to lower expectations for students so labeled, which in turn can cause educators to provide educational experiences to these students that do not take full advantage of their capabilities. This practice can lead to the self-fulfilling prophecy, or the idea that educators create or exacerbate learning problems by treating students as though they cannot achieve at high levels.

A number of factors have been said to contribute to the disproportionate representation of African Americans in special education. Poverty is one such factor. According to the U.S. Department of Education's report, *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Minorities*, 15.7% of all families with children under 18 live in poverty. This figure stands at 30.1% for similarly disposed African American families. Poverty has been associated with a number of factors known to have a deleterious effect on child development and consequently on educational outcomes. These factors include increased childhood exposure to lead,

increased prenatal exposure to toxins such as tobacco and alcohol, lack of prenatal care, and poor nutrition.

Higher poverty rates among African Americans, however, cannot completely explain the extent of their disproportionate representation in special education. Other variables related to systemic bias also are believed to be contributing factors. Classroom observational studies have suggested that teachers tend to have more positive interaction with White students (for example, praising, calling on) than is the case for African American students. Negative attitudes toward African American students can predispose them to be referred for special education evaluation.

Once the evaluation process has been initiated, it generally assumes a within-child defect and does not critically examine elements of the educational environment that may have contributed to the concerns that initiated the referral. Instruments used in the evaluation process, such as intelligence tests, also have been criticized for cultural bias. All of these factors converge to increase the complexity of the disproportionate representation of African American students in special education. This has made the overrepresentation particularly resistant to change.

Inclusion

The concept of including students with disabilities in general education classes has been a dominant theme in the field for more than 40 years. In the 1970s, as mentioned this concept was known as “mainstreaming.” By the late 1980s, it had evolved into the concept of “inclusion,” which focused on integrating not only students with and without disabilities but also on integrating the systems of general and special education in a more seamless way. This involved using resources in both general and special education to make general education classrooms more receptive to a broader array of student learning diversity. It was no longer the expectation that disabled students would be educated in separate settings unless they could meet the demands of a typical classroom. Rather, typical classrooms were expected to change in order to better embrace student learning diversity.

While there has been a steady increase in the percentage of students with disabilities who spend the majority of their school day in general education

settings, African American students with disabilities have lagged behind their peers in this regard. According to the *27th Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of IDEA*, African American students with disabilities were more likely than any other racial-ethnic group to be educated outside of the general education classroom. Only 38.6% of African American students with disabilities were educated in general education settings for at least 80% of the school day. This figure stood at 49.9% for all students with disabilities and 54.7% for White students.

The disproportionate segregation of African American students with disabilities in separate special education settings can have harmful effects for several reasons. Since part of what students learn is through interaction with peers, restricting their access to general education settings limits their opportunities to learn typical academic and social behaviors that are modeled by their nondisabled peers. Additionally, research has suggested that grouping students homogeneously by ability depresses the academic achievement of students assigned to low-ability groups. This is related to the self-fulfilling prophecy and calls into question the efficacy of separate special education placements.

The Teaching Force

The preparation teachers receive to work with students from diverse backgrounds can affect issues such as the disproportionate representation of African Americans in special education. Without adequate preparation, teachers can mistake cultural differences for disabilities and are unable to appropriately address cultural differences in instruction. Although the need to better prepare teachers for cultural diversity has been widely recognized, this area has been found to be weak, both in terms of pre-service and in-service teacher education.

The presence of African Americans in the teaching force also is critical with regard to this overrepresentation of African Americans in special education. According to a report from the Center on Personnel Studies in Special Education, African American teachers make up 10% of the special education teaching force, which is slightly less than the 12% that African Americans constitute in the general population. The gap widens, however, in the representation of African Americans in the

teaching force at 10% and their representation in special education at 20%. In some instances, this gap is particularly striking. For example, while African American males are greatly overrepresented in special education as students, they are severely underrepresented in special education as teachers.

It has been estimated that African American males make up only 0.4% of elementary special education teachers and 2.2% of secondary special education teachers. The presence of African American teachers in general education also has an impact on special education. For example, research has shown that as the percentage of minority teachers in a school district increases, the percentage of minority students placed in special education classes decreases.

An adequate supply of special education teachers of any ethnicity has been shown to be an additional challenge in the high-poverty, high-minority school districts in which most African American students reside. According to the *23rd Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of IDEA*, large school districts, such as the high-poverty, high-minority school districts that serve many urban areas, are more likely than their smaller counterparts to cite lack of qualified applicants as a significant barrier to filling special education positions. As a result, students with disabilities in high-poverty areas are significantly more likely to be served by special education teachers who are not fully certified. All of these factors can have an impact on the education of African American students with disabilities.

Future Directions

Despite these complex issues, progress is being made. A number of mechanisms have been put in place to address the issue of disproportionate representation of African American students in special education. For example, states are required to report not only numbers of students served by race-ethnicity in each disability category, but also the extent to which these students are served in general education settings. Additionally, with the reauthorization of IDEA in 2004, local education agencies are required to set aside funds to address the overrepresentation of minority students in special education through early intervening services designed to prevent inappropriate referrals to special education. Measures such as these help to

focus the attention of educators on the issue of disproportionate representation and help to encourage these educators to take the steps necessary to adequately address this concern.

Another promising trend is the increased emphasis on preparing both general and special education teachers to better meet the educational needs of African American students. The tenets of culturally responsive instruction and differentiated instruction are being integrated into both pre-service and in-service teacher education to a greater extent than has been the case in the past. This can have an impact for several reasons. First, they can help prevent inappropriate referrals for special education services. If teachers are aware of culturally influenced learning or behavioral differences, they will be less likely to mistake these differences for disabilities. Second, if teachers have the pedagogical skills to appropriately address culturally influenced learning or behavioral differences, these differences will be less likely to result in the kind of academic problems for which students are often referred to special education. Third, even in the instances in which African American students may have real, intrinsic disabilities, if all teachers are able to use pedagogy that accommodates a broad array of learning differences, more of these students can be appropriately served in general education classrooms, making the practice of placing them in separate settings unnecessary. This would help address the disproportionate representation of African American students with disabilities in the more segregated special education settings.

Although these promising trends have not been in place long enough to assess their full impact, there is reason to believe that positive outcomes will follow. With reforms occurring within both general and special education, there is a greater chance that significant progress will be made.

Deborah L. Voltz

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Mainstreaming

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SPELMAN COLLEGE

Spelman College is a private, historically Black women's college in Atlanta, Georgia, that is now part of the Atlanta University Center Consortium. Spelman currently has about 2,151 full-time students from 44 states and 15 countries. It is listed as the top historically Black institution by *U.S. World & News Report*, which also includes it among the top 100 liberal arts colleges in the United States. The college has the highest graduation rate among historically Black institutions and surpasses the graduation rate for African American students at a number of predominantly white high-ranking public and private institutions.

Spelman has played a key role in training African American women for leadership and

preparing them for graduate study. From 1997 to 2006, 150 students earned doctoral degrees in science and engineering, second only to Howard University. Spelman also gained international recognition in 2005 when its “SpelBots” robotics team became the first all-female and African American undergraduate team to compete in a global robotics competition in Japan.

Founded as Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary by two New England women, Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles, the school opened in 1881 in the basement of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta. It was established not only to teach formerly enslaved women and girls to read, write, and do simple arithmetic but also to prepare them to serve as teachers, missionaries, and church workers. Practical skills were stressed as part of preparing students to be good homemakers and mothers.

In 1882, after hearing a presentation by Packard and Giles at Wilson Avenue Church in Cleveland, Ohio, one of the church members, John D. Rockefeller, became a lifelong contributor to both the school and African American education in general. With additional support from the American Baptist Home Mission Society and its women's auxiliary, nine acres of land and five buildings—former Union Army barracks—were purchased. The financial support of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Sr., together with other gifts ranging from \$1.00 to \$1,000, made it possible to complete payment of the mortgage.

The school moved to its new location in February 1883, and Packard and Giles fought a proposal to merge the female seminary with the Atlanta Baptist Seminary (now Morehouse College), a school for African American males. Packard and Giles believed that their female students would be better served by keeping the schools separate. To do so, they had to raise enough money to support separate schools, and they received money from Baptists in the North and African American Baptists in Georgia. The Rockefellers donated the remaining amount, and in 1884, the school's name was changed to Spelman Seminary, in honor of Laura Spelman Rockefeller and her parents.

The curriculum expanded to include college preparatory classes equivalent to high school. A nurse training department opened in 1886, followed

in 1891 by the missionary training department. A new building was dedicated in 1918 to house the expanded home economics program. Spelman Seminary established the College Department in 1897, although most of the college work was at nearby Morehouse College.

One of the most significant events in Spelman's history occurred in 1924, when it changed from a seminary to a full-fledged college intended to provide a liberal arts education to its students. Under the leadership of Florence Matilda Read, who served as president from 1927 to 1953, the curriculum was expanded, with college courses established in the humanities, fine arts, social sciences, and natural sciences.

Albert E. Manley, the first African American and first male president, succeeded Read in 1953, ending nearly a half century of White female New England leadership. During his tenure from 1953 to 1976, Spelman strengthened its liberal arts program with the addition of non-Western and ethnic studies courses. Several other new programs were implemented in the 1970s, including Freshman Orientation and Freshman Studies, the Health Careers Program, the Family Planning Program, and cooperative programs with predominantly white majority institutions.

During the 1960s, Spelman women were active in the civil rights movement. Marion Wright (Edelman), Roslyn Pope, Hershelle Sullivan (Challenor), Ruby Doris Smith (Robinson), Bernice Johnson (Reagon), and Alice Walker were among the student leaders of protests that included sit-ins in downtown Atlanta and protests across the South. Harry Lefever, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Spelman, documents their participation in his 2005 book, *Undaunted by the Fight: Spelman College and the Civil Rights Movement, 1957–1967*. Howard Zinn, author of *A People's History of the United States* and a member of the Spelman history faculty from 1956 to 1963, played an active role in mentoring and supporting student activists.

When Manley announced his retirement, many faculty and students assumed that in this time of new opportunities for women, the next Spelman president would be a Black woman. Student protests followed the appointment of an African American man, Donald Mitchell Stewart, but Stewart assumed the presidency in 1976. During his 10-year tenure, several new programs were established, including

the Honors Program, the Comprehensive Writing Program, the Continued Education Program, and the Women's Studies Program.

The Women's Research and Resource Center, the first women's research center at a historically Black institution, was established in 1981 under the leadership of Beverly Guy-Sheftall, founding director and Anna Julia Cooper Professor of Women's Studies. The center subsequently played a leadership role in the development of a women's studies minor and an interdisciplinary major in comparative women's studies. In addition to partnering with other departments to offer courses exploring issues of gender and race, the center sponsors a variety of national and international conferences and continues to support Black feminist scholarship and activism. In 2004, the Center joined with SisterLove, Inc., to organize a global conference on HIV/AIDS among girls and women in Africa and the African Diaspora. Most recently, the center undertook a 3-year project funded by the Ford Foundation that explored and strengthened links among women's studies scholars, departments, and programs in Africa and the African Diaspora. The Spelman Archives, a component of the WRRC, include the papers of Audre Lorde, Selma Burke, Toni Cade Bambara, and Johnnetta Cole.

In 1987, Johnnetta Betsch Cole became the African American woman to serve as Spelman's president. Under her leadership, Spelman achieved national status as one of the leading liberal arts colleges in the United States. She presided over a campaign that raised \$114 million, the largest amount that had been raised by a Black college or university. The endowment was tripled, rising from \$42 million to \$143 million. During Cole's tenure, Drs. William and Camille Cosby gave Spelman College a \$20 million gift to construct the Camille Olivia Hanks Cosby Academic Center. This gift, the largest from an African American to a historically Black college, also established the William and Camille Cosby Endowed Professorship Program, which supports professorships in the fine arts, humanities, and the social sciences. After leaving Spelman in 1998, Cole joined the Emory University faculty as the Presidential Distinguished Scholar at Emory University, where she is now professor emerita. Cole served as president of historically Black Bennett College for Women in Greensboro, North Carolina, from 2002 to 2007.

The first laboratory school at a historically Black college was the Spelman Nursery-Kindergarten School, which became part of the college's resources in 1930. Renamed in 1997 as the Marion Wright Edelman Child Development Center, it offers nursery through kindergarten programs for children ages 2½ through 6 years and serves as a training center for parents, a practice field for college students, and a research laboratory for graduate students in education and psychology.

In 1998, Audrey Forbes Manley, a Spelman graduate and widow of Albert Manley, became the first alumna to serve as president of Spelman. The first African American to be appointed assistant U.S. surgeon general, Audrey Manley also served as acting surgeon general of the United States prior to her appointment to the Spelman presidency. When her late husband had served as president of Spelman, she had played a key role in the establishment of the Spelman Health Careers Program in 1971. Under her leadership and presidency, Spelman continued to strengthen its position as a leader in educating women in the sciences. Today, about one quarter of Spelman students major in science, engineering, or math. According to American Medical Association data for 2001, Spelman ranked second only to Xavier University, a historically Black institution in New Orleans, in the number of graduates who attend medical school. Xavier sent 94 students to medical school, followed by Spelman, with 38, and Harvard University, with 37.

Beverly Daniel Tatum succeeded Audrey Manley in 2002, becoming the ninth president of Spelman. Under her leadership, Spelman has established several new "centers of distinction." Among them is the Center for Leadership and Civic Engagement (LEADS), formed in 2003. A year later, LEADS sponsored its first national leadership conference. Its goals include student, faculty, and staff development as well as community outreach. It offers training to prepare students for leadership roles and provides public programs that bring together women leaders from around the world. In 2008, LEADS launched the Spelman College Intergenerational Leadership Mentoring Program, which provides students with mentors from a number of fields, including law, business, medicine, architecture, acting, and community leadership. Sisters Center for WISDOM (Women in

Spiritual Discernment of Ministry) was also launched in 2004. Through a variety of programs that include training, scholarships, and internships, it gives students an opportunity to explore spirituality and vocation and their relationship to advocacy and leaderships. Other centers at Spelman focus on behavioral neuroscience, biomedical and behavioral research, energy and environmental studies, and molecular biology.

The college continues to offer a wide range of innovative programs, including the Summer Art Colony in Portobelo, Panama, which gives students an opportunity to live, work, and study in the Caribbean; the Japan Studies Program, which includes an exchange program and an intensive 4-year summer program in Japan; and the Spelman Independent Scholars Oral History Project, which pairs students with mentors from the community in a two-semester interdisciplinary and intergenerational program. Spelman also offers a 5-year dual-degree program through which students can earn at bachelor's of engineering from one of 12 participating schools, including Georgia Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Diana E. Axelsen

See also American Baptist Home Missionary Society; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Women's Studies

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STANDARDIZED TESTING

During the 20th century, educational and political leaders asserted that standardized tests—for example, the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) that is often a criterion for college entrance—would broaden opportunities for African Americans, but the history of testing provides limited support for this claim. Standardized tests were not created to exclude African Americans, and, especially in the South, where most African Americans were formally educated during the 20th century, they were adopted in response to African American demands for equality. Unlike the crude constraints and customs they replaced, standardized tests did not restrict the access of advantaged African Americans, heirs of the African American elite, but they remain durable obstacles for most African Americans. Growing reliance on tests has produced paradoxical and problematic patterns of inclusion, widening opportunities for advantaged African Americans without addressing the isolation of most African Americans.

The most significant test of testing is the extent to which it has improved the life chances of African Americans, and the record indicates that tests in the professions, colleges and universities, and the public schools have had differential effects on African Americans. As activism forced authorities to eliminate crude forms of discrimination, officials erected more subtle barriers, the most legally defensible of which relied on standardized tests. Tests did not restrict access for all African Americans, and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, affirmative action, and the desegregation of schools, colleges, and universities increased the size of the African American middle class. Yet as opportunities and outcomes improved for advantaged African Americans, testing did little to improve the life chances of most African Americans. These paradoxical outcomes suggest that far more than tests will be required to leave no African American child behind.

Teacher Testing

During the 20th century, teaching was the principal African American profession. Since the 1930s, advocates of teacher testing have argued that these

instruments would provide an objective basis for determining the qualifications of educators and improve the caliber of teachers, but teacher tests have done as much to perpetuate discrimination as to raise the stature of the profession.

The forerunner of the Praxis tests, which are used in most states today, the National Teacher Examinations (NTE) were created by Ben D. Wood and first administered to 4,000 prospective teachers in March 1940. By forcing school boards to eliminate separate and unequal salary schedules, National Association of Colored People (NAACP) litigation led to increased use of the exams in the South, where the vast majority of African Americans are taught. While critics charged that the NTE did not provide evidence of teaching ability, the examinations appealed to southern school officials because they saw in them ostensibly objective evidence to support their belief that African American teachers were inferior to their White counterparts.

White and African American teachers were judged against the same standard, but African Americans had access to vastly unequal educational opportunities and had for decades been paid salaries that were one half of those of Whites. Although most African Americans, handicapped by these disadvantages, earned NTE scores below those of almost all Whites, advantaged African Americans, most of whom were graduates of private schools and colleges earned scores that exceeded those of many Whites.

As schools were forced to desegregate, officials turned to teacher tests to limit the presence of African American teachers. Following the *Brown* (1954) decision, the Educational Testing Service (ETS), which assumed control of the NTE in 1948, aggressively marketed the exams. During the 1960s and 1970s, the NTE was widely used to dismiss and demote African American teachers. In many cases, officials established cutoff or passing scores arbitrarily and failed to show that tests distinguished those who performed well in the classroom from those who did not.

The NTE was not the only reason that fewer African Americans entered or remained in the teaching profession, but growing use of these exams contributed to a reduction in the percentage of African American teachers from 12% of all teachers in 1970 to less than 7% by 1986. During this period, African Americans who performed well on

these tests were more likely to come from families with higher incomes than were African Americans who did not perform well. Prospective teachers are now required to pass tests in most states, but there is scant evidence that test scores predict performance in the classroom. As a result, teacher testing remains the source of controversy and litigation.

University Admissions

Well into the 20th century, African Americans were excluded from most universities, creating cumulative disadvantages that are substantial and enduring. Most southern states did not provide graduate and professional programs for African Americans until the 1940s, and only token numbers of African Americans were enrolled in most northern universities. As a result, African Americans had access to fewer doctors, bankers, lawyers, and professors who prepared African American professionals. By 1943, only 128 African Americans held doctoral degrees.

Poverty and inadequate educational facilities prevented most African Americans from advancing, but improvements in African American incomes and the GI Bill helped 11,000 African Americans graduate by 1947, more than 10 times as many as in 1927. As increasing numbers of African Americans graduated from college and demanded access to universities and the professions, educational and political leaders adopted standardized tests. These tests were not created to exclude, but they were certainly used to restrict African American access to the professions, colleges, and universities. These instruments did not prevent advantaged African Americans from gaining access, but as with the NTE, the institutionalization of standardized tests structured patterns of access based on class as well as race.

After World War II, a generation of African American college graduates sought admission to southern universities, challenging barriers that had long blocked African American access to the professions. Early efforts focused on legal education and led authorities to adopt standardized tests to limit African American access to the practice of law. After Virgil Hawkins applied to the University of Florida law school in 1949, officials began requiring that applicants submit standardized test scores. In other southern states, political leaders established new requirements to the practice of

law as African American students began graduating from separate African American law schools.

Until the late 1940s, graduates of state-supported law schools in many southern and some northern states held a diploma privilege that guaranteed their admission to the state bar. In South Carolina, for example, this privilege was revoked in 1950, and for the first time, prospective lawyers were required to pass an examination before they could practice law. In Delaware, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, as well as Ohio and California, bar examinations allowed small numbers of advantaged African Americans to gain access at the same time that they created durable obstacles for most African Americans. By 1974, in California, there was one White lawyer for every 450 Whites, but one African American lawyer for every 3,000 African Americans.

Growing reliance on standardized tests limited the number of African American professionals to token levels, and it was not until the late 20th century that advantaged African Americans realized significant gains. By 1960, only 1.2% of lawyers were African American. Little change occurred during the 1960s, but political and affirmative action produced increases in the numbers of mostly advantaged African Americans who enrolled in law school and practiced law. By 1990, 3.5% of lawyers were African American, and by 1997, the number of African American attorneys had risen to 111,700.

As African Americans pressed for admission to public colleges, southern authorities extended policies first adopted in graduate and professional education to the college level, and began requiring—for the first time—that undergraduate applicants submit standardized test scores. New barriers to higher education allowed small numbers of advantaged African Americans to gain access to prestigious institutions without ending the exclusion of most African Americans. Less than 5% of the nation's college applicants took the Scholastic Aptitude Test in the early 1950s, but use of the SAT rose during the decade.

After African Americans applied to the University of Georgia, officials began requiring that as of April 8, 1953, all applicants to state colleges “take appropriate intelligence and aptitude tests.” South Carolina established a new admissions policy that required all applicants to submit standardized test

scores less than two weeks after *Brown*. After James Meredith's court-ordered admission to the University of Mississippi in 1962, applicant's tests scores became the sole criterion for admission to traditionally White universities in the state. This requirement was adopted, the court found, to exclude African Americans and minimize desegregation.

These new practices could only limit access; they could not deny it completely. In higher education, more rational restrictions, the most durable of which relied on standardized tests, shaped patterns of segregation that were increasingly based on class. As new forms of class segregation took hold, advantaged African Americans gained admission to the most prestigious colleges and universities. Still, as with professional education, the most significant African American progress in higher education did not occur until the late 20th century as a rising tide of protest, pressure from the courts, and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and affirmative action combined to push the presence of African American students beyond the most token levels.

As advantaged African Americans led enrollment into prestigious institutions, disadvantaged African Americans became more isolated in colleges and universities that became segregated by class as well as race. African American college enrollment more than tripled between 1970 and 1996, rising from 5% of total enrollment in 1965 to 12% by 1990. By 2000, however, more than 3 times as many Whites as African Americans were college graduates.

Elementary and High School Testing

As the courts gradually forced public schools to desegregate, the use of testing and tracking intensified, exploiting African American social and economic disadvantages. By 1960, growing numbers of school districts in the South had established tracking systems. Tracking separated students by race and class and produced little upward mobility. Beginning in 1956, students in Washington, D.C., were assigned to college prep, regular, general, or basic programs on the basis of test scores.

Research showed that class as well as race shaped access. In one senior high school where median income was \$10,374, 92.2% of the students were assigned to the top tracks. At another,

where median family income was \$3,872, only 15.2% of the students were assigned to the top tracks. Proponents of tracking claimed that it would fuel mobility, but by 1963, 96.9% of junior high students in Washington were still in the track they had occupied two years earlier. When African American activists challenged the tracking system, the court found that there was minimal fluidity between the tracks. By the 1980s, a comprehensive study of more than 174 school districts reported that Whites were 3.2 times more likely than African Americans to be enrolled in gifted classes. African Americans also remain significantly underrepresented in advanced placement courses, in part because they remain segregated in schools that did not offer such courses.

Led by southern states, during the 1970s and 1980s, educational authorities adopted minimum competency tests. Between 1971 and 1988, widespread desegregation, improvements in African American incomes, and rising levels of parental educational attainment narrowed the Black-White gap in reading scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) by 21 points, the equivalent of two grade levels. Progress stalled in the 1990s. This lack of progress casts doubt on the claims made by those who argue that minimum competency tests by themselves have narrowed achievement gaps. In most states, testing regimes were not fully implemented until the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the Black-White achievement gap began to widen. A recent review of the literature finds little evidence that testing has reduced the achievement gap.

By 1996, 18 states required that students pass a standardized test to earn a diploma. There is a good deal of evidence that these exams have done as much to limit high school completion as improve achievement. African Americans remain considerably more likely to be retained, pushed out of school, and fail graduation tests than Whites. In Florida, for example, 19.2% of African Americans were denied a diploma in 2003 compared to 5.2% of Whites. As with other tests, African American students from families with higher incomes and higher levels of parental educational attainment are more likely to pass these tests than are their less advantaged African American peers. Because of persistent racial differences in socioeconomic status, by 2001, only 50% of African Americans

graduated from high school, compared with nearly 75% of White students.

R. Scott Baker

See also Academic Achievement; Affirmative Action; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) played a critical role in the Black liberation movement during the civil rights/Black Power era. One of the many legacies of the organization was the freedom schools developed in Mississippi during Freedom Summer. The freedom schools were an alternative to the inadequate and inferior education provided to African American children in the Mississippi public school system. The education initiative led by SNCC also provided a blueprint for the development of education institutions and for education reforms regarding African Americans.

This entry provides an overview of SNCC's history and examines its position on education.

Founding a Movement

On February 1, 1960, nearly 6 years after the U.S. Supreme Court overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1869) and ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954)—one of the most important decisions in the history of African American education—four African American students who attended North Carolina Agriculture and Technical College initiated one of the largest direct action protest movements in the United States. The student-led sit-in at Greensboro's downtown Woolworth lunch counter was the impetus that inspired other students throughout the country to challenge the status quo and the Jim Crow laws that gripped the country.

Students grew tired of the slow and patient practices of the leadership of the established civil rights organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The student sit-in movement was a watershed moment and a radical approach to achieving freedom.

While students subscribed to direct action philosophy and strategy, many civil rights leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was referred to as “da Lawd,” embraced the idea of the establishment of a student organization. Ella Baker, executive director of SCLC and longtime community activist, also recognized that the students needed to create an organization; however, she believed that student organization should be autonomous from the veteran civil rights institutions.

During the Easter weekend, April 16 to 18, 1960, Baker summoned student activists from across the country to participate in a leadership development conference at Shaw University. Baker organized the conference in Raleigh to help coordinate the various efforts initiated by students and to encourage the protesters to broaden their agendas beyond sit-ins and fight all forms of segregation. She also insisted that primarily African American students staff the new organization and that it develop its leadership from within; she thought it should avoid a charismatic leader. By the close of the weekend conference, attendees announced the formation of a new

civil rights organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Taking Action

After establishing itself as independent civil rights organization, SNCC continued to challenge the inequities in the U.S. social system. A contingent of full-time student organizers, also known as field secretaries, traveled to Rock Hill, South Carolina, to join the student-led boycotts and sit-ins that sparked the “Jail No Bail” campaign. Serving jail time instead of posting bail was another tactic that differentiated SNCC from the traditional civil rights organizations.

Known for their involvement in sit-in movements at lunch counters in southern communities, members of SNCC also participated in 1961 Freedom Rides organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The freedom rides were a campaign for which African American and White freedom riders challenged the segregated restrooms, restaurants, and waiting rooms at interstate bus facilities below the Mason-Dixon line.

While some students continued the rides for freedom, some of the SNCC field secretaries concentrated their efforts to organize African American voter registration campaigns in rural counties of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. In collaboration with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), SNCC field secretaries in Mississippi helped to organize Freedom Vote. About 80,000 African American Mississippians participated in the mock election that confirmed their desire to participate in the political process from which they had historically been excluded. As a result of the overwhelming African American voter turnout, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was established to challenge the Democratic party at the National Democratic Convention.

Education Agenda

The education system for African Americans in the Magnolia State was repressive and perpetuated the status quo. African American children were expected to be satisfied with their inferior status in the social order in Mississippi.

During the fall of 1963, while many SNCC field secretaries participated in the planning of Freedom

Summer, former Howard University student and a SNCC field secretary, Charles Cobb Jr. conceived the idea of the freedom school program, which addressed the inadequacies in the Mississippi public school system. Cobb believed that education was political. He wanted to provide African American students a broad intellectual and academic experience, something they did not receive from the Mississippi public education system.

Making a Plan

The freedom schools were designed to encourage the students to ask questions and hope that the racist society in which they live could improve. Freedom schools were also viewed as a political organizing tool that produced students able to work for social change. They showed African American Mississippi children a world outside their impoverished classrooms and taught them things about themselves and their history that Mississippi's school never dared to teach.

The original target population for the freedom schools was 10th and 11th grade students; however, when the doors opened students from age 3 to 23 attended the 2-month supplemental education program. Freedom school coordinators anticipated serving 1,000 students; surprisingly, well over 2,000 attend freedom schools across the state. To help address the massive enrollment numbers, community centers were opened across the state in areas where freedom schools were established. The community centers provided educational services for preschool children, mothers with children, as well as the elderly. Community centers also addressed issues beyond the capacity of the freedom schools.

New Teachers and Teaching Style

SNCC's freedom schools ideologically contrasted the Mississippi public school system as well as the education it provided African American children in the state. The teachers in the Mississippi education system were considered an extension of the oppressive state. Teachers were described as timid, punitive, dictatorial, hostile, and even vengeful, especially toward African American children. Unlike the teachers employed by the State of Mississippi, a majority of the volunteer teachers in the freedom schools were noncertified White college students

and recent graduates from colleges and universities from northern and west coast campuses. Many were naïve and inexperienced with Mississippi politics or Jim Crow laws in the South. Even though the freedom school instructors were deficient in their teaching and knowledge of the African American experience in Mississippi, most of the volunteers were youthful, highly idealistic, enthusiastic, and dedicated to securing civil and human rights for all people.

The teachers in the freedom schools did not follow the traditional classroom rules; instead, they implemented innovative teaching methodologies. Rather than have students sit in conventional rows, which was done in the traditional Mississippi classroom setting, freedom school teachers sat in circles with the students so that equality could be stressed. This seating arrangement also fostered free expression.

In addition to the unorthodox seating arrangements, the instructors moderated discussions instead of lecturing to the students. Freedom school instructors engaged students in role-playing activities to simulate some of the issues students faced or would possibly endure in the future. Students were also encouraged to be skeptical, challenge and question information provided to them. Because Cobb understood that education was political; the heart of the freedom school was the citizenship curriculum. Noel Day created the curriculum and instructional materials for the Mississippi freedom schools based on his book, *Curriculum Guide for Freedom Schools*. Citizenship curriculum was to assist in the growth of self-respect, through self-awareness, that led to self-help and local leadership development.

A Student Proclamation

In an effort to unify African American high school students across the state, the Mississippi Student Union (MSU) was created. The MSU and freedom school coordinators organized a statewide convention August 8 to 9, 1964, which coincided with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party convention. Meridian was selected for the conference location because the three-story Baptist seminary that housed the freedom school could accommodate the 100 student delegates expected from across the state. Meridian was also selected because it was the site where James Cheney,

Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner had been murdered for attempting to establish a freedom school in Neshoba County.

At the close of the convention, students created a proclamation that addressed issues such as public accommodations, housing, health, foreign affairs, federal aid, job discrimination, the plantation system, civil liberties, law enforcement, city maintenance, voting, direct action, and education. According to the proclamation that students issued to state officials, the students made the following demands regarding education:

1. Better facilities in all schools, including textbooks, laboratories, air-conditioning, heating, recreation, and lunchrooms
2. A broader curriculum, including vocational subjects and foreign languages
3. Low-fee adult classes, as preparation for better jobs
4. A school year consisting of 9 consecutive months
5. Exchange programs and public kindergartens
6. Better-qualified teachers
7. Forced retirement (women at 62 and men at 65)
8. Special schools for mentally retarded and treatment and care of cerebral palsy victims
9. A ban on using taxpayers' money to fund private schools
10. Integration and equity at all schools throughout the country
11. Academic freedom for teachers and students
12. Support for teachers to join any political organization to fight for civil rights without the fear of being fired
13. Elimination of teacher brutality

The demands by the students who attended freedom schools in Mississippi can be linked to the movement to improve African American education in the United States.

A Turn to Black Power

In 1966, Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) was elected a chairman of SNCC. During this same

period, the ideological and philosophical position of the organization also changed. Many members of the organization touted Black power and believed SNCC needed to close ranks. Carmichael suggested that White SNCC workers help organize poor Whites and help humanize those who held racist opinions.

This was the beginning of a general turn to Black separatism. In a position paper published by a group of SNCC's member in the Atlanta Project, it was suggested that true liberation could not happen until SNCC cut ties with Whites, establish Black-owned and operated institutions, and write history from an African American perspective.

Many of the students who participated in the freedom rides and other activities sponsored by SNCC were involved in the development of the Black Student Union Movement on college and university campuses across the country. More students were attending college than in previous years. This was partly because of the passage of the Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965, which was part of President Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty." HEA was designed to provide opportunities for lower- and middle-income families, program assistance for small and less-developed colleges, additional and improved library resources at higher-education institutions, and utilization of college and university resources to help deal with national problems like poverty and community development.

Universities also modified admission requirements and developed special programs to attract students from urban environments. Since many African American students educated in the public school system were not prepared for college, universities made remedial classes available for those who came from schools that had not adequately prepared them for college. With the influx of African American students on campus, militant students began to make demands. As part of the political consciousness, students changed the names of student organizations. Negro Student Associations was changed to Black Student Associations and Black Student Unions.

Students confronted university officials to help address some of the issues faced by African American students. To deal with the social isolation and alienation of the campus and to make campuses more hospitable for African Americans, students demanded cultural centers and dormitories or at least designated floors on existing dorms. Also,

African American studies as a discipline prepared African American students to return to their communities to give back and help solve some of the pressing issues. African American Studies units at colleges and universities also bridged the gap between the African Americans on campus and African Americans in the community.

Community Control

SNCC's impact can also be traced to the community control movement in African American education. Those who participated or witnessed SNCC activities were active in the lives of their children who attended public schools. Parents demanded the schools provide curriculum relevant to the lives of African American children. In New York City, Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents and community members sought control of Junior High School 271 in the late 1960s. In 1969, African American residents of Hyde County, North Carolina, resisted an integration education plan and engaged in a shootout with the Ku Klux Klan in order to maintain control of the schools in their community. While some parents engaged in efforts to control the public schools in their communities, other parents organized to create independent Black institutions in the 1960s.

SNCC's influence can also be seen in the development of the independent Black institution (IBI) movement. Many of the founders of the IBI movement were involved with the development African American studies movements or graduates of African American studies programs. In addition to independent schools and supplemental education programs, SNCC also contributed to the development of alternative education and tutorial programs in African American communities.

The freedom schools initiated by SNCC had an impact not only on the education of African Americans in Mississippi in the mid-1960s; the idea and initiative has also made a major contribution to the education of African Americans throughout the United States.

Dwayne C. Wright

See also African American Studies; *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Community Control of Schools; Freedom Schools; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Substance abuse is a challenging social issue and presents problems for students of all ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Substance abuse can present a dilemma for African American students from personal, social, and economic standpoints. Although African Americans are less likely to engage in gateway drugs and other illegal substances than are their White and Hispanic counterparts, as John M. Wallace (1999) found, when African American youth begin engaging in illegal substances they are likely to exhibit sustained use. In addition, African Americans appear to be at greater risk for HIV/AIDS as a result of intravenous drug use than other populations, according to the Lawrence S. Brown and Arthur I. Alterman study (1992).

This has specific implications for programs directed toward African American preadolescents and adolescents. With a disproportionate number of African American youth residing in impoverished communities, they are likely to be exposed to the open use of drugs and to be targeted by drug marketing campaigns. In addition, African Americans within poor communities are exposed to a stereotypical image of African American drug dealers.

With a disproportionate number of African American youth residing in poor, inner-city communities, national programs sponsored by such agencies as the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention have funded programs targeting these at-risk populations including culturally competent models such as African-centered approaches. Such programs have aimed at uplifting the self-esteem and life trajectory of African American youth. Faye

Z. Belgrave and others have designed and evaluated programs focused on African American youth, particularly African American females. These researchers have discovered gender-specific patterns of higher drug use among African American males as well as a greater tolerance for drug use by African American males than by African American females.

The subculture of drug trafficking, sometimes underscored through rap lyrics, contributes to an atmosphere grounded in drug use. The glamour of the life of a drug dealer is emboldened in some rap music. Consequently, some students are likely to form an attraction and minimize the consequences of both drug use and trafficking. Even for African American youth from middle- to upper-class communities, the subculture of drug trafficking is intriguing and represents a bold attitude toward society. The relative impact of rap music on the decision making of African American youth has not been systematically assessed; however, anecdotal evidence suggests that African American male youth are at risk for enticement into the drug-trafficking culture.

As to alcohol, many urban African American youth are bombarded with images of happy youth enjoying 40 ounces of malt liquor. Alcohol distribution companies target these youth through trendy advertisements in various media outlets within the African American community. Advertisements in popular magazines that target African American youth associate success and prosperity with alcohol use. Stores within African American communities are more likely to promote malt liquor.

Although smoking becomes more problematic for African American youth in their adult years, the marketing world promotes cigarette products such as "Black and Mild." These products are distributed with various attractive flavors and are associated with the hip hop culture. These cigarette products are associated with drug paraphernalia and are promoted for use with other illicit drugs.

Of the gateway drugs, marijuana presents a critical challenge to African Americans. African American youth are more likely to use marijuana than are their White counterparts. Although African American youth are less likely to engage in substance use at earlier ages and tend to use substances on the collegiate level at a lower level than their White counterparts, they are more inclined to use marijuana at a higher level than do their White counterparts.

Within the movie industry, casual use of marijuana is promoted in motion pictures. Movie icon Chris Tucker's drug use in *Friday* typifies desensitization to the apparent risks of marijuana use. Moreover, professional athletes of African American descent sometimes appear in the headlines for marijuana use. African American females are sexualized in films as well as music videos as seductive associates with drug-trafficking males. In addition, African American females are at increased risk for associating with males who are drug traffickers, and the term *mule* has become associated with females who assist males in the transportation of drugs. There have been national cases involving African American female college students who have received extreme mandatory sentences for their involvement in drug trafficking. Just as their male counterparts, African American females who engage in drug trafficking are more likely to receive harsher sentences than are their White counterparts.

In higher education, students attending smaller historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are less likely to engage in alcohol and drug use than their White counterparts at typically larger institutions, according to a 1996 study by Presley, Meilman, and Cashin. Subcultural environments fostered through Greek letter organizations enhance the likelihood that African American students will engage in alcohol and drug experimentation, the researchers found in later studies.

Within African American youth populations, there is a continued need for effective prevention and intervention programs to address drug experimentation and use. African American youth are more likely to be incarcerated for drug possession with a likelihood of intent to resell than to receive treatment for drug consumption. African American youth drug experimentation is more likely to be criminalized rather than addressed through educational and therapeutic models.

Within public schools in particular, national programs such as Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) have demonstrated limited effectiveness; students are asked to overcome their apprehension of police and begin to view the police trainers as educators. These models target youth who are likely to attend school on a regular basis, whereas students with inconsistent attendance who are at risk for school dropout and at greater risk for high-risk behaviors such as drug

experimentation are least likely to participate in these school-based programs.

African American youth are less likely than their White counterparts to receive treatment for their drug use. Instead, they are more likely to be punished for this behavior. Within the health care system, African American adults who seek medical assistance are more likely to be stereotyped as drug seeking as opposed to having legitimate physical pain necessitating drug treatment.

Sheila Renee Peters

See also Hip Hop Studies; Identity Development

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SWANN V. CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG BOARD OF EDUCATION

In the wake of *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Topeka, Kansas* (1954), Whites began to move away from the centers of larger metropolitan areas to erect de facto White-only school systems in adjacent suburban and rural areas. Thus, the phenomenon of “White flight.” In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), the U.S. Supreme Court asserted that the pairing of noncontiguous school zones was a permissible remedy for school segregation. In so doing, the Court affirmed desegregation remedies that addressed metropolitan areas as a whole. This entry addresses the backstory,

the facts and the implications of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*.

Historical Context

The Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* declared, “Separate is inherently unequal,” following up in 1955 with the directive that schools should desegregate with “all deliberate speed” (p. 301). The phrase “all deliberate speed” was interpreted in ways that led to delaying tactics to thwart desegregation efforts. In the *Southern Manifesto*, 19 senators and 77 representatives from 11 states officially expressed their defiance of *Brown*. The manifesto declared *Brown* unconstitutional, commended state actions resisting desegregation, and called for *Brown*’s reversal. Accordingly, state legislation inhibiting public school desegregation was passed, while local school boards enacted policies to frustrate desegregation efforts, the most popular of which were pupil assignment and freedom of choice plans.

North Carolina’s resistance to *Brown* was moderate compared to other states. In *Brown*’s wake, the Governor’s Special Advisory Committee on Education was assembled and delivered a report on December 30, 1954. With the guiding principles of “preservation of public education in North Carolina” and “preservation of the peace throughout North Carolina,” the committee recommended against compulsory desegregation: “The Committee is of the opinion that the mixing of the races forthwith in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished and should not be attempted.”

Additionally, the committee recommended state relegation of enrollment and pupil assignment to local control. This strategy’s effect was to spread state liability for noncompliance with *Brown* to local jurisdictions. The North Carolina General Assembly enacted this provision of the committee’s report in 1955, along with an action conveying title to the state’s buses to local governments.

With these state structures in place, little desegregation occurred in local school districts. Civil rights activists met these new obstacles with more litigation. However, in a series of cases including but not limited to *Cooper v. Aaron* (Arkansas, 1958), *Green v. County School Board* (Virginia, 1968), and *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* (Mississippi, 1969), the Supreme Court made it clear that compliance with desegregation mandates

was demanded. Reinforcing the Court, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in an effort to give general guidance in desegregation efforts as well as penalties for failure to comply with the law.

Facts of the Case

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education was initiated in 1964 on behalf of 6-year-old James Swann and nine other African American families in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area. The local geographic assignment plan as supplemented by student choice did allow for some desegregation, with 2,126 African American children attending 43 desegregated schools. However, as late as 1968, 99% of African American students attended 21 racially segregated schools.

The Swanns were represented by Julius Chambers of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF). They lost the initial suit, as the district court held that the Constitution did not require the active pursuit of desegregation. However, in light of the Supreme Court’s decisions in *Green* and *Alexander*, the suit was filed again. In 1969, Judge James B. McMillan ordered the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District to desegregate.

Given the extent of residential segregation, and upon the recommendation of the appointed expert, Dr. John Finger, Judge McMillan found busing to be an effective strategy. The case was appealed to the Fourth Circuit, affirmed with respect to all but the elementary grades, and remanded for reconsideration of the latter. Upon remand, Judge McMillan reaffirmed his prior decision.

In response to litigation in *Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, the state of North Carolina passed an anti-busing law, which stated as follows:

No student shall be assigned or compelled to attend any school on account of race, creed, color or national origin, or for the purpose of creating a balance or ratio of race, religion or national origins. Involuntary bussing of students in contravention of this article is prohibited, and public funds shall not be used for any such bussing. (N. C. Gen. Stat. § 115–176.1 [Supp. 1969])

This statute was challenged and invalidated before a three-judge panel in North Carolina.

Upon certiorari, the case was divided at the Supreme Court into consideration of the local desegregation plan and the anti-busing law. In its final decision, in 1971, the Supreme Court granted districts wide latitude in creating policies to desegregate schools and ruled the anti-busing statute unconstitutional. Beyond obstruction of desegregation efforts, the Court found that “the statute exploits an apparently neutral form to control school assignment plans by directing that they be ‘color blind’; that requirement, against the background of segregation, would render illusory the promise of *Brown*.”

Impact of the Rulings

Swann was a hallmark victory for civil rights activists and was followed by significant desegregation strides. In the aftermath of *Swann*, southern jurisdictions could no longer hide behind the lines of White flight, and by the end of 1971, 44% of African American students attended majority-White schools. However, segregation still abounded at greater proportions in the northern and western regions of the country, with only 28% of African Americans attending majority-White schools. Over time it was learned that integration required not only the presence of African American students in majority White schools, but also an integrated faculty and staff with high expectations for all students as well as an integrated curriculum and equal access to resources. Desegregation alone was not a substitute for quality education delivered by caring educators.

In *Swann*’s wake, southerners were able to capitalize upon vulnerabilities of the North and West, and conservatives joined across regions within Republican Party lines to rein in desegregation efforts generally and busing efforts in particular. The anti-busing movement had support in the Nixon White House, as evinced by the president’s advocacy of the Student Transportation Moratorium Act. In 1972, the act passed in the House of Representatives but was filibustered by the Senate. An anti-busing amendment to the Constitution was attempted but failed in 1979.

Despite these failed legislative efforts, anti-busing sentiments raged nationally from Boston and New York in the North, to Florida in the South, North Carolina in the East, and Seattle in the West. The contemporary result is public hostility to affirmative

desegregation measures, judicial weariness with the desegregation process, and school resegregation. Moreover, the Supreme Court’s view of color-blind, racially neutral policies is under reevaluation.

Crystal R. Gafford Muhammad

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Busing; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Desegregation; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*; Resegregation; White Flight

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T

TALENTED TENTH

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races.

—W. E. B. Du Bois

The term *Talented Tenth* was coined in 1896 by Henry L. Morehouse to describe a program of social, political, and economic uplift to guide newly emancipated African Americans at the beginning of the 20th century. Noted educator, activist, and social critic William Edward Burghardt Du Bois made this concept central to his vision of a progressive, highly educated, and socially conscious class of African American leaders. Du Bois envisioned the best-equipped tenth of the race as providing leadership to the less advantaged 90%. The discussion of African American leadership inherent to Du Bois's Talented Tenth was of national importance as African Americans struggled against the vestiges of enslavement and second-class citizen status during the Jim Crow era of the late 19th century to achieve full citizenship during the civil rights era of the mid-20th century. Du Bois considered the Talented Tenth the vanguard of African Americans, and throughout the course of his lengthy political,

scholarly, and literary career, Du Bois's clarion call for the creation of an informed class of leaders inspired by the legacy of Black self-determination garnered him recognition as a preeminent thinker on issues concerning race in the United States and abroad.

An Education for a Free People

At the dawn of the 20th century, the discussion of the best type of education for the development of an African American leadership class was a hotly debated topic. The end of the Civil War signaled the United States' evolution from an agrarian economy supported by enslaved people to an industrial free-labor system. These changes meant that from the northern industrialists to the southern planters, many of the nation's chief powerbrokers were concerned about what to do with the newly emancipated. Historians of the period refer to this issue as the "Negro problem."

Failure to properly address this problem of incorporating the previously enslaved Africans into the political economy of race and work in the United States could mean the undoing of the delicate new relationship between the agricultural South and the emergent industrial North. In contrast, solving this problem created the possibility for social stability and economic prosperity for 20th-century United States. Therefore, from Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt to industrialists John D. Rockefeller and Julius Rosenwald, leading U.S. politicians, philanthropists, and entrepreneurs were intensely

concerned with how to incorporate roughly 4 million previously enslaved people into the rapidly evolving landscape of the United States. Decisions about expediently incorporating the previously enslaved people into the nation were further complicated by these same decision makers' desires to maintain racially prescribed social and economic roles while simultaneously stifling political and civic aspirations within the African American community.

Against this backdrop, discussions of universal education and ultimately the best type of education for the previously enslaved Africans evolved. In *Is Separate Unequal? Black Colleges and the Challenge to Desegregation*, political scientist Albert Samuels argues that throughout U.S. history, regardless of the challenge, the United States has tenaciously depended on the courts, science, and the educational system to provide answers to social problems. Samuels refers to these three areas as U.S. cultural deities flowing out of a faith in "the power of education, respect for the rule of law, and faith in science."

In accordance with Samuels's assertion, the nation looked to the educational system as a powerful means of socialization for the previously enslaved Africans. In *The Education of Blacks in the South 1865–1935*, historian James Anderson quotes one of the chief White architects of African American education, William H. Baldwin, as seeking an educational system that teaches African American youth to "work with their hands to have few wants, and to stay in their natural environments."

Inherent to this racially prescribed approach to education was a singular focus on industrial education for African Americans as opposed to a more broadly based liberal arts curriculum reminiscent of the curricula taught at the best colleges in the United States at the time. This industrially focused brand of education, formulated by Hampton Institute founder Samuel Chapman Armstrong and justly named the "Hampton-Tuskegee Idea," emphasized rudimentary literacy and mathematics skills exclusively for African Americans, leading to vocations like carpentry, blacksmithing, printing, homemaking, and cooking. Albert Samuels further described White southern sentiment about the best type of education for the previously enslaved Africans as a desire to ensure that

Blacks receive the right kind of education for the Negro—one that did not disturb the racial hierarchy of the South. . . . Lacking the intimate intellectual ability, blacks should not aspire to "higher education"; rather, they should be content with vocational training.

This turbulent period in U.S. history resulted in the evolution of education for African Americans into service of the twofold function of preparing the freed men and women to continue to serve as the nation's primary laborers while at the same time conceptualizing their emancipation as a progression from being property with market value to being second-class citizens—free yet barred from political involvement. The outcome of these discussions concerning the most suitable form of education for African Americans was essential to the character that African American leadership would develop in the future. An emphasis on political disenfranchisement and economic serfdom inherent to the Hampton-Tuskegee approach to African American education was in direct contrast with the type of education that Du Bois envisioned for the establishment of a Talented Tenth.

Black Voices on Education and Leadership

At the turn of the 20th century, uppermost-level policy development and implementation as well as financial and curricular decisions concerning African American education were being made without African American involvement. Despite this reality, one should not believe that the African American community was in any way disengaged on these issues. The White power structure—largely due to the work of Armstrong and other philanthropists, politicians, and industrialists—felt they had found the best type of educational system to achieve their objectives by exclusively advocating industrial education for African Americans. To most effectively achieve their aims, they also understood that they sorely needed an African American spokesperson to disseminate their ideas to the African American community. Educator, author, and first principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute Booker T. Washington filled this void.

Washington's Views

Washington's ability to understand both northern and southern White racial sentiment and then translate them to the African American community afforded him extraordinary influence with each of these groups. In fact, historian William Watkins credits him and his Hampton-Tuskegee philanthropic community not only with shaping African American education but more significantly promoting the blueprint for race relations and racial progress that shaped the 20th century and beyond.

Washington's adeptness at functioning in this capacity was demonstrated in what arguably became the most influential public discussion of race in the United States in the late 19th century: his 1895 *Cast Down Your Buckets Where You Are* speech. This speech has historically been referred to as the "Atlanta Compromise." Through the compromise, Washington provided conciliation to the South and advocated that African Americans remain silent on issues of civil rights. Further, Washington argued that the relationship between African Americans and Whites should function as a delicate balance: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

Where higher education was concerned, in the spirit of his mentor, Armstrong, Washington advocated the need for a strong program of industrial education for African Americans that established a gospel of work and money intended to help formerly enslaved Africans "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" out of poverty and provide the nation with a strong labor force. Through this agenda, African Americans would compromise their duly earned rights as full citizens and submit to the social, political, economic, and educational needs of a racially based market system in exchange for the opportunity to prove their overall value.

Despite the fact that Washington's message enjoyed mass appeal among Whites and African Americans in the U.S., as evident through the hundreds of schools and educators that advocated his ideas, there were those within the African American community who vehemently opposed Washington's position: individuals like *Boston Guardian* editor William Monroe Trotter, educator and activist Ida Wells-Barnett, and Bishop Henry M. Turner. They

and their supporters were part of a African American intelligentsia that promoted a progressive vision of education and advancement for the African American community more closely aligned with Du Bois's Talented Tenth.

Du Bois's View

As an active participant of the African American intelligentsia, Du Bois has historically been recognized as Washington's greatest critic, and it is no coincidence that Du Bois's first ruminations concerning the Talented Tenth took shape during the era that Washington was at the height of his influence. Because Du Bois considered Washington's exclusively vocationally trained, politically impotent, and economically disenfranchised vision of African American leadership as dangerous, he critiqued Washington's compromise on the grounds that it "deprived [African Americans] of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing exceptional men."

Further, Du Bois believed that Washington's emphasis on instilling in the masses a labor-focused mentality was misguided and historically unfounded as a strategy for communal uplift. Du Bois asked, "Was there ever a nation on God's fair earth civilized from the bottom upward?" Consequently, Du Bois considered a liberally educated and politically active class of leaders as vital to the uplift of African Americans.

Whatever the secondary concerns of Du Bois, Washington, and the philanthropists, they were all concerned primarily with the training of African American teachers and leaders and the ideological persuasion of the class. For the exceptional persons to guide the race, Du Bois looked to colleges like Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard to produce egalitarian social critics, and Washington looked to industrial normal schools like Tuskegee to produce leaders who would endorse and advance the Hampton Idea.

Through their debates, Washington and Du Bois were engaging diametrically opposing sides of the same argument. Du Bois framed this question as, "What under the current circumstance, must a system of education do in order to raise the Negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization?" Washington's response to this question was founded in proving to the United States that African

Americans as a free and properly educated class could more efficiently provide the nation with the labor that it afforded during enslavement while not disturbing existing societal norms.

Du Bois, in contrast, argued that African Americans had an extraordinarily rich and distinct culture that should be marshaled to enrich all aspects of U.S. culture:

Not Africanizing America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. . . . [Nor would he] bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American.

In effect, Du Bois called for this inclusion to occur through a mutual appreciation of both cultures.

Civil and political rights, as well as educational opportunity, were essential to the vision supported by Du Bois. Du Bois believed formerly enslaved Africans were in dire need of the best education, whether industrial or liberal, and that the nation could provide to assist them in adjusting to their new status as free people. Therefore, Du Bois considered the Talented Tenth the realization of the best that African Americans can provide from within their community to uplift their community and ultimately be both “Negro and American.”

The Lasting Legacy of Du Bois’s Talented Tenth

The debate between Du Bois and Washington profoundly influenced Du Bois’s ideas concerning African American leadership. However, a narrow focus on Du Bois’s early writings and the ideological controversy between him and Washington veils Du Bois’s broader legacy concerning Black self-determination and subsequently the Talented Tenth. Perhaps Du Bois’s greatest legacy lies in the depth of his understanding regarding major social issues facing humanity in general and descendants of Africa in particular.

Describing Du Bois’s educational thoughts in a 2005 book, Watkins explains that “because of Du Bois’ intense concern with questions of race and class, his views on education are often overshadowed.” Du Bois’s thoughts concerning historically

Black educational institutions (the training ground of the Talented Tenth) and Black students were rooted in his activism and predate many concerns of the African American community today. His thoughts regarding the benefits of and the necessity for separate African American educational institutions and the eventual negative impact of desegregation is prophetic. His record gives substance to history’s recognition of him as a “pioneer” in the “Black radical tradition within the education dialogue.”

It is a sad irony that Du Bois is most often singularly remembered for his early writings, because he reflected upon and reformulated many of his early ideas later in life. In fact, Du Bois increasingly distanced himself from the liberal canon that espoused a stratified approach to racial uplift reflected in the creation of a Talented Tenth. These sentiments are of particular significance considering that it is in many of his later writings that the seeds of the African American radical tradition in education can be found. It is here that Du Bois speaks most powerfully to the educational problems of today, including an irrelevant curriculum, African Americans educator shortage, high dropout rate, and the tenuous existence of historically Black colleges.

It is important to note that Du Bois’s break from liberalism correlates with his becoming increasingly more critical and suspect that the United States would ever truly remedy its most pressing societal ills. This growingly more radical position was reflected in his becoming a proponent of institutional separatism at the communal, national, and international levels and his ever-increasing critique of both race- and class-based inequities inherent to U.S. culture. Consequently, the contrast between his early and then reformulated thoughts on leadership and communal uplift were evident.

For instance, while Du Bois’s early writings supported the creation of a Talented Tenth, after visits to China and Russia and extensive studies of the philosophies of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, he then argued that the creation of a bourgeois tenth of the race may be derisive and antithetical to true African American uplift. Also, in his early work, Du Bois wrote about and advocated a broader spectrum of ideas for inclusion of African Americans in mainstream U.S. culture. His writings and actions during this era reflected the spirit

of protest and political activism for which he has historically been recognized.

From his leading role in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to his role as the primary organizer of the Niagara Movement and the Pan-African Congress, Du Bois worked to develop the type of leadership that he envisioned through the Talented Tenth. However, his later writings reflected his discontentment with the U.S. progress concerning race and class. In fact, his self-imposed exile to Ghana and eventual relationship with the Communist Party shortly before his death demonstrated the depth of this disappointment with United States.

Reflecting on this disappointment, Du Bois wrote to a friend, "I cannot take anymore of this country's treatment. We leave for Ghana October 5th and I set no date for return. . . . Chin up, and fight on, but realize that American Negroes can't win." In a sense, the lasting legacy of Du Bois and his Talented Tenth is yet to be realized, and his more than 80 years of involvement on issues concerning African American leadership is still reflected in struggles for freedom and equality for groups within and outside U.S. borders.

Roland W. Mitchell and Roderick Jenkins

See also Du Bois, W. E. B.; Industrial Versus Liberal Arts Education; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Washington, Booker T.

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TAPE V. HURLEY

In *Tape v. Hurley* (1885), a Chinese immigrant couple went to court after unsuccessfully seeking admission to San Francisco public schools for their daughter. The state courts ruled that the girl could not be excluded simply because she was Chinese, although the school board quickly responded by establishing separate schools for Chinese, as if this action would provide equal opportunity for them in a harbinger of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). As a major civil rights case, *Tape* offered a successful strategy against the state for its policy violating state law and the U.S. Constitution when entrance to public schools were denied on the basis of race.

Historical Context

The Chinese immigration to the West Coast and specifically California is primarily identified with the transcontinental railroad. However, there were Chinese people in the United States in the early 1900s as part of the dynamic political, economic, and geographical changes taking place in China. The discovery of gold in California in 1848, the tensions around the Civil War surrounding emancipating the enslaved Africans in the former Confederate states, and the transcontinental railroad presented an impetus for Chinese people to migrate. In the 1870s, gold mining in Idaho, Montana, and Nevada also drew Chinese immigrants.

In 1862, after the South seceded from the Union and the Civil War had begun, Congress passed the first of several acts funding railroad construction. The completion of the transcontinental railroad required an eastward spoke from Sacramento through Nevada into Utah and a westward spoke from Omaha to Utah. The eastward line was built by

the Central Pacific Railroad, using Chinese laborers for its most of its 11,000 workers.

The 1860s was also a period of economic downturn. In the West, it spawned anti-Chinese tensions, riots, land seizures, and expulsions. Railroad construction ended in 1869 with many Chinese settling where they were after their jobs ended. Many Chinese went into mining, especially gold mining. But when their claims were voided under anti-Chinese laws in Montana and elsewhere Chinese workers were pushed into other jobs like cleaning, cooking, tailoring, and laundry service positions. Subsequently, when mines closed in California, creating more and more unemployed railroad workers, this phenomenon contributed to the 50,000 Chinese who migrated to the strong commercial and manufacturing city of San Francisco.

The economic downturn also spawned a major lobbying effort against Asians that culminated during an election cycle in which Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited Chinese naturalization and property ownership. It was renewed and/or modified every decade until its partial repeal in 1943, further affecting Asians by banning Chinese immigration (except children) and leasing property and eventually creating an Asiatic Barred Zone, impacting all Asians. Increasing numbers of Chinese moved further east, to New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Still, Chinese consistently fought back against the anti-Asian sentiment and laws by protesting anti-Chinese violence, suing for compensation, and pushing Chinese representatives to challenge such anti-Chinese actions as jeopardizing China–U.S. diplomatic relations. They also litigated in opposition to laws that were anti-Asian and unconstitutional. Even though in 1868 the California legislature unlisted Chinese children as a group entitled to public education (Whites, African Americans, and Native Americans were listed), some who were not White were permitted to attend White schools where White parents did not object. In 1874, Chinese students were admitted to public school in Sacramento. In 1880, the legislature modified the education legislation to state that all children in California were entitled to state-funded public education.

Finally, in this case as in the *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927) case, there was an underlying tension in

the Chinese legal fight for racial equality: it was vis-à-vis White America not initially in concert with others who faced discrimination. That is, the Tapes and their legal team sought to distance themselves from the African American community and their struggle for nonsegregated public education. When Chinese parents in San Francisco petitioned for their children to attend public schools the initial answer was an offer to place Chinese students in schools established for African American children. However, many Chinese were angered because they viewed this as an effort to classify them with African Americans as colored and instead demanded their own school, a demand which was ultimately granted.

Facts of the Case

Joseph Tape and Mary McGladery Tape were Americanized Christians who had been educated by Presbyterian missionaries and met after immigrating to California. They married in 1875 and in 1884 sought admission of their oldest of eventually four children, daughter Mamie Tape, to public primary school in San Francisco. She was refused admission. The San Francisco School Board quickly banned any Chinese child from any public school in the city. Again the Tape family unsuccessfully sought admission, and then the prosperous businessman who was also the interpreter for the Imperial Consulate of China in San Francisco applied to the Superior Court of the City and County of San Francisco for help.

The Tapes were first granted an alternative writ requiring admission or showing why not. On the pleadings submitted, a verbal decision was rendered by Judge Maguire on January 9, 1885. He stated that excluding Mamie Tape from free public education simply because she was Chinese was not a proper construction of California education law. Further, he stated that such a law would be a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment under the decision in *Ward v. Flood* (1874), which correlated an individual's rights intrastate as equal and uniform per their respective conditions.

The board appealed to the California Supreme Court, citing its newly adopted ban on Chinese admission as well as sanitary/disease contagion concerns. Tape's attorney, William F. Gibson, was the son of a famous Chinese missionary. He argued

for the new 1880 state law, construing education laws broadly, treating Chinese citizens at least as well as other international groups (many diplomatic offspring attended White public schools), the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, and California's progressive liberal spirit. The 1885 California Supreme Court decision affirmed Mamie Tape's admission to the public school citing only Section 1662 of the 1880 Political Code as allowing for no existing legal exclusion of Chinese children from public school.

Impact of the Ruling

The ruling was a legal victory for public education of Chinese in California, the only group at that time that was left out of state-funded education. Nonetheless, it was an empty victory since the ruling in Tape sanctioned separate schools as if they were equal to white schools. So this case was both reflective of the anti-Asian immigrant sentiment at that time and a forewarning of the public school hard line that would become the law of the land later. The Chinese like African Americans and Native Americans also would be burdened by the official "separate-but-equal" doctrine spawned by *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1869). The board successfully lobbied to amend the education law to legislate separate Chinese public schools. These lasted until 1947.

Mamie Tape and her brother attended the resultant Chinese Primary School, which opened April 13, 1885. When her youngest sister was ready to attend school in 1895, the Tape family moved to Berkeley, where schools were integrated, and they were able to purchase a home (unlike in San Francisco, where restrictive covenants only allowed Chinese to own property in Chinatown).

Aama Nahuja

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II)*; *Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County*; *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District no. 1*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; *Ward v. Flood*

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TENURE AND AFRICAN AMERICAN FACULTY

Throughout U.S. higher-education history, African American faculty members have experienced achievements and challenges related to tenure. Early African American faculty such as Solomon Carter Fuller (Boston University Medical School, 1919); Joseph R. Applegate (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1955); and Jay Saunders Redding (Brown University, 1949) earned full professor status during a tumultuous period in higher education. These scholars laid the academic path for future generations of African American faculty members.

Initially, African American faculty members were academic leaders in historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Today, HBCUs and community colleges continue to employ the largest number of tenured African American faculty members in higher education. The 2005 *Digest of Education Statistics* found that African American faculty members who were full time with instructional or research duties represented approximately 5% of faculty in higher education. African American faculty are not represented in proportion to the increasingly diverse undergraduate student population. Given the dearth of African American faculty in higher education, administrators and faculty have made efforts to increase the

presence of these tenured faculty. This entry looks at the important contributions African American faculty can make, reviews some obstacles to their progress, and examines attempts to encourage their presence.

Faculty Contributions

Earning tenure, which ensures academic freedom and protection of the faculty position, is an important milestone for full-time faculty members. In particular, the plight of tenured African American faculty centers on their contribution to higher education, their experience in the tenure process, and institutional efforts to support and retain them.

It is important for institutions to recruit and retain African American faculty members because they make distinct contributions to higher education. These faculty members are more likely to infuse research addressing diversity issues into the curriculum. This expanded curriculum exposes students to different research perspectives and insights. African American faculty contribute to the retention and recruitment of African students into undergraduate and graduate programs. African American faculty members mentor these students and may influence their decision to pursue advanced degrees and careers in academia.

The increased presence of African American faculty may improve the institutional climate for faculty from underrepresented groups, students, and staff. This allows African American faculty in administrative positions to create and support policies that contribute to a diverse campus community. They can conduct research that affects the lives African Americans (medicine, social justice, and so on). Researchers such as W. E. B. Du Bois (African American issues), George Washington Carver (agriculture), Daniel Hale Williams (medicine), and Edward Alexander Bouchet (physics) have used the academy as a vehicle to conduct research that has helped to shape U.S. society. Yet many of these early pioneers faced formidable challenges in pursuing academic careers as tenured faculty members.

Current Challenges

Institutions have made strides to recruit and retain African American faculty members, yet the faculty

ranks are not diverse enough. African Americans make up less than 5% of the professoriate in the United States. This chasm may be attributed to factors such as talented African American graduate students seeking positions outside higher education, the unique institutional culture and climate, and the formidable barriers to tenure and promotion.

Even though the tenure process is often viewed as an objective assessment of a faculty member's work, African American faculty often experience challenges and barriers associated with the process. African American faculty members often confront several criticisms about their academic work. African American faculty across many disciplines report that research that examines issues related to underrepresented groups is not valued or openly accepted as scholarly work in the tenure review process. African American faculty members in tenure track positions have raised concerns about the lack of transparency in the tenure process. The tenure process is often mired in contradictions, unclear expectations, and unspoken values that define research quality. This uncertainty as to the rules of tenure may often contribute to added stress for these faculty members.

Other challenges and barriers African American faculty members face are related to the socialization of junior faculty members during the tenure and promotion process. They are often overburdened as the sole person to support African American students, representing a minority voice in committee meetings, while conducting academic research. Because of the limited number of African American colleagues, they often feel isolated. Although these challenges persist, African American faculty members have persevered and continue to make contributions to higher education as a whole. This, in part, is due to institutional initiatives designed to improve the presence of African Americans in academia.

Remedial Initiatives

Institutions have implemented initiatives related to the recruitment and retention of African American faculty in higher education. These initiatives are designed to infuse the pipeline with graduate students and African American faculty to actively participate in higher education. These efforts underscore the institutions' commitment

to improving the diversity of the faculty and student populations.

Institutional and national programs exist to encourage African American students to pursue faculty careers in higher education. These programs offer students a multitude of opportunities to engage with faculty, develop communities of support, and conduct academic research. They prepare students for academic careers, provide access to talented future scholars, and address increasing the number of African American faculty in higher education. However, recent legal challenges to affirmative action legislation have hindered the ability of these programs to improve the racial-ethnic diversity of faculty in higher education.

Institutions have made efforts to retain African American faculty throughout the tenure process by addressing how these faculty members are socialized into tenured academic positions. For example, faculty mentoring programs encourage African American faculty to develop personal and professional relationships that engage them in the institutional culture. Additionally, institutions are improving how they communicate the tenure criteria and process for junior faculty. This transparency allows African American faculty to improve their ability to proceed through the tenure process. These initiatives are designed to assist and guide the next generation of African American faculty through the tenure process. While early pioneers have created the path, higher education must embrace the next generation of African American scholars.

Luis Ponjuan and David Horton

See also Affirmative Action; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities

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THURGOOD MARSHALL SCHOLARSHIP FUND

The Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund (TMSF), recently renamed the Thurgood Marshall College Fund (TMCF), was established in 1987. This organization, which serves public historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and those who attend these institutions, was originally founded by Dr. N. Joyce Payne in 1985 as the National Black Education Fund. This entry looks at its history and accomplishments.

Historical Background

Dr. Payne enlisted the efforts of corporations, individuals, educators, and the Office for the Advancement of Public Black Colleges (OAPBC) of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC), to create the grassroots organization that would later be named after Justice Marshall. The goal of the National Black Education Fund “was to help college students who were already working to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, but did not have the financial resources to pay for their education” by providing merit-based scholarships to students at public HBCUs.

In late 1986, Dr. Payne and others met with Justice Marshall to ask his permission to name their organization after him. They believed that Marshall was the perfect namesake. He was educated at HBCUs: Lincoln University (Pennsylvania) and Howard University Law School. As a lawyer, Marshall argued a number of educational segregation cases that opened primary through graduate education, including the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, case. Marshall further broke the color barrier, using his HBCU education, by being named the first Black solicitor general and associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Marshall agreed to the use of his name, and the National Black Education Fund was renamed the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund on December 9, 1986. The name change became official in 1987.

The new organization was small and used its first few years to build support. Using a grassroots

strategy. TMSF built commitments from additional corporations, foundations, and business leaders. By 1993, TMSF was providing merit-based scholarships for 4-year and graduate degrees to students attending 38 public HBCUs. In 2000, the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund expanded its mission beyond merit-based scholarships and added programmatic and capacity-building support for member colleges and universities.

Today's Program and Accomplishments

The TMSF, today, now supports 47 four-year public HBCUs and 6 law schools and has awarded more than \$50 million in scholarships, capacity-building and programmatic support. More than 5,000 Thurgood Marshall Scholars, who receive between 33% and 100% of their total tuition costs through the scholarships, have graduated and are employed in the fields of science, technology, government, human service, business, and education. The organization reports that 98% of scholarship recipients obtain degrees, and 52% of those go beyond the bachelor's degree and attend graduate or professional schools.

The TMSF estimates that their programmatic support and capacity-building grants have benefited more than 228,000 students at the 47 member colleges and universities. Additionally, the scholarship fund has provided leadership training and career management to hundreds of students selected by their institutions' presidents in their annual leadership institute.

Hurricane Katrina Projects

On August 30, 2005, Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans and caused destruction to three HBCUs: Dillard University, Xavier University of New Orleans, and Southern University of Louisiana. Southern, the only public HBCU in New Orleans and a member of the Thurgood Marshall College Fund, was particularly affected. Southern, an open-admissions institution serving mostly nontraditional students, sits just south of Lake Pontchartrain and west of the Inner Harbor Navigation Canal that connects the lake to the Mississippi River. There were five levee breaches along the canal, causing \$350 million of damage to the university. Faced with vast damage and a meager endowment

of \$2 million, the institution had no choice but to scale down its services.

In response to the devastation, the Thurgood Marshall College Fund provided more than \$250,000 in scholarships to displaced Southern students. The scholarships typically were \$500 grants to cover students' tuition, books, clothing, and essential living expenses. The grants were also available for displaced faculty. The fund also arranged for other Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund member schools such as Texas Southern University (Houston), Southern University Baton Rouge, and Southern University Shreveport (Louisiana) to assist displaced students.

Partnerships and Funding

In July 2005, the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund received a \$361,460 grant from the Lumina Foundation for Education, Inc., to improve and increase the administration of financial aid at public HBCUs. The Lumina Foundation is committed to expanding access to higher education. The purpose of this partnership is to enhance student access to financial aid information and grants at 20 of 47 member institutions. Under this program, it is believed that 85,000 students will benefit from having more information about scholarships and grants that they would likely not know about otherwise. The program, rolled out over 2 years, focuses on three key areas on each campus: needs assessments, targeted training, and general training. By offering training built upon the existing skills of financial aid personnel, this joint program aims to increase efficiency and lead to stronger financial aid practices on the institutional level.

The Thurgood Marshall College Fund relies on corporate and foundation gifts for most of its support. According to Senior Manager for Development Lisa Van Putten, in fiscal year 2005, only 13% of gifts to TMSF came from individuals. The remaining 87% came from corporate, foundation, and government grants. Understanding that alumni consistently comprise the largest segment of individual gifts to colleges, universities, and educational foundations, and that corporate, foundation, and government funding priorities are changing, TMSF dedicates time and effort to increasing support of the fund by HBCU alumni. Increasing individual

support, especially that of alumni, is essential to the TMCF's survival.

TMCF launched an initiative to increase alumni participation at both the fund and institutional levels. Funded by the Lilly Endowment and conducted by the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy, TMCF provides workshops for alumni leaders to learn how to work productively with college development officers and how to solicit contributions from their fellow alumni. This program builds on a previous Center on Philanthropy series of workshops for development officers at TMCF member institutions.

Another program is known as the RADICAL Program (Reinventing Academic Development to Inspire Creative Achievement and Learning); the Gates-Marshall project was awarded \$4.9 million over 5 years by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The project both creates new and redesigns low-performing high schools in economically distressed areas. The program's goal is to create small model secondary schools of 400 students, primarily in the South. Each school is developed through partnerships between TMCF member institution and local public school districts. Each TMCF college provides programmatic support to teachers and administrators and allows for college course enrollment to the high school's students. TMCF serves as the intermediary and assumes fiscal responsibility and programmatic oversight for the newly created partnerships. To date, seven Gates-Marshall high schools are serving 3,000 students in Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas.

The Thurgood Marshall College Fund raised \$3,708,609 through contributions in 2005. This is far below the United Negro College Fund's contributions in the same year (\$169,408,629). TMCF is highly efficient, spending only 9 cents to raise each dollar in 2005.

Merit-Based Aid

Although the Thurgood Marshall College Fund was established to help public HBCU students that "did not have the financial resources to pay for their education," TMCF has consistently given merit-aid-based scholarships rather than need-based awards. Critics of TMCF's merit-based system suggest that a need-based granting system would be

more in accord with the organization's stated goals and would enable more African Americans to attend the colleges TMCF serves. They note that merit-based aid does not increase college access in the way that need-based programs do. Recently, many states have been cutting allocations to higher education and have replaced some of this funding with state-based merit-aid programs. Additionally, over the same period, there has been an expansion in federal aid, in the form of subsidized loans and tax breaks for middle-class families. According to the Harvard Civil Rights Project, programs for the middle class have grown substantially larger than federal aid programs for poor college students. In researching the new state merit-aid programs, Don Heller, Patricia Marin, and their colleagues found that these programs often aid students that are likely to attend college even if they did not receive the scholarship. In essence, students who benefit most from merit-aid programs often have little to no financial need. However, in changing the organization's mission in 2000, the TMCF did not expand their student scholarships beyond merit-based to need-based scholarships.

Noah D. Drezner

See also Law Schools; Marshall, Thurgood;
Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities

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TRIO PROGRAMS

TRIO is the name given to eight educational partnership programs funded under the U.S. Department of Education. Their collective mission is to motivate and support students from

historically underrepresented backgrounds in order to increase these students' representation in colleges and universities. Through their various projects and activities, TRIO programs provide students with the necessary tools to complete high school and advance to postsecondary schooling. This entry looks at the historical context for these programs, their origins, and their description.

Historical Context

Historically, policymakers have viewed K–12 education and college attendance as the pathway to social mobility. However, this pathway has not been accessible to all people. Students from underrepresented groups and students from low-income families have disproportionately been excluded from educational resources, opportunities, and supports. Disparities among students are reflected in the college-going rates across racial, ethnic, and economic groups. In looking for resolutions, equity advocates have turned to projects outside of schools, such as partnership programs to address the problem of disparity.

Programs dedicated to providing extra support have become popular as a means for gaining equal representation within higher education. Referred to as educational partnerships, academic development, and prep programs, they are seen as the needed bridge to pick up where many public schools have failed to adequately provide opportunity for college access. The theory of action behind these prep programs is that through them, students who have been educationally disadvantaged will receive the support needed and have a better chance of attending postsecondary institutions. These academic development programs vary in approaches and include tutoring, counseling, and college assistance.

The history of prep programs represents the struggle in dealing with class and racial inequalities. Their development and implementation were born out of the turbulent 1960s. The United States experienced immense change through massive protests in which demands for social reform to correct the continuing unequal stratification between White and other people were frequent. Like never before, groups united in unprecedented numbers against institutional laws, which had for so long limited many groups to inferior ranks. Out of

these tumultuous times came one of the most progressive, social-oriented political agendas the United States had ever seen.

In looking to ameliorate social problems, the federal government saw the answer in education. In response to increasing demands for equity, President Lyndon B. Johnson turned to the public school system. Schooling was seen as the avenue to help overlooked and disenfranchised student populations increase their representation within higher education, whereby opening access to the potential for wealth accumulation. Through centralized government intervention, Johnson looked to overturn the destitute and deprived conditions leading to failure, by declaring a “War on Poverty” as part of his administration.

President Johnson's ideas for a more equitable society came to fruition in the form of supplementary educational assistance. In 1964, TRIO programs were created and launched. The theory was that through academic outreach programs geared to supplement traditional education, students from low-income and academically disadvantaged families would be offered the opportunities to adequately compete, allowing them to complete high school and matriculate onto college and beyond.

President Johnson the originator of such programs, early on showed a strong commitment to New Deal politics. His administration proposed one of the most drastic agendas geared toward closing various societal disparities. Johnson's concern with growing inequities and social unrest pushed him to fight hard for mandates that would close the class, racial, and economic gaps. In a speech to the University of Michigan on May 22, 1964, Johnson challenged the United States to join him in the fight for a more equal society:

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice. . . . But that is just the beginning. The great society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. . . . We must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty. So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin? Will you

join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?

Acknowledging the historical injustices the Jim Crow era had legitimized and continued to perpetuate, Johnson looked to bring about centralized programs that would effect change. Claims of commitment to equality had lingered since the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, but little had evolved within the schools. Schools continued to perpetuate a two-tiered system in which only a select few were given a quality education, while the rest, mostly students from underrepresented groups, were overlooked. President Johnson, along with equity supporters, did not choose to leave reform up to the individual school districts; massive centralized interventions were seen as the only viable option to be effective for inclusion of all students.

Built on the assertion that certain groups, because of historical injustices and continued unequal treatment, required supplementary help in order to equally compete alongside their White middle-class counterparts, President Johnson initiated various programs targeted at these populations. The programs would, in his eyes, help to eliminate poverty and racial injustice. One of the largest propositions Johnson passed was the Higher Education Act of 1965. This law brought a new focus to groups who historically had been grossly underserved by the public school system. The Higher Education Act reads as follows:

The Secretary shall carry out a program to be known as student support services which shall be designed—

- (1) To increase college retention and graduation rates for eligible students;
- (2) To increase the transfer rates of eligible students from 2 year to 4 year institutions; and
- (3) To foster an institutional climate supportive of the success of low-income and first-generation college students and individuals with disabilities.

This proposition was the first of its kind to move beyond the rhetoric, centralize an intervention, and allocate massive funding to underrepresented groups.

TRIO Is Born

In 1964, under the Higher Education Act, Upward Bound became the first program to be passed and piloted. Projects aimed at helping traditionally disadvantaged students continued to grow. A year later, in 1965, Talent Search was initiated. Special Services for Disadvantaged Students, today known as Student Support Services, was added under the 1968 amendments. This series of three gave TRIO programs their name, and it became the umbrella term for future projects with the same mission.

The umbrella expanded to include five more programs. In 1972, Congress added the Educational Opportunity Centers, and in 1976 the Training Program for Special Programs Staff and Leadership Personnel, which later changed its name to Training Program for Federal TRIO Programs. The sixth program added was the Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program in 1986, and in 1990 Upward Bound Math/Science was added. The last addition to TRIO came in 1998 with the authorization of the TRIO Dissemination Partnership Program. Together, these eight programs comprise the TRIO family.

Upward Bound's mission is to support students from low-income and first-generation families in their successful completion of high school and matriculation into college. Through afterschool and weekend workshops and a rigorous summer school component, Upward Bound provides academic instruction in core courses, tutoring, counseling, and cultural enrichment activities.

Talent Search looks to recruit middle-school-aged students from historically underrepresented backgrounds and helps lead them into higher education. Program coordinators encourage the completion of high school and matriculation as well as successful completion of college. Services include tutoring, career counseling, and financial aid workshops. The program also strives to help high school dropouts reenter school and assists them in completing secondary schooling.

Student Support Services is a project set in place to motivate and encourage successful completion of undergraduate studies. The mission of this program is to increase retention among historically underrepresented groups. Services include assistance in the registration process, tutoring, financial and personal counseling, and career counseling.

The Educational Opportunity Center offers counseling and workshops on the college admissions process to adults looking either to continue or reenter postsecondary schooling. Program mentors assist clients in the application process as well as the financial aid process.

Training Program for Federal TRIO Programs supplies funding for the professional development of TRIO employees. This program provides staff with training in current financial aid rules, general project management, design and operation of model programs, and any other area deemed necessary for successful program management.

As its mission, Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program prepares college students for doctoral work by engaging them in research. This program tracks students through their undergraduate experience and encourages application to PhD programs. Students are assisted through academic counseling, financial aid assistance, mentoring, research opportunities, summer internships, and tutoring.

Upward Bound Math/Science is specifically designed to foster the math and science skills of its participants. The program strives to recognize and develop students' math and science skills and encourage them to pursue postsecondary degrees in these areas. Program components include a rigorous summer program consisting of various classes and workshops, year-round counseling and introduction to and engagement of university faculty in mathematics and the sciences.

TRIO Dissemination Partnership Program works to bring together institutions serving students from low-income and first-generation college families. This program allows successful TRIO projects to reach out and work with institutions and community-based organizations that serve similar students but do not have a TRIO program, thus encouraging replication of successful TRIO activities.

TRIO programs are distributed across 1,000 different colleges and private agencies. Projects are contracted out to institutions and organizations where there is most need. Programs are independently run but must maintain the mission of the program and follow strict guidelines and regulations. All programs are evaluated annually to ensure they are performing as required. Through the various projects, TRIO looks to increase student higher

education access. To date, TRIO has focused on increasing student populations at postsecondary institutions. The mandate to serve the economically underrepresented within the eight programs has made them distinct from other academic outreach programs. Further, their diversity shows the great possibilities these programs have in closing societal gaps.

Laurie Mireles

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Compensatory Education; Dropouts; Higher Education Act of 1965; Jim Crow

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TUREAUD V. BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Alexander Pierre Tureaud, Jr. et al. v. Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College is a class action suit filed in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana in 1953. The purpose of the suit was to obtain a preliminary injunction against the Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University (LSU) and Agricultural and Mechanical College. Alexander Tureaud Jr. had applied for admission to the university's unique undergraduate 6-year prelaw and law degree program and been turned down. Eventually, a court ruled that state-supported universities could not deny admission on the basis of race. This case is significant to the political and legal history of African Americans in education because it came at a pivotal time in the fight to desegregate public universities. To understand the importance of this case, one must put it in the context of the legal history of the civil rights movement in higher education. This entry explores the background, the facts, and the significance of the Tureaud case.

Historical Background

Tureaud was born and raised in New Orleans, Louisiana. He was the son of Alexander P. Tureaud Sr. and Martha Hawkins. His father was the famed civil rights attorney who graduated from Howard University Law School in 1925 and was the only African American practicing attorney in Louisiana from 1937 to 1947. After completing his elementary and secondary education in the segregated New Orleans public schools, Tureaud applied for admission to LSU's undergraduate program. Because of his father's civil rights prominence, it would be natural for Tureaud to make application to the segregated LSU. However, he commented that his father did not influence his decision to

apply. He stated, "One day I just decided to attend LSU. My father always gave you the feeling that you could do what you wanted to do and it would be okay."

The Impact of Jim Crow

Postreconstruction Southern states, however, in an effort to reestablish White supremacy, had ushered in a period commonly referred to as the "Jim Crow era" (1877–1954). To reestablish White supremacy, the Southern power structure passed laws to keep the races completely separate. This was accomplished by legally disenfranchising African Americans. Southern courts also passed legislation that outlawed intermarriage, segregated all public facilities and accommodations, and created an economic system that tied the previously enslaved African labor force once again to the land. In the area of education, according to John Hope Franklin, "By 1985, most Southern states had laws that required separate schools. With the adoption of new constitutions the states firmly established the color line by the most stringent segregation of the races."

To challenge segregation, African American leaders and their White supporters turned to the courts. However, in 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court dashed their hopes for relief. The Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, established the "separate-but-equal doctrine," which legalized the separation of the races in public facilities and accommodations. This decision confirmed that the act of separating the races was not a violation of equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Therefore, it was legal for states, like Louisiana, to have public universities for Whites as long as the states also provided equal postsecondary institutions for African American students.

During the first half of the 20th century, African Americans continued to fight to achieve their goals in federal courts. However, courts were reluctant to intervene in the affairs of colleges because of colleges' in loco parentis role. A Kentucky court in *Gott v. Berea College* (1913), commenting on the authority of college administrators, stated, "We are unable to see why, to that end, they may not make any rules or regulations for the government or betterment of their pupils than a parent could for the same purpose."

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Strategy

Blacks, under the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), began their higher-education fight in the area of graduate and professional education. They attacked this area first because African Americans were denied admission to all-White graduate and professional schools, and most states did not offer this level of education to African Americans. African Americans sought and achieved success in three areas.

First, in 1936, Lloyd Gaines applied and was rejected from the all-White law school at the University of Missouri because of its policy of not admitting African Americans. He appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, and in 1938, in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, the Court found that denying Gaines admission was a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Missouri was denying the privilege of legal education to their African American citizens while providing it to Whites. Moreover, the Court indicated that the practice of states providing scholarships for African Americans to attend schools out of state was discriminatory and a violation of the equal protection clause.

Second, African Americans began to attack the quality of graduate and professional schools established by the states for African Americans. They argued that graduate programs established at these schools were unequal and therefore inferior to those at segregated White universities. In 1950, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the law school at the University of Texas to admit Heman Sweatt. In *Sweatt v. Painter*, the Supreme Court determined that the separate law school established for African Americans could not be equal to that of the University of Texas law school. The criteria used by the Court when arriving at its decision included the quality and experience of the faculty and administrators; the number of library holdings; and the school's influential alumni, community reputation, prestige, and traditions. The Court established that Sweatt had a constitutional right to the same quality of legal education afforded White citizens of the state; and to deny this right was a constitutional violation.

Finally, the third area that African Americans attacked in their efforts to erode the "separate-but-equal" doctrine began when G. W. McLaurin applied and was admitted to the Graduate School at the University of Oklahoma as a candidate for the doctorate in education. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma*, had already ordered the law school at the University of Oklahoma to admit Ada Sipuel, who had been rejected because of her race. Therefore, in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education* (1950), the plaintiffs accepted McLaurin to the university, but he was segregated in all areas of the campus life. He was physically separated from his White classmates in the classroom, library, and cafeteria. McLaurin sued the university, stating that "such restrictions impaired and inhibited his ability to study, to engage in discussions, exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." In 1950, the Court held that segregating McLaurin deprived him of an effective graduate education.

This was the historical context in which the *Tureaud* case evolved. African American leadership took steps to chip away at segregation with the assistance of federal courts. However, their higher-education successes dealt with graduate or professional education; the *Tureaud* case was the first dealing with undergraduate education. When Tureaud submitted his application for admission to LSU in June 1953, the stage already had been set by the Supreme Court decisions in the *Gaines*, *Painter*, and *McLaurin* cases.

Facts of the Case

On August 8, 1953, when LSU rejected Tureaud's application, the scene was set to attack undergraduate education for African Americans. Tureaud had the option of attending Southern University, which offered the program of study; however, the dean of the law school indicated that because of the "extremely tight undergraduate requirement we have been unsuccessful in perfecting the program. To date we have not had one person to qualify under this program though several have tried and made steady progress at it."

Tureaud's case was heard on September 8, by Judge James Skelly Wright. He was known for his position that the state of Louisiana must recognize

African American civil rights. Although Tureaud's attorneys wanted a hearing by a three-judge panel, Judge Wright refused, indicating that the issues of the case had already been adjudicated by the court.

Robert Carter, a NAACP lawyer from New York; U. Simpson Tate, a lawyer from the NAACP Southwest Regional Office; and Antoine M. Trudeau Jr., a local lawyer represented the plaintiff in this case. Trudeau's father, Alexander Pierre Tureaud Sr. could not handle the legal arguments because he was also a plaintiff in the case.

Tureaud's attorneys based their request for a preliminary injunction against LSU because of the university's policy of denying admission to African American students who applied to their undergraduate division. They also argued that the program at Southern University was not of equal quality to the LSU program. They indicated that African American students completing the arts and science program at Southern University would not be awarded the arts and science degree by LSU once they successfully completed their first year of law school. However, White students at LSU who completed the art and sciences program would receive their degree after their first year of law school. The defendants, in response to this argument, stated that African American students who completed their arts and sciences work at Southern University and completed their first year of law school at LSU might return to Southern and obtain an arts and sciences degree.

The Court Ruling

Judge Wright indicated in his opinion that denying admission to qualified African American applicants solely because of their race was a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. He also indicated that African American citizens and residents of the state of Louisiana must be afforded the same rights and access given to others. Utilizing the criteria the Supreme Court provided in *Sweatt v. Painter*, Judge Wright compared the combined arts and sciences and law programs at Southern University and LSU. He found that the program at Southern University was substantially unequal in all areas. Therefore, on September 11, Judge Wright ruled in favor of the plaintiff and granted the preliminary injunction requiring LSU to admit Tureaud to the undergraduate school.

On September 14, 1953, 3 days later, Tureaud arrived in Baton Rouge to begin his freshman year at LSU; however, he was not permitted to register. Robert Brooks, an LSU attorney, informed Tureaud and his father that the university had applied for a new trial and an order to stay the execution of the preliminary injunction. His father immediately contacted Judge Wright, and a new trial was set for September 16, after it was determined that Tureaud had until September 18 to register for classes.

LSU argued, during the second hearing, that Judge Wright was in error by not convening a three-judge panel, a claim that was not made by the defendants during the first trial. Judge Wright rejected the motions and refused to rescind the preliminary injunction. On September 18, Tureaud registered as a freshman; however, LSU considered his registration conditional pending further court action.

Appeals Process

LSU filed an appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The court on October 28 reversed the decision of the lower court on the technicality that a three-judge court should have heard the case. Chief Judge Joseph Chappell Hutcheson Jr. and Judge Robert Lee Russell ruled for defendants. Judge Richard Rives, writing a very strong dissenting opinion, argued that the case did not warrant having a three-judge panel in federal statute or case law. He also supported Judge Wright's handling of the case when he stated that "this case presented, I think, purely a factual question, the decision of which was for the district judge, and commendably he shouldered the responsibility imposed upon him by law." Therefore, on November 9, Judge Wright vacated the order requiring that Tureaud be enrolled at LSU. On November 10, LSU wrote the following letter to Tureaud:

Please be advised that your registration in the LSU undergraduate division has been cancelled. . . . This action was done because the temporary preliminary injunction issued by the Federal District Court, under which you were admitted . . . has been vacated and set aside by the Court of Appeals.

In response, Tureaud's attorneys filed a petition for certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court to stay the

Fifth Circuit's decision on November 16, 1953. The Supreme Court granted the stay; however, Tureaud had already left LSU and never returned. He enrolled and ultimately graduated from Xavier University. On May 24, the Supreme Court, in a per curiam decision covering three civil rights cases, vacated the Fifth Circuit's decision and remanded Tureaud's case given its recent decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). In *Brown*, the Court established that the "separate-but-equal doctrine" that was established in *Plessy* was unconstitutional. Therefore, on August 23, a three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit affirmed Judge Wright's initial judgment and reinstated the preliminary injunction again LSU. However, the LSU Board appealed once again, requesting a rehearing of the case.

On October 26, 1954, the court entered an order granting a rehearing and setting aside the preliminary injunction given the mandate of the Supreme Court in *Brown*. On November 8, 1955, the Fifth Circuit determined that the case would be heard en banc without oral arguments. The court, with one dissent, vacated the October 26, 1955, and remanded the case to the "district court for further and not inconsistent proceedings including its disposition on the merits." LSU filed a petition for a writ of certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court that was denied on May 5, 1956, without comment.

Impact of the Ruling

This decision ended the legal history of *Tureaud v. Board of Supervisors*. The reinstatement of the preliminary injunction, while not directly affecting Tureaud, had a major impact on future African American applicants who applied to the undergraduate programs. The case established that state-funded universities could not deny admission to students because of their race. African Americans began to enroll in the undergraduate school at LSU in 1960, and Ernest N. Morial was the first African American graduate of LSU Law School.

John S. Gooden and Richard L. Jones

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; Franklin, John Hope; Jim Crow; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*; *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Plessy v. Ferguson*

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TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY

Tuskegee University is a state-related and independent historically Black institution located in Tuskegee, Alabama, that has a teaching and research emphasis. Its first president, Booker T. Washington, and an early faculty member, George Washington Carver, are among the illustrious figures associated with the university. The only college or university designated a National Historic Site by the U.S. Congress, Tuskegee is home to the George Washington Carver Museum, the Oaks—Washington's home—and the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site.

The School of Veterinary Medicine is the only one of its kind at a historically Black institution, and the school produces more than 75% of African American veterinarians in the world. Tuskegee is also the number one producer of African American aerospace science engineers in the nation and a leading source

of chemical, electrical, and mechanical engineers. In addition, the university is home to the winningest Black college football team in the United States.

The university comprises five academic colleges, specifically, the colleges of Agricultural, Environmental, and Natural Sciences; College of Business and Information Science; College of Engineering, Architecture and Physical Sciences; College of Liberal Arts and Education; and the College of Veterinary Medicine, Nursing and Allied Health. Approximately 50 majors are offered that lead to baccalaureate, master's, professional, and doctoral degrees.

The university consists of a coeducational student body of roughly 3,000 undergraduate and graduate students who represent 48 states and more than 30 countries. Spread over 268 acres, Tuskegee occupies 161 buildings, and total property exceeds 5,000 acres. This entry traces its history by looking at the five men who have led Tuskegee University over its first 125 years.

Booker T. Washington

Founded in a one-room shanty at Butler Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Tuskegee was the project of George Campbell, a past enslaver, and Lewis Adams, a formerly enslaved African. On July 4, 1881, Alabama House Bill 165 was passed, allocating a \$2,000 appropriation for teacher salaries. There was no physical property or buildings; however, there was state authorization for the establishment of the school to educate Macon County residents. Campbell, through his nephew, was seeking a teacher to run Tuskegee, and he recruited an individual from Hampton Institute. Booker Taliaferro Washington was called on to be the first principal.

Born enslaved around 1856 in Franklin County, Virginia, Booker T. Washington became one of the most preminent leaders in U.S. history. Washington worked in a salt furnace and in coal mines; he was educated at Hampton Institute and mentored by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. He was rooted in the industrial education philosophy of “working with the hands” coupled with the use of morality, decency, and order.

As Tuskegee's first principal, Washington is one of the best-known Tuskegee leaders. He developed Tuskegee as a magnet for White northern industrial

dollars, raising millions for the industrial institution. Trades such as sewing, cooking, harnessing, carpentry, brick making, and machinery were mainstays of the Washington curricula. His philosophy did not win the favor of some Whites, who claimed that educating the African Americans would lead to the economic devalue of their industries and might lead African Americans to not want to work in domestic positions.

In the early years of instruction at Tuskegee, students had an inflexible schedule of studying and working. By 1888, students woke up at 5:00 in the morning and went to bed at 9:30 nightly. In lieu of tuition and fees, Tuskegee students helped in the construction of the dining facility, girl's dormitory, chapel, and classrooms. Many of these buildings are still in use today.

Washington delivered a speech at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895. In this speech, Washington calls for African Americans to “cast down your bucket where you are—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.” Washington articulated that African Americans are content with their social position in life and that they should strive for further vocational training and self-economic advancement.

Washington worked alongside notable faculty like George Washington Carver, who arrived at Tuskegee in 1896 to become the director of agriculture. In this position, Carver realized that farmers needed new farming methods. He pushed the farmers away from cotton to peanuts and soybeans and taught them self-sufficiency and conservation. He felt that his most important method for educating farmers was the Jessup Wagon concept, a university rural farming extension practice initiated by Carver using a mule and wagon, and later the automotive Jessup Wagon, to teach farmers new production techniques on their farms. Created in 1906, it was a “laboratory on wheels” that brought new approaches to the farmers.

Washington continued his philosophy of uplifting African Americans through practical education with the establishment of the Negro Business League (NBL) in 1900. Booker T. Washington taught his people to embody “economic empowerment” through the creation of his Negro Business League.

In 1901, Washington became the first African American person to dine in the White House via

invitation of President Theodore Roosevelt; until his death, he counseled many U.S. presidents. A \$2 million endowment, 1,500 students, 40 trades, 100 buildings, and roughly 200 faculty were on hand at the time of Washington's death.

Robert Russa Moton

Washington died in 1915 on the campus of Tuskegee, and Robert Russa Moton succeeded him. Moton had been Washington's friend and was considered to be "safe, sane, and conservative" by the Tuskegee Board of Trustees. He was also an alumnus of Hampton Institute, and after graduating, he became the commander in charge of military discipline at Hampton Institute. He continued the advancement of Tuskegee by expanding the physical plant and adding a junior college and 4-year college program to the institute.

With Moton's assistance, the following major academic and student life buildings were added: Samuel Chapman Armstrong Hall, the William G. Willcox Trade Buildings, James Chambliss Building, a greenhouse, Chambliss Children's House, the dairy and horse barn, Margaret Murray Washington Hall, Logan Hall, and the main library—Hollis Burke Frissell Library.

Baccalaureate degrees with majors in education, agriculture, home economics, and mechanical industries were added under Moton's administration. This move was inevitable because of the pressure that came from state officials about academic standards for African American educators. White supremacy was a prevalent mainstream philosophy during this time, and African American educators were needed in order to combat this racism. Like Washington, Moton enjoyed access to wealthy White men and foundations, and he secured many endowments for Tuskegee. He also became a counsel to many U.S. presidents.

In 1932, the U.S. Public Health Service conducted a research study under Moton's administration. The focus of the study was to record the history of syphilis in African Americans. The government named the study the "Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Male." Roughly 600 men were subjects in the study; 399 were a part of the experimental group, and 201 were control subjects. This study took place on the campus of Tuskegee Institute.

None of the participants were told that they had syphilis, and the Public Health Service not only denied them adequate treatment but also went to some length to ensure that the 399 members of the experimental group were not treated by other health providers who became aware of their disease. When the methods of the study became public, there was a considerable outcry, and the outcome has been significant changes in the ways in which informed consent and research is conducted at U.S. institutions.

Moton served Tuskegee until his declining health led to his resignation in 1935. He died in 1940 and was buried at his alma mater, Hampton Institute.

Frederick D. Patterson

Named after journalist and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, Frederick D. Patterson succeeded Moton as president. Born in October 1901, Patterson attended Iowa State College, where he obtained a doctorate in veterinary medicine, and Cornell University, where he received a second doctorate. Patterson was instrumental in bringing the only school of veterinary medicine to a historically Black institution in 1944. He headed the veterinary division, directed the agricultural school, and was then named president of the university. Another one of Patterson's major accomplishments was the establishment of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF).

In the same year he started the veterinary medicine school, the UNCF was launched. Spurred by a lack of fund-raising, Patterson wrote a letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier* requesting that Black college presidents across the country pool together to form an organization to raise money for all private Black institutions.

Patterson was also instrumental in bringing a famed flight program to the university, later called the Tuskegee Airmen. This all-Black squadron included decorated World War II veterans and became the first African American military air squadron in the United States. Racism was rampant at this time, and many people believed that African Americans lacked the skill and courage to fly fighter jets. In order for individuals to be selected, highly competitive qualifications were enacted; most of the airmen were college graduates or undergraduates, or they passed entrance examinations. Patterson

served as president of Tuskegee until 1953. U.S. President Ronald Reagan bestowed upon him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award, in 1987, and a year later, Patterson succumbed; he is buried on Tuskegee's campus.

Luther Hilton Foster

Luther Hilton Foster succeeded Patterson as president of Tuskegee in 1953. He was born on the campus of St. Paul's College in Virginia; his father was a college administrator there. Foster received degrees from Virginia State, Hampton, Harvard, and the University of Chicago. Foster headed Tuskegee for 28 years, longer than any other Tuskegee leader. He led the university through the civil rights movement and student activism. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) member and Tuskegee student Sammy Young's activism characterizes the university's involvement in the movement. Sammy Young was one of the first African American students to die in the liberation movement. Also, the court case *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* (1960) speaks to the influence that Tuskegee played during these transformational years. This case found that an electoral district that was set up to disenfranchise African Americans was a direct violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Foster faithfully served as president of Tuskegee until 1981, and his successor, Benjamin Payton, described him as "quiet but firm." His legacy was marked permanently in 2002 by the naming of the engineering building on Tuskegee's campus. Foster created the engineering programs during his tenure; the building is now named Luther H. Foster Hall. Foster passed away in 1994 in East Point, Georgia.

Benjamin Franklin Payton

Since 1981, Benjamin Franklin Payton has served Tuskegee University as president. After the retirement of Luther Foster in 1981, the board of trustees sought a person who had national exposure and was an outsider to the Tuskegee community, according to Board Chairman Andrew F. Brimmer. Payton earned degrees from South Carolina State

University, Harvard University, Columbia University, and Yale University, and prior to joining Tuskegee, he was program officer of Higher Education and Research at the Ford Foundation and president of Benedict College, a historically Black college in Columbia, South Carolina.

Some of Payton's accomplishments include the establishment of the General "Chappie" James Center for Aerospace Science Engineering and Health Education, the creation of two PhD programs in material science and engineering and integrative biosciences, and establishment of the National Center for Bioethics in Research and Health Care. He developed the Kellogg Conference Center at Tuskegee University, which is one of 12 Kellogg Centers in the world. Of note, Payton to date has raised more than \$200 million for the university.

Tuskegee University is unique in that it has only had five presidents since its founding in 1881. The university celebrated its 125-year anniversary in 2006, and it has a renewed vision to continue the work of Booker T. Washington. Payton announced his retirement in the spring of 2009, effective June 2010.

Tryan L. McMickens

See also United Negro College Fund (UNCF); Washington, Booker T.

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UNITARY STATUS

Unitary status is a legal status of a school district, indicating that the district—formerly under a court-mandated desegregation order—has achieved, to the extent practicable, the court’s requirements regarding desegregation. Once districts believe the mandates of their individual court desegregation orders have been met, they can apply for unitary status. When the court grants this status, the court desegregation order is lifted. The district is then no longer subject to court oversight. Without court oversight, unitary districts may return to a system of neighborhood schooling, which often results in rapid resegregation. Beginning with the 1991 U.S. Supreme Court case of *Board of Education of the Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell*, unitary status rulings have brought about huge rises in segregation in places where increased desegregation was once predominant. This entry looks at the history of court rulings about unitary status.

Gaining Unitary Status

Beginning with the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, ruling in 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court required public school districts to dismantle dual schooling systems and take the necessary steps to create *unitary* systems. In this context, dual systems were school districts that had imposed de jure segregation by mandating within state laws and constitutions that African American

children would be educated separately from White children. This 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision intended to abolish such systems and replace them with unitary systems. The unanimous opinion of the court was that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal,” thereby overturning the long-standing separate-but-equal precedent established in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896.

In the 1968 *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* case, the Supreme Court further clarified what was meant by a “unitary system” by identifying six factors that federal courts must consider when determining a district’s progress toward a unitary system: the racial composition of the student body, faculty, staff, transportation, extra-curricular activities, and facilities. Subsequently, these items are also known as *Green* factors. Districts under court-mandated desegregation orders were required to demonstrate that they were doing everything possible to make progress in all six areas in their pursuits of unitary systems.

In the stride toward dismantling segregation, the Supreme Court further sought to uphold racial balancing in public schools when it ruled in the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education* case. The court upheld the use of mathematical ratios of White to African American students as starting points for the desegregation process; it also permitted the pairing of noncontiguous school zones as well as the use of busing where the assignment of children to the school nearest their homes would not produce effective results in the attempt to dismantle dual systems of schooling. After this ruling, all three remedies

were implemented as reasonable and effective desegregation tools. It has been suggested that the *Swann* decision promoted remarkable strides in school districts located in southern states and bordering states, as schools in these areas became the most integrated in the nation.

By using a variety of desegregation tools, school districts were able to make steady, though often slow headway in the transition from racially dual systems to desegregated, unitary systems. Nevertheless, many lower courts expressed divergent understandings of both the substantive accomplishments and procedural steps that would enable a dual school system to be declared unitary. In the 1991 *Board of Education of the Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell* case, the Supreme Court specifically addressed the standards required for achieving unitary status.

At that time, the Court held that a declaration of unitary status is appropriate only after a hearing at which the defendant school district bears the burden of proof for accomplishing each of the following: compliance with the desegregation order for a reasonable period of time; the elimination of all vestiges of past discrimination to the extent practicable—including compliance to all six *Green* factors; and a good faith demonstration of its commitment to the constitutional rights that were the predicate for judicial intervention.

The Supreme Court reasoned that a desegregation order was not intended to be judicial tutelage for the indefinite future, and when a district complies with the aforementioned guidelines, it should be declared unitary. With this ruling, Oklahoma City schools became the first school system to be declared fully unitary and to achieve unitary status after 19 years of court-ordered desegregation.

Incremental Release

Just 1 year following the *Dowell* case, the Court's decision in *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992) allowed courts to relinquish control of school systems incrementally. If the federal court found a school system to be making a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of their court order, they were justified in returning control over certain areas (areas where the district was

in compliance with certain *Green* factors) to the school board—even if compliance with all of the desegregation order and all of the *Green* factors was not achieved. As such, a district could be declared partially unitary and therefore partially relieved of court oversight.

The *Freeman v. Pitts* ruling also recognized that a federal court could exercise its discretion not only to address the *Green* factors, but also to ask whether other aspects should be specified and to ascertain if African American students were being disadvantaged in ways that necessitated the development of additional strategies to ensure full compliance with the court order. Such reasoning was most notably used in the *Missouri v. Jenkins* (2000) case when the Eighth Circuit Court reversed the district court's declaration of unitary status. The court considered the use of standardized test scores as an indication of inequality in education and interpreted the achievement gap between White and African American students as a vestige of prior segregation.

Given the legal history of desegregation, unitary status is essentially a legal term used to describe the status of a district that has complied with its court desegregation order to eliminate the vestiges of segregation in accordance with all six *Green* factors and whatever other remedies lower courts deem appropriate.

Kristie J. R. Phillips

See also Desegregation; *Freeman v. Pitts*; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*

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UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND (UNCF)

The United Negro College Fund (UNCF) is the nation's largest and oldest fund-raising organization for African American education. Founded by Frederick D. Patterson in 1944, it continues to provide operating funds and scholarships for 39 historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Although the fund's strategy has changed over the years, it continues to provide important support for HBCUs. This entry begins with the historical background around the fund's founding, describes its early years, and then looks at how it responded to the challenges of a postsegregation world.

Social and Educational Context

When Patterson became president of Tuskegee Institute in 1935, he quickly realized that his institution—and Black colleges in general—were in the midst of a fund-raising crisis. Among the problems Patterson confronted was the state of wealth in the United States. The golden age of fund-raising came crashing down in economic ruin and social chaos as the Great Depression followed in the wake of the stock market crash of October 1929. This bitter climax to the false prosperity of the 1920s brought an end to the most productive era of voluntary giving the country had ever witnessed.

Many of the wealthy people who had given to Tuskegee under presidents Booker T. Washington and Robert R. Moton had lost their money in the Great Depression and had not yet found ways to recover. Others had died, and their children lacked the philanthropic interests of their parents. Still other wealthy donors were angry with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration for their increased taxation of the rich. Typically, these conservative donors argued that private philanthropy, rather than the government, should provide relief for the poor. When Black college presidents approached wealthy individuals, the typical response would be to go ask Roosevelt for support; he took our money.

Patterson could see the writing on the wall: Black colleges were in dire financial trouble. As a result of the financial difficulties felt throughout

the nation, between 1930 and 1940 several of the better-known small Black colleges, including Roger Williams, Mary Allen, Walden, and Howe Institute, closed their doors. Some of the more nationally known Black colleges were merging in order to survive. Under the guidance of John Hope, Atlanta University had become the graduate university of the Atlanta University Center (which included Spelman, Morehouse, and Atlanta University). Likewise, New Orleans and Straight Colleges merged to form Dillard University. Other institutions, which were once private, had their grounds and facilities taken over by state governments in an effort to survive. These “new” state institutions included Fort Valley State, North Carolina College, and Jackson State (Mississippi).

The later 1930s and early 1940s were a pivotal time for African Americans in the United States; the nation was experiencing racial friction on a national scale, and the “Negro problem” was at the forefront of U.S. minds, with the publication of Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma*. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was crafting legal challenges to segregation at the graduate level; A. Philip Randolph was preparing for his March on Washington to protest segregation in war-related employment and the military; and James Farmer organized the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to campaign against segregation in public accommodations.

In the midst of this atmosphere, Patterson found it difficult to run Tuskegee in an efficient manner while meeting the needs of poor students. After much frustration with the fund-raising situation, Patterson began to correspond with a group of Black college presidents about the challenges of raising money and possible solutions to these problems. The majority of college presidents wrote back to him detailing their similarly bleak financial situations and providing anecdotes about the difficulty of approaching foundations for funds. Patterson realized from his correspondence that Black college presidents were competing for the same small pool of funds—everyone was soliciting the same organizations and the same donors.

A New Organization

In 1943, in response to this critical situation, Patterson crafted the idea of a united appeal for

private Black colleges. Among the models Patterson looked into developing his idea was the March of Dimes National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. This campaign pushed giving in a new direction by reaching out to the average citizen rather than focusing exclusively on a small number of wealthy donors. On April 25, 1944, Patterson established the United Negro College Fund with 27 member colleges and a combined enrollment of 14,000 students.

Internal Consensus

Eighteen Black college presidents came to the initial meeting of the United Negro College Fund, including Dillard University's Albert Dent, Spelman College's Florence Read, Atlanta University's Rufus Clement, LeMoyne Owen College's Hollis Price, and Morehouse College's Benjamin Mays. Patterson invited the college leaders to meet with a representative from the John Price Jones fund-raising firm, a firm with which Tuskegee had worked in 1925.

Some of the college presidents thought the idea of the UNCF would not work. Buell Gallagher of Talladega, for example, came to the meeting with a paper in hand that detailed the myriad reasons the idea was flawed. Thomas Elsa Jones, then president of Fisk University, was highly skeptical but eventually became one of the fund's most valued participants. Jones's main concern was the distance that would emerge between the individual Black colleges and donors when the UNCF served as the conduit. President Gallagher decided not to join because he thought the combined fund-raising effort would weaken the strength of the individual colleges. However, after the UNCF had a successful first year, he changed his mind.

In the words of the Frederick D. Patterson, one of the most important goals for the UNCF was to help provide funds for operating budgets—10% of each member college's budget. Even more important was educating the United States as to the contributions that Black colleges and their graduates had made throughout the nation. Because the monetary goal was to be achieved through public relations, publicity and the establishment of a national presence became the major focus of the organization. Specifically, the UNCF sought to raise funds for member colleges; promote better public understanding and appreciation of the

needs and problems of African Americans through fund-raising; and set an example of interracial cooperation in the UNCF's national campaign.

Of course, the organization had a daunting task ahead of it in a time of uncertainty throughout the country—the United States was in the midst of World War II. In addition, the idea of raising funds through interracial cooperation was a new concept that would not be welcomed by everyone.

Rockefeller's Role

From the start, Patterson wanted to create an organization led by Blacks working on behalf of Black institutions. However, during its early years the UNCF was merely a new face on 20th-century industrial philanthropy. As a result of his previous interactions as a college president with the General Education Board, Patterson easily convinced John D. Rockefeller Jr. to publicly endorse and financially support the UNCF. Patterson emphasized the importance of leadership and the significance of such endorsements in fund-raising campaigns.

Rockefeller Jr. was intrigued by the idea because it was consistent with his family's perspective as well as his politics. Patterson sold him on the UNCF by couching it in the framework of Black self-help. The industrialist came to the endeavor with a background that lauded "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps" and with an obsession with convincing the public that capitalism was benign. Rockefeller Jr., therefore, was easily convinced that the UNCF was a good idea and was confident he could persuade others to back the cause. Almost immediately, he convinced the Julius Rosenwald Fund to join him in supporting the UNCF with a \$25,000 donation.

Rockefeller Jr. initially maintained a tight grip on the UNCF's everyday activities. Although Patterson and his Black colleagues were the leaders of the organization, the rules were crafted by those Whites who, with their money, made the UNCF possible during the early days. As such, during the mid-1940s, the UNCF publicly acted and represented itself in a conservative manner, portraying Black college students as loyal, hardworking citizens—an image that Rockefeller Jr. could use to bring in large sums of philanthropic support. Behind the scenes, the African American leaders desired integration and equality of all kinds—economic, political, and social.

In the early years, the African American leaders of the UNCF operated behind a veil, working within the confines of a White world. During this same time, the UNCF built its infrastructure and fund-raising base. The UNCF provided a mechanism for businesses to give to higher education in a systematic and continual fashion rather than for ad hoc projects as they had in the past. It was during this time that the UNCF's National Women's Committee made strides in the New York City area, raising funds while also challenging societal taboos and pushing the boundaries on interracial socializing.

Responding to *Brown*

With the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, decision in 1954, the UNCF changed its public image. In light of the U.S. Supreme Court's pronouncement that segregated environments were inferior, the UNCF faced the dilemma of how to represent its all-Black campuses without seeming to be against integration. At this time the UNCF's African American leadership focused on the benefits of attending Black colleges as well as the possibility of integration. By the mid-1960s, several philanthropic organizations, including the Ford and Carnegie foundations, began to question whether Black colleges should exist at all.

In cooperation with prominent researchers, these foundations attempted to evaluate the performance of the Black institutions. Some of the reports issued by foundations contained blistering attacks, denigrating the colleges for mismanagement and low academic standards, and creating the need for a robust defense by the UNCF. As part of this defense, the fund began to change the way it presented Black colleges to the public. Combined with more militant students on Black college campuses, the attacks forced the UNCF to embrace a new Black-centered image and to become more activist in the public stances it took.

The images used to represent the 39 member colleges were no longer conservative and docile, but instead assertive, active, and spirited. These changes also reflected a shift in African American consciousness taking place throughout the country—a groundswell felt within the UNCF leadership. Black leaders of the organization were now at the helm, proactively representing the colleges to the public by, for example,

meeting with U.S. presidents, making public appearances, and advertising.

Spurred by a growing Black middle class, the 1970s brought about more change and a greater national presence for the UNCF. It was at this time that the UNCF coined the phrase, “A Mind Is a Terrible Thing to Waste”—a slogan that invoked a sense of compassion and obligation in many U.S. citizens who might not have previously given to Black education. No longer relying primarily on money from large philanthropies, the UNCF began to draw from a broader donor pool throughout the country. The 1980s and 1990s were a time of growth for the UNCF. New leadership, specifically the leadership of William Gray, shaped the organization into an efficient entity and designed more effective fund-raising strategies that helped raise \$1.6 billion for the member colleges. Perhaps the UNCF's greatest accomplishment was securing a \$1 billion gift from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation in 1999. Through this gift, the UNCF is able to offer scholarships to students in a fashion unparalleled by any other organization.

Marybeth Gasman

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Tuskegee University

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UNITED STATES V. JEFFERSON COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

The case of the *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education* (2007) is an affirmative action case in which the school district used race as a factor to decide student placement in efforts to voluntarily achieve racial desegregation. Jefferson County Public Schools (JCPS) used different attendance zones for African American and White students in order to decide student placement at three traditional magnet elementary schools. This entry chronicles *United States v. Jefferson Board of Education*, a case in which a White student was denied enrollment to a particular school based on race. The parent sued Jefferson County Public Schools, arguing that using race as a determining factor in student placement violated the student's Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection under the laws.

Historical Context

In the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, decision of 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "separate-but-equal" schools were unconstitutional, based on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was not the inequality of the facilities but the fact of legally separating children on the basis of race on which the Court relied to find a constitutional violation in 1954. As a result, full compliance with the *Brown* decision meant school districts all over the nation were forced by law to achieve a system of determining admission to public schools on a nonracial basis.

In 1973, a federal court found that Jefferson County was not in compliance, as the school district had remained highly segregated. Approximately half of the district's population was White and about half was African American. Fourteen of the

district's 19 middle and high schools were nearly all-Black or all-White. Nineteen of the district's 46 elementary schools were between 80% and 100% Black. Twenty-one elementary schools were roughly between 90% and 100% White. In 1975, the district court entered a desegregation decree. Jefferson County Public Schools in Louisville, Kentucky, were integrated by court order until 2000 when the district court dissolved the decree after finding that the district had achieved unitary status by eliminating "to the greatest extent practicable" the remnants of its prior policy of segregation. After the release from the court mandate, JCPS implemented an enrollment plan in efforts to maintain substantial racial integration.

By the end of the decree, approximately 34% of the district's 97,000 students were African American, and most of the remaining 66% were White. Under the new enrollment plan, students were given school choice, but not all schools could accommodate all applicants. In such cases, student enrollment was decided based on criteria that included place of residence, school capacity, and random chance as well as race. In attempts to racially balance the schools, no school population was allowed to have an enrollment of Black students less than 15% or greater than 50% of its population.

At the elementary level, JCPS students are assigned to a "resides" school based on their address. Elementary resides schools are grouped into clusters in order to facilitate integration. Parents of kindergartners, first graders, and students new to the district may submit an application indicating first- and second-choice schools among schools within their cluster. If students do not submit an application, they are assigned with a cluster by the district. District policy states that decisions to assign students to schools within each cluster are based on available space within the schools and the racial guidelines in the district's student assignment plan, and if a school has reached the "extremes of the racial guidelines," a student whose race would contribute to the school's racial imbalance would not be assigned to that school. After all assignments have been completed, all students are permitted to apply to transfer between nonmagnet schools in the district. Students and parents may request transfers for any number of reasons; however, transfers may be denied as a result of lack of available space or on the basis of racial guidelines.

Facts of the Case

In August 2002, Crystal Meredith moved to the JCPS district. She enrolled her son, Joshua McDonald, in kindergarten for the 2002–2003 school year. Joshua's residence school was only a mile from his new home, but the school had no space assignments and the class was filled to capacity. JCPS assigned Joshua to Young Elementary, another elementary school in his cluster, which was located 10 miles from his home. Crystal Meredith attempted to transfer her son to Bloom Elementary, which was only a mile from their home but was not in their cluster. Space was available at Bloom and intercluster transfers were permitted, but Joshua's transfer was denied because JCPS stated that the transfer would have "an adverse effect on desegregation compliance." In other words, Joshua would disrupt the racial balance of the school.

It is not clear why the racial guidelines were even applied to Joshua's transfer application, since the guidelines do not apply at the kindergarten level. However, it was clear that Joshua's transfer application was denied based on his race, and his mother, Crystal Meredith, filed suit not because the guidelines were misapplied, but because Joshua's race was used as a determining factor at all.

Meredith alleged violations of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Her suit was brought forth in the Western District of Kentucky. In earlier U.S. Supreme Court decisions (*Gratz v. Bollinger*; 2003; *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003), it was decided that race-based classifications must be directed toward a "compelling government interest" and must be "narrowly tailored" to that interest.

The Western District Court of Kentucky ruled that the district's plan to racially balance the schools was constitutional because the school had a compelling interest in maintaining racial diversity. The court held that though the plan paid "some attention to numbers," it did not constitute a rigid quota system, and according to the Supreme Court's precedents, rigid racial quotas are never narrowly tailored. Without issuing an opinion of its own (concluding that a written opinion "would serve no useful purpose"), the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the district court. Meredith appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, Joshua was granted a transfer to Bloom Elementary, the school to which the transfer was originally denied under the racial guidelines; however, racial guidelines apply at all grade levels. Upon Joshua's enrollment in middle school, he could again be subject to assignment based on race. Meredith pushed forward in her complaint, in addition seeking damages based on this possibility.

A Seattle Case

A similar case was on the horizon in Seattle. Seattle School District No. 1 had a policy similar to that of JCPS, in that both districts attempted to address de facto segregation tied in part to housing patterns. The purpose of the voluntary desegregation plans was to attempt to prevent the school districts from becoming members of de facto segregation with minority students isolated in inner-city schools and White students isolated in suburban schools.

Like JCPS, Seattle School District No. 1 decided to use race as a factor in deciding which students would attend particular schools. In Seattle, the school board set student enrollment at the district's most popular high schools within 15 percentage points of the overall balance of the district's students, which was 40% White and 60% non-White. While students were permitted to attend any of the district's 10 high schools, because some schools were more popular than others, the board created a racial tiebreaker to determine eligibility at the most popular schools.

If a new student would cause that particular school's White or non-White student population to increase above the 55% cutoff, the student was denied enrollment to that school. In the plan's first year, more than 300 White students were denied admission to their preferred school based on race. Thirty students left the public school system rather than attend their assigned schools. Parents who opposed the plan stated that Seattle schools were already diverse and that the race tiebreaker was an attempt to achieve unconstitutional racial balancing. Seattle School District No. 1 lawyers argued that the desire to integrate public schools is not the constitutional equivalent of seeking to maintain a segregated school system. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit upheld Seattle's desegregation plan, stating that the plan "carries no racial stigma and says nothing at all about that individual's aptitude."

The program does use race as a criterion, but only to ensure that the population of each public school roughly reflects the city's racial composition." Many parents in the Seattle case appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, claiming that any enrollment policy that considers a student's race, even if the intention is to achieve racial diversity, is unconstitutional. The challengers were backed by President George W. Bush's administration, which stated in a court brief that "the solution to addressing racial imbalance in communities . . . is not to adopt race-conscious measures." In addition, parents and their lawyers argued that such an approach was counter to the 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that struck down racial segregation in schools.

Both cases presented the same underlying legal question. Should a public school system be able to choose to classify students by race and rely upon that classification in making school assignments?

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling

In late June 2007, the Supreme Court granted a decision on both the *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* and the *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* cases. The Court found both Jefferson County and Seattle's enrollment plans unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, citing the *Brown II* (1955) decision by stating, "The way to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis is to stop assigning students on a racial basis." Chief Justice John Roberts wrote in the plurality opinion that "the way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race."

Four years prior to this decision, former Justice Sandra Day O'Connor cast the deciding vote in a 5–4 decision that upheld the use of race to achieve student diversity at the University of Michigan Law School. After Justice O'Connor's retirement, she was replaced by a more conservative Justice, Samuel Alito, and the High Court experienced a shift in its race-based enrollment jurisprudence.

The Court acknowledged that it had previously held that racial diversity can be a compelling government interest in university admissions, but unlike the cases pertaining to higher education,

Jefferson County's plan involved no individualized consideration of students and it employed a very limited notion of diversity with its "Black" and "Other" classification system. The Court ruled that in the Jefferson and Seattle cases, race was not considered as part of a broader effort to achieve "exposure to widely diverse people, culture, ideas, and viewpoints." The Court stated that for some students, race was the determinative standing alone. Race was not simply one factor weighed with others in reaching a decision; instead it was the factor. The Court referred to the University of Michigan undergraduate plan struck down in an earlier case (Gratz), stating that the Jefferson County racial balancing plan did not provide for a meaningful individualized review of applicants but instead relied on racial classifications in a "non-individualized, mechanical" manner. Jefferson County's goal of preventing de facto segregation did not meet the Court's standards for a compelling state interest. The plans also lacked the narrow tailoring that is necessary for race-conscious programs. Narrow tailoring requires "serious, good faith consideration of workable race-neutral alternatives." Both districts failed to illustrate that other strategies that did not include explicit racial classification had been considered in efforts to achieve their stated goals. Furthermore, the Court stated that racial imbalance might result from past de jure segregation (segregation by law) as well as private decisions including voluntary housing choices. Therefore, the Court held that racial imbalance is not segregation and is not unconstitutional. The Court found that Jefferson County's enrollment plan was targeted toward demographic goals and not toward any demonstrable educational benefit from racial diversity. In announcing the ruling, Chief Justice Roberts challenged public school administrators to find a way to remain faithful to the promise of racially integrated schools under *Brown v. Board of Education* but to do so without paying inordinate attention to the racial or ethnic background of the students.

While some praised the Court's decision on the basis that there was no need for the race-based enrollment plans because the schools were already diverse, others were outraged by it, claiming that it is an attempt to maintain de facto segregation. Nonetheless, as a result of this decision, it has been declared unconstitutional for school districts

to implement enrollment plans that consider race as a determining factor for student placement.

Kelly Morgan Gunn

See also Desegregation; *Grutter v. Bollinger*; *Meredith v. Fair*; *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*

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UNITED STATES V. MONTGOMERY COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

This case is specifically concerned with the desegregation of faculty and staff in public schools and the use of mathematical formulas to achieve that goal. In *United States v. Montgomery County*

Board of Education (1969), the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld an approach, ordered by the local district court, that tied faculty desegregation goals to a school system's Black-White faculty ratio and set forth specific numerical requirements in achieving those goals. This entry discusses the historical context of the case, the facts of the case, the Supreme Court's decision, and the impact of the ruling.

Historical Context

On the eve of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954), with the racial desegregation of public education hanging in the balance, the future involvement of African American teachers and principals in the public school system was also at stake. For the previous 90 years, since emancipation, African Americans in the South had pinned energy and hope on their schools and entrusted their young to African American teachers and school administrators. African American educators were often among the best and brightest of their communities; they were in many cases more qualified and competent than their White counterparts, in those pre-*Brown* years. The very circumstance of segregation, it is said, allowed for and engendered a close relationship between the African American community and its schools, and empathic and respectful relationships between African American educators and their students and their students' families. African American teachers and principals occupied an esteemed position within the African American community and brought inspiration and motivation to African American children.

A critical component of de jure segregation was the complete racial alignment of schools and educators: African American teachers and administrators were exclusively employed at African American schools, and schools attended by White children were staffed by White teachers and administrators. Schools were, quite simply, racially identifiable by the race of their principals and teachers.

With *Brown I* in 1954, segregation of students by race in the public schools was declared unconstitutional. Subsequently, the Supreme Court enunciated the manner for achieving the segregation of schools. Under *Brown II*, local school systems

were charged with making changes “at the earliest practicable date” and with “all deliberate speed”; local courts were charged with resolving any problems of delay and with assuring that school authorities made a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance.

Ten years had gone by in Montgomery County, Alabama, since the declaration of *Brown*, and the racial composition of the schools there had not changed. The Montgomery County public schools continued to be operated as a dual system, separate for African American and White students and teachers, much the same as they had been before the *Brown* decision; the school authorities had taken no action whatsoever to embark on desegregation. In fact, the state government had made great efforts to defy *Brown* and maintain segregation. Through policy, practice, and custom, the Montgomery County Board of Education operated a dual school system, with one set of schools attended exclusively by African American students and staffed only by African American teachers, and the other set of schools attended exclusively by White students and staffed only by White teachers.

Facts of the Case

Arlam Carr Jr. was an eighth grader at one of the all-African American schools in Montgomery, Alabama, when he became the lead plaintiff in the case that was brought to integrate the Montgomery County schools. He had wanted to attend Montgomery’s Sidney Lanier High School since he was very young, before he understood it to be a public school that only Whites could attend. Both of his parents took part in voter registration campaigns and worked as polling officials in Montgomery, known as the birthplace of the civil rights movement. Johnnie Carr, the mother of Arlam Jr. and a close friend and former schoolmate of Rosa Parks, had been a founder of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which was formed in 1955 to organize the Montgomery bus boycott and continued through the years to work for equality, jobs, and voter registration for African Americans.

Fred Gray, the Alabama civil rights lawyer who had represented Rosa Parks and served as local counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on the Montgomery bus boycott, had pledged at the outset

of his legal career to target and destroy segregation. By 1963, not a single public school in Alabama had begun desegregation. With the Carrs as plaintiffs, Fred Gray challenged the utter failure—and the concerted resistance—of the Montgomery County school system in federal court. Thus began the long-term involvement of the district court in the desegregation of the local school system.

The District Court and the Appeals Court Rulings

In its initial 1964 decision in this case, the district court ordered that certain grades begin integration of students under a freedom-of-choice plan put forth by the school district (*Carr v. Montgomery County Board of Education*, 1964). This order, however, did not address faculty integration. Within two years, upon a determination that the school district had continued to fail in its duty to eliminate the dual system, the court in *Carr v. Montgomery County Board of Education* (1966) issued a more formal and comprehensive plan for desegregation, requiring affirmative steps—though no specific numeric goals—toward faculty and staff desegregation, ordered to begin in the 1966–1967 school year.

In the summer of 1967, the court entered a new decree requiring faculty desegregation. By 1968, however, even though the district court had been monitoring the school system for nearly 5 years, little progress had been made in Montgomery County. In fact, upon entry of the 1967 decree for faculty desegregation, 75 newly hired teachers were assigned or transferred to schools in which their race was in the majority. Only 32 teachers—out of 550 African American teachers and 815 White teachers in the school district—were teaching in schools where their race was in the minority; moreover, most of those were within the City of Montgomery and in high schools, leaving the dual system intact in the schools outside of the city and in almost all elementary schools throughout the county. All six African American teachers hired in the 1967–1968 school year had been assigned to African American schools, and 20 of the 26 White new hires had been assigned to White schools. Placement of student and substitute teachers followed the same racial pattern.

New Requirements

In 1968, Judge Frank Johnson of the district court imposed several requirements for desegregation on the Montgomery County school system (*Carr v. Montgomery County Board of Education*). He instituted guidelines to ensure that construction of new schools or additions to existing schools did not perpetuate segregation, that the transportation policies and practices not perpetuate segregation, and that the school district eliminate the impression that particular new schools were primarily for White students.

Notably, the 1968 order instituted stringent and specific numerical provisions for faculty and staff desegregation, in light of the inadequate progress achieved by earlier approaches. The goal, as enunciated in *Carr*, was for each school in the Montgomery County School District to have substantially the same ratio of White-to-Black faculty as the ratio throughout the system, and county-wide, the ratio was three White faculty for every two African American faculty. Eventually, full compliance, according to this order, would be achieved when this 2-out-of-5 proportion was mirrored in each school; for the immediate school year, a lesser proportion would be required as an initial step toward full compliance. Judge Johnson, in his 1968 order, established the following requirements: (a) Schools with less than 12 teachers had to have at least one full-time teacher whose race was different from the majority race of teachers at that school, and (b) schools with 12 or more teachers had to have at least 1 of every 6 faculty and staff members be of different race from the majority faculty and staff ratio at that school.

On appeal by the school system, the Fifth Circuit disagreed with what they regarded as rigid, inflexible requirements of the local court's 1968 order. The court of appeals, even as it recognized both the intolerable delay by Montgomery County in student desegregation and the county's failure to comply with earlier requirements for faculty desegregation, rejected the "fixed mathematical ratios" and softened the district court's commands. Thus, in *Montgomery County v. Carr* (1968), the order for faculty desegregation was modified, such that (a) for the 1968–1969 school year, the court should require only "substantially or approximately" the 5-to-1 ratio it had enunciated and (b) beyond the

1968–1969 school year, any numerical ratio should be eliminated as a requirement, and instead there must be "a good faith and effective effort" toward faculty and staff desegregation.

U.S. Supreme Court Ruling

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected the Fifth Circuit's modifications and unanimously upheld the local court order, finding it to be a reasonable plan for desegregation and not objectionable merely because it laid out fixed mathematical ratios (*United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education*, 1969). This case represented a milestone in the post-*Brown* evolution of desegregation: unspecified parameters for improvement and indefinite plans centered on good faith were recognized here as not sufficient for achieving the unitary school systems required by *Brown*. In its upholding of the district court order, the Supreme Court comported with the position (expressed by the Chief Justice of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on dissent) that "specifics" were necessary for local courts to succeed in compelling faculty desegregation. *U.S. v. Montgomery* thus became a landmark case for tying faculty desegregation goals to a district's Black–White faculty ratio and for setting forth specific numerical requirements in achieving those goals.

Impact of the Ruling

The immediate result of *Carr v. Montgomery County*, beginning in September 1965, was the student desegregation of Montgomery County schools. Arlam Carr Jr. and others were part of a group that integrated Sidney Lanier High School in Montgomery. Arlam Carr Jr. was a senior there when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated; when he arrived at school the following morning, he insisted that the U.S. flag be flown at half-staff, as had been directed by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

The participants in the Montgomery desegregation lawsuit faced hardship during and after their quest. The Carrs faced obscene and threatening phone calls and feared that their home would fall victim to the bombings that plagued Montgomery at that time. The African American students who integrated the White Montgomery schools were ostracized and at times harassed by White students. The district court author of the Montgomery

desegregation order, Judge Frank M. Johnson, was denounced and threatened as well; neighbors burned a cross in his front yard, his wife and children were harassed, and his mother's house was bombed by members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Despite the best intentions of this case and others that required faculty and staff desegregation, *Brown* and its progeny are regarded by many as having decimated the ranks of African American teachers and principals who suffered job loss or demotion with desegregation. By extension, similar negative effects were experienced by the students who were taught by hostile White teachers instead of the many African American teachers and principals who were forced out of the school system. A critical aspect of the *Carr* holding is that faculty and staff desegregation of schools hinged on the racial composition of the districts at large but did not require districts to alter that composition. In other words, *Carr* did not compel the hiring or retention of African American educators; it only compelled their distribution, to whatever extent they were employed by a district, throughout the district.

Meanwhile, out of the dictate of *Brown* arose, eventually, the closing and consolidation of schools as well as the fervent resistance of previously White schools to employ African American teachers. These powerful and pervasive trends, in turn, assured over time that large numbers of African American teachers and administrators would lose their positions and that new opportunities in the field of education would be correspondingly scarce.

The premise of the *Carr* order was simple and straightforward: the racial composition of faculty and staff at each school within a district should mirror the overall racial composition of faculty and staff for that district. Such an allocation of employees signals the racial neutrality of the school system. Yet 50 years or so after *Brown*, and nearly 40 years since the U.S. Supreme Court approved specific, mathematical requirements for the abatement of faculty and staff segregation in Montgomery County, many public schools across the United States continued to be identifiable, racially, by the race of their teachers. In numerous cases of school desegregation involving remedial decrees, district courts have had to address a failure to have a racially neutral distribution of teachers in the school districts.

Moreover, in the schools in which one race is overrepresented on the faculty far beyond the

racial composition of the schools' districts, the racial overrepresentation invariably aligns with the racial makeup of the student body: schools that are found in desegregation proceedings to have greatly disproportionate (for their district) numbers of African American teachers are always those in which the student population is predominantly African American. There may be an argument, in fact, in favor of a high representation of African American teachers in schools with a high African American student population, but the law requires faculty desegregation. Despite this standing requirement, though, the racial identifiability of schools by their faculty persists.

Aside from the key point of *U.S. v. Montgomery*—that faculty desegregation goals would be tied to a district's Black-White faculty ratio by setting forth specific numerical requirements in achieving those goals—the *Carr* case, its predecessor case in the district court, was significant as well for its structural approach to desegregation. Judge Johnson's 1968 order established an extensive and ongoing process by which school officials, the U.S. Justice Department, citizens, and the local federal judiciary participated actively in fashioning remedial plans and alleviating the unconstitutional segregation of schools.

M. Elizabeth Kirkland

See also *Morgan v. O'Bryan*

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UNITED STATES V. WALLACE

In *United States v. Wallace* (1963), Alabama courts revisited an earlier U.S. Supreme Court decision saying that the University of Alabama could not deny admission to students on the basis of race, even when based on preserving social order. The earlier case, *Lucy et al. v. Adams* (1955), dealt with the dean of admissions barring admission of any African American to the university. On July 1, 1955, an Alabama district court judge entered an order enjoining that action and precluding the dean of admissions from denying to African Americans, the right to enroll and pursue courses of study on account of their race. The Fifth Circuit Appeals Court affirmed but suspended the lower court order pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court did quickly affirm and the *Lucy v. Adams* injunction was reinstated. However, as it was 4 days after the deadline for fall enrollment at the university, the African American students were denied admission due to late registration. This ruling, effectively denying them admission for reasons other than race or color, was upheld by the district court. Subsequently, at the next test, the university sought to refuse admission to African American students on the grounds that they would cause racial unrest. The court, however, stood by its original order.

Facts of the Case

Generally, racial segregation took two forms: mandated by law or imposed through social norms. It was maintained by means ranging from discrimination in hiring and in the rental and sale

of housing to certain races to vigilante violence such as lynching. Legal segregation in the United States was required and came with antimiscegenation laws—laws prohibiting interracial marriage. But such laws contradicted the very premise this country was built upon—that is, freedom and equality for all.

Unfortunately, the legitimacy of such laws was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, an opinion issued in 1896. The Court in *Plessy* introduced the phrase “separate but equal.” Thurgood Marshall in conjunction with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) challenged this phrase in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954). In *Brown*, the Court examined the constitutionality of *Plessy* and voted to overturn its previous ruling. Chief Justice Earl Warren, writing a unanimous opinion, stated that the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place in the area of public education. Otherwise stated, the Court ruled that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Several years later, however, a similar issue was before the judicial system again.

After the 1955 decision in *Lucy v. Adams*, the Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama sought leave to intervene in the case in order to have the district court’s 1951 permanent injunction lifted. The members of the board revealed to the court that two African American citizens of the state of Alabama had again applied for enrollment in the university and, although qualified, were not admitted because allowing them to enroll would cause racial unrest in light of the prevailing social climate. Nevertheless, the Court found that its original order, which eliminated racial segregation in public education, was still in full force and effect.

There were two *United States v. Wallace* cases, both decided in 1963. The case at hand was specifically against Governor Wallace and the other was against Alabama officials. *United States v. Wallace* (1963a) against Wallace was decided first and followed a finding by the same district court judge Grooms who ruled in *Adams* that African Americans with pending applications for enrollment in the university could ask the court to enforce the order. Governor Wallace was ordered to not interfere with federal orders providing for the desegregation of the University of Alabama. In

the second case, *United States v. Wallace* (1963b), District Court Judge Seybourn H. Lynne issued a preliminary injunction precluding state officials from acting against desegregation efforts.

Notwithstanding the court's ruling in *Adams*, George C. Wallace, governor of Alabama, was determined to dissuade Negroes from seeking admission to the university. The governor stated and reiterated publicly that he would be present to bar the entrance of any Negro who attempted to enroll at the University of Alabama. Further, he attempted to ignore the May 21, 1963, order entered by Judge H. Hobart Grooms, the *Lucy v. Adams* judge, while pledging that law and order would be maintained. Clearly, Wallace's approach was at best preposterous; yet, his strategy deterred many African Americans from seeking admission out of fear. This is what prompted the federal government to file suit against the governor. Fortunately, the district court properly noted that the "governor of a sovereign state has no authority to obstruct or prevent the execution of the lawful orders of a court of the United States."

Impact of the Ruling

Few can argue that separating Black applicants from other applicants solely because of race does not generate feelings of inferiority. In fact, studies once showed that segregated education had a negative psychological effect upon Black schoolchildren. Although some have doubted the legitimacy of the studies, there is little doubt that racial segregation in schools denied Blacks the same opportunities as their White counterparts. This is precisely what the judiciary sought to eliminate, and because of the decisions issued in cases such as *Adams* and *Wallace*, the United States made a necessary leap toward equality for all. Public education was only the precursor to many other rights that Blacks were to gain in the near future.

African Americans were successful in challenging key rights such as public education—a right that, if not afforded, could severely debilitate their race. As a result, the concept of law and order was somewhat restored. The State of Alabama had indirectly prompted a movement toward restoring the liberties the United States sought to offer all races.

The very essence of a republican form of government embraces the notion that when a court of

law has rendered a final judgment, all persons affected are obliged to obey it. In this vein, because all persons are affected, all should effectively be equal. A law that once permitted such segregation and thus disorder was remedied by the bravery of many African Americans and the judicial system. Perhaps, this is one of the few cases where a judge has sought his or her own prayer—that is, "that all of our people, in keeping with our finest traditions, will join in the resolution that law and order will be maintained" in Alabama.

Daniel A. Espinosa

See also Adams v. Richardson; Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas (and Brown II); Lucy v. Adams, Dean of Admissions, University of Alabama; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Plessy v. Ferguson

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UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND V. MURRAY

In *University of Maryland v. Murray* (1936), a young Black man sought legal intervention so that he could be admitted to the University of Maryland Law School. The circuit court ordered the school to admit Murray, in the absence of any suitable and segregated alternative. The university lost its appeal. Although the precedent was not national in scope, the victory inspired National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attorneys to use this successful strategy, challenging facilities that were separate but not equal in other cases. This entry reviews the historical context of the case, the facts of the case, and the impact of the ruling.

Historical Context

In the decades following the U.S. Supreme Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, institutions in southern states followed the Court's "separate-but-equal" doctrine. With this interpretation of

the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Jim Crow reigned. In nearly every facet of public life—particularly in public accommodations such as railcars, buses, restrooms, and hotels—segregation was the rule.

Many people were opposed to segregation. Yet others took a more pragmatic if not defeatist approach, being less concerned with the very fact of segregation and more concerned with the deep and persistent inequalities evident in the lives of Black people in the South. Still others were concerned with both sides of the equation. Following the plan mapped out by Nathan Margold, the NAACP began to pursue equalization cases, attacking not the fact of segregation but the lack of true equality between and among segregated arrangements. In one sense, these cases were designed to deliver on the “equal” part of the “separate-but-equal” doctrine by bringing the resources provided to Blacks into line with those provided to Whites. But many people also hoped that the strategy would cripple segregation as applied, making total segregation unfeasible for states to implement. These cases were often popular among Black professionals, such as teachers, who (despite having similar training and credentials) were routinely paid less than White teachers.

Separate and unequal facilities were readily apparent in the realm of public education, where separate schools were maintained for the education of Black students. States routinely spent far more money per child to educate White students than Black students. And in higher education, some states preferred to pay the educational expenses of Black students to attend schools out of state rather than integrate institutions within the state.

The NAACP and a young Thurgood Marshall, armed with the Margold strategy, favored higher-education cases, based upon the belief that the disparities, particularly for graduate and professional programs such as law schools, would resonate more readily with judges.

Facts of the Case

Donald Gaines Murray, a young Black man from a prominent Baltimore family, was a qualified candidate for admission to the University of Maryland Law School—the same school that

denied admission to Thurgood Marshall before he trained at the Howard Law School. Pursuant to Maryland’s segregation law, Murray was denied admission to the University of Maryland Law School and was instead referred to other state-run institutions set up for Blacks as well as to the state program of providing scholarships to Black students to attend out-of-state schools.

Murray sought admission to the University of Maryland Law School in 1935 but was denied because of his race under Maryland’s segregation laws. The civil rights lawyer, Belford Lawson, convinced Howard Law School Dean Charles Hamilton Houston to have Thurgood Marshall file this landmark case on behalf of the well-qualified plaintiff, Donald Gaines Murray. The rejection letter he received from university president Raymond A. Pearson stated plainly, “The University of Maryland does not admit Negro students and your application is accordingly rejected.” The State of Maryland did not operate a separate law school for Black students. Thus, there was no appropriate segregated placement for Murray. And the state’s scholarship program for out-of-state education of Black students was not funded and made available to Murray until after litigation ensued.

The case was filed in Maryland Circuit Court in Baltimore. Houston and Marshall argued that Maryland violated Murray’s constitutional rights and *Plessy*’s “separate-but-equal doctrine” by denying him admission to the University of Maryland Law School and failing to provide a suitable alternative at a segregated Black institution—one equal to the opportunities offered at the University of Maryland. Houston exploited the dictum articulated by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927), a Mississippi case in which the Court upheld school desegregation but noted that the case might have been decided differently had there been no school available in the plaintiff’s neighborhood, a situation analogous to the one presented in the Murray case.

Houston opened his case in chief by calling as a witness university president Raymond Pearson. In a display that must have been embarrassing to Pearson, Houston questioned the university president intensely, forcing him to admit that members of other non-White racial groups were admitted

by the university and that the school had not offered Murray any funds to attend a school out of state.

The evidence and arguments were persuasive to the judge, who seemed sympathetic from the bench during the trial. The judge issued a writ of mandamus ordering President Pearson to admit Murray to the law school. The university appealed the lower court's decision to the court of appeals, where it was unanimously affirmed the following year.

Impact of the Ruling

Pearson v. Murray (1936) was a state court decision and was not appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Although Houston and Marshall appealed in the state's highest court, the decision did not constitute a binding precedent throughout the country. It was significant for a number of reasons. First, it proved that the Margold strategy, when pursued under the right set of facts and with an ideal plaintiff, would be effective in undermining segregated education as applied, in arrangements that were separate and unequal to those afforded Whites. This middle-of-the-road approach to attacking segregated institutions forced integration, albeit piecemeal, in certain higher-education institutions and ratcheted up the costs of segregation for those states that continued to pursue it in the higher-education arena. The victory validated the strategy of addressing segregation in law schools and other graduate and professional programs—a strategy viewed as less incendiary than focusing on K–12 institutions and colleges.

The victory also emboldened the NAACP and its lawyers, setting in motion efforts that led to important victories in the federal courts in cases such as *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938); *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of Univ. of Oklahoma* (1948); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950); and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). The victory served as sweet, cold revenge for Thurgood Marshall, who himself had been denied admission to the same law school. The arguments in the *Murray* case laid a particularly important foundation for the *Missouri* case, in which the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed out-of-state scholarships for Black students, requiring (at minimum) that states must provide in-state education in specific graduate programs to Blacks,

either at segregated in-state schools or at the White institutions within the state.

Damon Todd Hewitt

See also *Gong Lum v. Rice*

Further Readings

- Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U.S. 78 (1927).
- McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).
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- Pearson et al. v. Murray, 182 A. 590 (1936).
- Sipuel v. Board of Regents of Univ. of Oklahoma, 332 U.S. 631 (1948).
- Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U.S. 629 (1950).
- University of Maryland v. Murray, 169 Md. 478 (1936).

URBAN EDUCATION

What is urban education? The connotation and denotation of the word *urban* can be quite different, especially when metropolitan areas with large school systems are called “urban districts.” In this entry, the concepts of *urban* and *urban education* are defined and described to provide readers with background knowledge of these social identifiers and their connections to African American communities. The entry covers many of the issues that plague urban districts and how these challenges have been addressed. It concludes with a brief overview of more recent reforms targeted to meet the needs of African American students in urban areas.

Defining Terms

The U.S. Census Bureau defines *urban* as an “area” or “cluster” that consists of a large central place and adjacent densely settled census blocks that together have a total population of at least 2,500 for urban clusters, or at least 50,000 for urbanized areas. An urban area may be defined simply as a nonrural area, or as a densely populated area with a central downtown location for commerce. Suburbs and nonagricultural areas may be considered urban.

Although there is no single definition of urban in educational scholarship, several characteristics

are attached to the way scholars discuss the term *urban* or *urban education*. As cities have grown over the past century, *urban* has taken on a more social meaning that goes beyond the size of a population. When sociologists and anthropologists discuss *urban*, they assume a host of social, political, and economic contexts that are not indicative of rural or suburban areas.

Urban communities host numerous cultural, social, academic, and economic resources and racial and language diversity that can be sustained only in large metropolitan areas. Often, someone who is “urbane” claims a number of cultural and social experiences and a body of knowledge that other people who have not had such opportunities may envy. Conversely, urban areas are known for dense populations, high crime, racial and economic segregation, large school systems, diverse job and career opportunities, and unwieldy public government infrastructures. These elements separate urban areas from suburban and rural areas because the large populations create a unique set of political, social, economic, and environmental amusements and challenges that impact a multitude of diverse stakeholders in these spaces.

Issues in Urban Districts

The urban school district is one example of a large bureaucratic structure that has undergone a series of transformations due to the often oppositional needs of the diverse populations that live in close proximity in metropolitan areas. At the beginning of the 20th century, most African Americans lived in rural areas of the United States. During the 1950s, African Americans migrated to southern and northern metropolitan areas in search of employment, new career opportunities, and education. In some cities, such as Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the African American student population rose more than 300% during the 1950s. Additionally, the migrating African American population and subsequent racial and ethnic populations were comprised mainly of low-income wage earners who needed new skills to qualify for the jobs in the industrialized metropolitan areas.

Once held in high esteem for their ample resources and innovative practices, the significant socioeconomic and racial-ethnic demographic changes and quick expansion of school districts in

large U.S. cities led to the rise of the term *urban education* and the shift to viewing these districts as deficient and problematic. Urban education, in part, is defined by large bureaucratic systems of governance, racial-ethnic diversity, extreme differences in students’ socioeconomic levels and housing conditions, and centralized resources.

Urban school districts consistently struggle to provide equal educational experiences for all the children in the district. Some reasons for this struggle are inadequate funding, distribution of monies, diversity of needs (academic levels, socioeconomic levels, multiple languages, social services), and teacher quality. A recent study funded by the Foundation for Child Development in conjunction with the U.S. Urban Institute found that nearly 70% of the nation’s Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students are enrolled in 10% of its schools. These “High-LEP” schools are predominantly located in urban areas. This means that urban schools are more likely to serve students with areas of greater and more diverse needs than more homogenous, English-speaking populations of students in the suburbs or rural areas of the United States.

Urban districts often become the battleground for political infighting among various groups of citizens and stakeholders, as well as the outlier in political discussions at the level of the state. These battles often concern property tax increases, implementation of new reforms, standards, and assessments, program cuts, federal and state mandates, and building closures. Often, urban school districts comprise a significant portion of a state’s citizens who are less than 18 years of age and the future workforce; these factors must be balanced with the needs of the rest of the state’s school districts. Within districts, stakeholders often disagree on the roles schools play in the individual lives of students, the political and social mobility of groups, and the connection to the future state or U.S. economy. These disagreements lead to bitter struggles to gain or maintain control of district governance boards and superintendents.

Urban districts provide an array of schooling options that are not found in smaller cities and rural areas. In urban districts, there are often magnet schools that focus on particular aspects of the curriculum and educational goals, vocational programs, open enrollment opportunities across

Table 1 Ten Largest U.S. Places in Total Population and in Black or African American Population

City	Total Population	African American Alone Population	Percent of Total Population
New York, NY	8,008,278	2,129,762	26.6
Los Angeles, CA	3,694,820	415,195	11.2
Chicago, IL	2,896,016	1,065,009	36.8
Houston, TX	1,953,631	494,496	25.3
Philadelphia, PA	1,517,550	655,824	43.2
Phoenix, AZ	1,321,045	67,416	5.1
San Diego, CA	1,223,400	96,216	7.9
Dallas, TX	1,188,580	307,957	25.9
San Antonio, TX	1,144,646	78,120	6.8
Detroit, MI	951,270	775,772	81.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Redistricting Data (Public Law 84-171) Summary File, Table PL1.

districts, corporate sponsorship and community collaborations, and other educational and cultural resources that link with individual schools and districts to provide innovative programs for children in public schools.

Urban districts are particularly important to African Americans because of the high numbers of African Americans living in urban areas. In 2000, the Census Bureau documented the 10 cities with more than 100,000 people with the highest number of African Americans (see Table 1).

According to the U.S. Census 2000, nearly 88% of all African Americans live in urban or metropolitan areas. Although they may not comprise a city's majority population, the high number of African Americans living in urban areas often makes people connect urban spaces with African Americans and racial diversity. The shift from the United States as an agricultural nation to an industrialized nation with large cities is due, in part, to the migration of African Americans to metropolitan areas. Historically, the moves to racially desegregate large urban school districts have been characterized as a political binary between African American families asking for educational equity and White families trying to maintain homogenous White schools.

Desegregation in Urban Cities

Although three decades of partially desegregated schools positively affected the experiences of thousands of students, urban areas have remained highly segregated by neighborhood. The segregation of

cities, as well as suburbs, was solidified after World War II, when the Federal Housing Association enforced and encouraged segregated housing policies for White and Black soldiers seeking to buy new homes with their GI Bill funds. Because of the lack of jobs, the large migration of African Americans from the South to the North, and overt and subvert racism in urban areas, African Americans quickly became highly segregated in poor, working-class, and middle-class enclaves in urban areas. During this time, the government constructed tenements for low-income housing, and the redlining of neighborhoods with high or rising populations of African American families reinforced economic and racial segregation in urban areas. This separation, and the lack of political power held by African Americans in urban areas, led to unequal education funding and resource allocations in urban school districts.

Since the 1950s, African Americans have looked to the U.S. district, state, and federal court systems to help them acquire equity and equality in education. In many cases, the federal plans and challenges to the court ordered reforms continued for decades and cost taxpayers millions of dollars. *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (1954) is possibly the most famous example of civic activism concerning the constitutional rights of African American children.

As the United States continues to reflect on the products of *Brown v. Board of Education*, it is important to recognize that this decision and other federal court decisions concerning desegregation were acted upon in various ways by northern and

southern states and produced differing policy results. Many northern cities in the United States share similar patterns, events, and conflicts as part of their desegregation processes. Parents in northern cities such as Boston, Detroit, and Milwaukee fought for and against desegregation initiatives for more than 50 years. African Americans repeatedly insisted that they wanted their neighborhood schools to be reformed and given equal resources so that their children received a fair amount of district monies, veteran teachers, and competent staff.

The *Brown* decisions of 1954 and 1955 had the fastest and greatest effect on southern states, where overt segregation could be easily identified. The complexities of segregated housing and redline districting in the North allowed northern cities to remain inconspicuous for much longer periods before school desegregation became a major court issue. The tenuous line between de jure segregation, that which is imposed by law, and de facto segregation, that which is created by social practices and individual choices, made it difficult for northern urban parents to prove intended harm and pressure districts.

In southern districts, de jure segregation was most often the case and was more easily identified by the courts. In many southern cities, African Americans and Whites lived in close proximity to one another, often with the White and Black schools very close together. African American and White students attended their designated schools, regardless of neighborhood proximity to their homes, possibly passing the other school on their way to their school. However, in the North, due to intense housing segregation, African American parents had a difficult time advocating against neighborhood schools that were highly segregated. Activist in the North had to show willful attempts to maintain neighborhood segregation and unequal interdistrict resource allocation in order to win relief from the courts.

In order to please multiple stakeholders in urban districts, urban school boards attempted several models of desegregation. Many cities created magnet schools or special programs that claimed particular academic orientations and selected students through a special process. Other districts bused African American students to White schools and closed a significant number of African American schools, causing a major loss of jobs and leadership

for African American communities. Generally speaking, curriculum changes, a shift in resources, and more money poured into African American schools were packaged into desegregation reforms.

Urban Education Today

At the turn of the 20th century, many of these desegregation reforms have been rolled back and eliminated. In the 1960s and 1970s, urban schools boasted, or lamented, a level of racial, cultural, and language diversity that was previously unknown. Today, little of the racial diversity remains in single schools, but multiple types of diversity can be claimed as a point of distinction for urban schools.

Other school reforms have replaced the desegregation reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. Presented by various political factions in the United States, these reforms are highly controversial. Reforms such as choice and vouchers allow private religious schools to receive public monies that were previously part of the district's funding. Choice schools are independent schools, religious or sectarian, that are not bound by the same state or district policies as public schools. For example, teachers do not need to be certified to teach in these schools, and the schools may not be compelled to share their statewide testing results.

Similarly, charter schools, which are considered public institutions, have more leeway with teacher hiring and public accountability. Charter schools are constructed differently in each state, and they are often eligible for federal and state education grants. For example, in Illinois, the charter schools must be tied to the primary local school district. In Wisconsin, charter schools can be associated with the local school district, a university, or the city itself. Depending on the chosen association, these charter schools differ in accountability criteria to the state.

Large urban school districts such as San Diego, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Charlotte have implemented districtwide educational reforms, as well as smaller individual or small cluster instructional programs to increase student learning outcomes. In an attempt to maintain neighborhood schools, districts have created smaller school teams composed of administrators, teachers, parents, and sometimes students to make curricular decisions that are tailored toward the needs of the students in the

neighborhood. The reinvention of the neighborhood school is an acknowledgement of the failure to systematically racially desegregate schools and neighborhoods, and in many ways a move back to the separate-but-equal doctrine found in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* verdict that was overturned with the *Brown* decision.

Researchers concede that, ideally, most parents would prefer to place their children in strong neighborhood schools that reflect their ties to family and particular communities. Urban districts struggle to find solutions to educational dilemmas that meet the needs of the diverse groups of stakeholders and serve the workforce needs of the state. Given the political terrain of urban districts, school boards continue to search for new reforms, curriculum, and pedagogical practices that will serve their constituents.

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See also Community Control of Schools; Desegregation; Socioeconomic Status (SES)

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VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

See Career and Technical Education

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

On August 6, 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the bill. The primary purpose of the act was to allow the U.S. Justice Department to take direct action to protect the right of African Americans to vote. Many compare the role of the federal government in securing the rights of African Americans in the South to the period of Reconstruction from 1867 to 1877. Not in 100 years had the federal government made integral efforts to protect the rights of African Americans.

Congress passed the bill, and President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to eliminate racial discrimination in the U.S. electoral process. The act was intended to remove obstacles to African American registration and voting with the enforcement of the Justice Department. And, in fact, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has increased African American voter registration and participation in the electoral process substantially. This entry looks at the record of African American voting rights, then discusses the origins of the bill and its contents.

Early Enfranchisement History

Prior to the Civil War, free African American men were disenfranchised in all but six northern states, and African American women could not vote anywhere in the United States until 1920. After the Civil War, even during the early years of Reconstruction, African Americans remained mostly disenfranchised in the North, and suffrage was severely restricted in the South, even though Congress had passed the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guaranteed African American men the right to vote.

The protection of Union soldiers for African Americans in the South ended with the 1876 Hayes/Tilden compromise. After a close 1876 presidential election, Democrat Samuel Tilden agreed to relinquish the presidency to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio if he agreed to remove federal troops from the South once in office. Cognizant of the waning national support of Republicans' progressive policies post-Reconstruction, Hayes agreed to the compromise. Hence, the successes of the Fifteenth Amendment were short-lived for African Americans in the South.

African Americans faced resistance in the form of the Ku Klux Klan and various local and state laws mandating deliberately restrictive voting requirements. Hindrances to voting for African Americans, such as literacy tests, grandfather clauses, all-White primaries, and poll taxes, lasted without major successful legal challenge until the mid-1900s.

The Fifteenth Amendment was in part made possible because of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth

Amendments that preceded it. The Thirteenth Amendment, ratified in 1865, abolished enslavement, opening the door for African Americans to begin to think of themselves as citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, overturned a decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* in 1857 holding that African Americans were not citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States, including African Americans, and provided equal protection under the law for all citizens.

The Struggle Begins

After a series of successful 20th-century legal cases, many brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, African Americans began to make some inroads with the restrictive local and state laws placed on them since the aftermath of Reconstruction. For example, Congress passed three Civil Rights Acts in 1957, 1960, and 1964. Each one—and especially the Civil Rights Act of 1964—added teeth to the Fourteenth (1868) and Fifteenth (1870) Amendments, and in doing so supported and protected African American voting rights. The acts made no provision for enforcement, however.

Congress was encouraged to guarantee equal rights to African Americans by other groups in addition to the NAACP, such as the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. These organizations were primarily activist protest groups that organized demonstrations, whereas the NAACP was geared toward the legal arena. Whether working together on collaborative events or organizing their own events, the groups were frequently met with violence and resistance by White citizens and police in many southern communities.

The sometimes violent resistance these groups endured was often portrayed via television, and this coverage focused the nation's and the world's attention on the civil rights movement. For example, the murder of voting rights activists in Philadelphia, Mississippi, and attacks on marchers crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, in the Selma to Montgomery march

persuaded President Johnson to take action. Ignoring southern legislators' resistance to voting rights legislation, President Johnson, influenced by a commitment President John F. Kennedy had made prior to his assassination, issued a call for a strong voting rights law, and hearings began soon thereafter on the bill that would become the Voting Rights Act.

It is important to note that violence, in the form of the March on Selma, motivated Johnson to enact the bill. Johnson and the Congress thought that a voting rights act was needed because existing federal antidiscrimination laws did not provide sufficient enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment. Significantly, the role of television, then, in conjunction with President Lyndon Johnson's actions, garnered the necessary political support for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

What the Act Did

Scholars tend to agree that the major provisions of the act are found in Section 4 and Section 5. Section 4 designated certain states in the country in which voting discrimination had been widespread and flagrant through the use of restrictive codes such as literacy tests; Section 5 focused more on implementation of measures and prohibition of any changes in voting procedures in those states without "preclearance" from the attorney general or from the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. The act won a challenge in the Supreme Court in the 1966 case *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, which said that the act's suspension of literacy tests and its preclearance provisions were constitutional.

After surviving conservative opposition, the act's impact began to be noticeable, especially on registration and voting efforts on behalf of African Americans. For example, in the South alone, African American voter registration increased from 29% of the voting-age population in 1964 to 52% in 3 years. White registration increased only 6 percentage points during the same period. In all of the targeted southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, portions of North Carolina, and eventually Texas—African American voter turnout in the 1964 and 1968 presidential elections increased, in some instances by as much as 20%.

New Challenges

While voting percentages among African Americans generally increased, vote dilution—the practice of diminishing the impact of the voting strength of minority groups—has taken many forms and in some cases continues to exist. For example, by reshaping political and in some cases school boundary lines, efforts have been made to maintain the primacy of Whites' voting power in school board elections and general elections.

While such tactics as redistricting are often challenged in the courts, success has not been consistent. Since 1965, for example, plaintiffs from minority groups have challenged vote dilution practices under Section 2 of the act. The proof required to establish a claim of vote dilution has changed several times during this period. In 1980, for instance, in *Mobile v. Bolden*, the Supreme Court held that, to establish a vote dilution violation under Section 2 of the act, or the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendments, plaintiffs were required to prove that officials maintained or adopted the challenged electoral devices with the intent to discriminate against voters from minority groups. These tests placed a high evidentiary burden on plaintiffs, as they had to probe the racial motives of lawmakers, public officials, and entire communities in order to prove discriminatory intent.

Recognizing the high burden of proof of discriminatory intent, in 1982, and in response to the Supreme Court's decision in *Bolden*, Congress amended Section 2 of the act. Congress replaced the discriminatory intent standard with a less stringent results-based test. With this weaker burden of proof, voting rights advocates in the courts increasingly prevailed as they were permitted to challenge electoral procedures that had the result only of denying equal opportunity to a minority group. With these favorable changes, African Americans began to experience greater participation in the political process and the legal authority to elect representatives of their choice in certain districts, or descriptive representation.

New Interpretations

The amended act did not survive without legal challenge, however. In *Thornburg v. Gingles*, in 1986, the Supreme Court held that any claim of vote dilution must be accompanied by an at-large,

multimember-district election procedure. Often referred to as the “*Gingles* test,” the Court held that the minority group seeking equal opportunity must be sufficiently large yet compact enough to constitute a majority in a single-member district, and the group must be politically cohesive. Finally, the White majority must vote as a block in any significant effort to defeat a minority group's choice of candidates. These additional provisions have been proven difficult to meet.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, especially since the *Gingles* test, has been applied in vote dilution cases involving school board elections. Many such lower courts have indicated a preference for ward voting over multimember at-large school board elections, and as a result have viewed single-member districts as electoral devices that maximize the voting strength of minority groups. As a result of these consistent conservative opinions, school board election schematic systems have frequently been eliminated by the federal judiciary and in the process have stopped significantly short of creating any minority group right to proportional representation.

Thanks to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, African American citizens have achieved electoral success in elections for school boards, city councils, and state and national offices. Nevertheless, African American candidates are not elected in numbers that reflect the percentage of the African American population. Challenges to attaining a fair and equitable voice remain, especially in local politics. As an example, recent state and local laws mandating that voters present valid government-issued identification prior to voting may be a mechanism to prevent some African Americans from participating. Even given its shortcomings, however, the act has been viewed largely as a success by scholars and average citizens alike because it has helped to increase participation of minority groups in the electoral process generally.

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See also NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

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VOUCHERS

The use of educational vouchers to fund public education is a controversial plan designed to improve both the quality of education and the safety of public schools. There is little debate about the fact that many urban public schools, populated with mostly African American students, suffer in terms of the quality of education these students receive. These schools are often unsafe as well. There have been numerous proposals to improve urban schools. The plan most often proposed is community control, in which members of the affected communities have a greater say in the management of public schools. There is still debate as to whether this approach has worked. Education vouchers represent an alternative strategy based on the idea of sharing control at the local level.

This proposal requires that educational funds follow the child to the school chosen by the parents. In this manner, the parent decides which school will give the child the best educational experience, and schools must compete for students. The result, it is claimed by proponents, would give African American parents more control over the

education of their children. It is also claimed that a voucher system would improve the quality of U.S. education in general and African American education in particular. Although publicly funded voucher programs now exist in jurisdictions across the United States, the number of students receiving such vouchers remains very small. For the 2006–2007 school year, fewer than 57,000 vouchers were granted for all programs combined. This entry looks at voucher programs' history, supporting arguments, and evidence of effectiveness.

Historical Background

Economist Milton Friedman, in 1955, published an article titled "The Role of Government in Education." In this article, he argued that while governmental funding of public education was justified, governmental administration of public education was ineffective and burdensome. He suggested that the best strategy for the United States' overall education administration and quality was to give parents vouchers that could be used at any school (public, private, or religious) the parents thought would give their children the best education. Funding for schooling would be provided either by monies being given directly to parents, monies given directly to public, private, and religious schools, or tax credits given to parents.

In this way, Friedman believed, school funding would be related to both parental choice and the quality of the schools. Parents could decide whether to send their children to public or private schools. Since public schools would not be guaranteed public funds, these schools would have to compete with private and religious schools for funding. This competition between public and private schools, it was argued, would provide an educational environment that would improve the general quality of education in the United States. Whether the vouchers were called school or educational vouchers, it was argued that free-market forces would best serve education in the United States.

Some professional educators hailed this position as needed educational reform. Nonetheless, this view of educational financing was not without its detractors. One of the major concerns with a vouchers system is that it takes needed funds from the public school coffers and transfers them to private and religious schools.

The idea of using vouchers to fund private education got a boost in 1983 with the publishing of the U.S. Department of Education's report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. This report concluded that the U.S. education system was failing to provide the quality of education needed by U.S. citizens to compete with students from other countries. It stated that the education at all levels was mediocre at best. President Ronald Reagan responded to the report by claiming that U.S. education could be fixed by allowing school prayer, providing school vouchers, and abolishing the Department of Education.

Although subsequent reports—*A Nation Still at Risk* (1998) and *A Nation at Risk, Twenty Years Later* (2003)—showed some improvement in the quality of education in the United States, the idea that a voucher system of school funding would enhance the educational process in the United States remained a topic of debate. Proponents of vouchers have focused on the issues of governmental control and parental choice, whereas opponents have focused on the equality and politics of funding.

Supporting Arguments

The debate intensified in the mid- to late 1980s as the seeming failure of many urban schools to provide an adequate educational experience gave the proponents of vouchers a cause to rally poor urban parents. It was argued that the voucher system would give these parents the freedom to choose which schools their children attended and would force schools with low-quality teaching to compete for both students and funding. Vouchers were thus seen as a way to improve the education of poor urban children.

It was argued that parents in these communities with poor or failing schools should be allowed to choose any school that would accept their children and that public funds for the payments of education should follow the child. This should be the case even if the child went to a religious school. This, of course, raised the question of the separation of church and state and the legality of using public funds to support schools with an obvious religious orientation. In particular, it was argued that public funding of religious

schools was a violation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

In 2002, the U.S. Supreme Court held in the case of *Zelman, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Ohio, et al. v. Simmons-Harris et al.* that the Ohio Pilot Project Scholarship Program, which gave parents public funds to pay for their children's education, did not violate the First Amendment clause against the separation of church and state. In a 5–4 decision, it was held that the Ohio program did not violate the establishment clause of the First Amendment because it passed the Court's five-part choice test. This meant that a voucher program must have a valid secular purpose, it must be neutral in regard to religion, monies must be paid directly to parents, the class of beneficiaries must be broad, and there must be educational choices other than religious schools. Given these criteria, the Ohio voucher plan was constitutional.

Evaluations

While the constitutionality of a voucher system may be settled, studies on the impact of a voucher system to improve the quality of urban education have been mixed. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, implemented one of the nation's first vouchers systems in 1990. As expected, there is a great deal of debate as to whether the system has improved urban education and offered parents more educational choice. Proponents and opponents of vouchers used the Milwaukee experiment as a test case for the viability of vouchers. There has been no clear winner in this contest.

Prochoice advocates, as they are called, have produced data that purport to show the educational gains of urban school children in schools with voucher support. Opponents counter with claims of faulty data collection and political bias. Yet, everyone agrees that the education of African American children has improved only slightly, while they disagree about the impact of vouchers.

There is little debate that African American parents should have control over both the quality of the education their children receive or that public schools should be safe havens for children. The role of vouchers as a method and to lessen

governmental intervention in the educational process will continue to be debated.

Bill E. Lawson

See also Private and Public Funding; Religious-Based Education; School Choice; Urban Education

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W

WARD V. FLOOD

Ward v. Flood, decided by the Supreme Court of California in January 1874, is a case that arose when an 11-year-old African American student in San Francisco, Mary Frances Ward, was denied admission to her local school because of her race. She and her guardian ad litem sought a writ of mandamus to compel Noah Flood, the principal of Broadway Grammar School, a White public school, to admit her. However, the California Supreme Court ruled that separate schools did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision formed the bedrock of the “separate-but-equal” doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, decided in by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896, which was later overruled by *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, in 1954.

In 1872, when *Ward v. Flood* was commenced, California maintained separate school systems for White students and for African Americans and Native Americans. The School Law of California, passed April 4, 1870, stated in Section 56 that the education of African American children and American Indian children would be provided for in separate schools, and Section 57 provided that the same laws, rules, and regulations would apply to schools for White children and to schools for “colored” children.

Proceeding from the premise that the right to public education was established under the state constitution and laws, and not under the federal

law, Chief Justice William T. Wallace emphasized that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment “did not create any new or substantive legal right, or add to or enlarge the general classification of rights of persons existing in any State” under the laws existing at the time of its adoption. Specifically, he stated: “It, however, operated upon them as it found them already established, and it declared in substance that, such as they were in each State, they should be held and enjoyed alike by all persons within its jurisdiction.”

Emphasizing “the education of youth is emphatically their protection” and that “ignorance, the lack of mental and moral culture in earlier life, is the recognized parent of vice and crime in after years,” Justice Wallace concluded that being separate is not “obnoxious” to the equal protection requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment, provided the schools are equal in their instruction and in all other respects. He noted that San Francisco separate schools were not only authorized by law but in fact also maintained for the education of African American children “with able and efficient teachers, and which afford equal advantages and are conducted under the same rules and regulations as those provided for the education of white children.” Indeed, counsel for the defendant had contended that in some respects African American children enjoyed superior educational advantages. Noting that it had been urged that the maintenance of separate schools tends to deepen and perpetuate the odious distinction of caste, founded on a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion, Justice Wallace, speaking for the California Supreme Court, stated

as follows: “This prejudice, if it exists, is not created by law, and probably cannot be changed by law.”

Numerous studies and expert views from sociologists, psychologists, and educators that were brought to the forefront in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) have shown that education embraces more than just book learning and includes developing relationships, learning about and appreciating other cultures, and building the skills and understanding needed to deal with others in an increasingly diverse world and competitive global marketplace. Further, educating persons who feel inferior and “left out” is far more difficult, and their achievement levels are much lower than those of children who feel equal and are thus motivated and confident that they can achieve the heights of knowledge and skills as persons of any other race or ethnic origin. The need for cultural association and intermingling in education—and indeed in other fields of endeavor—was fully recognized in *Grutter v. Bollinger* by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2003 and the related case of *Jennifer Gratz v. Lee Bollinger* (1974).

Nevertheless, inner-city schools across the United States are still largely segregated schools as a result of segregated housing patterns and poverty, and many youth are denied the cross-cultural educational environment that would improve their overall knowledge base and learning skills. While there has been some increase in desegregation and intermingling in the educational process since the *Brown* decision, African American and/or Latino children often make up the majority of the student body in inner-city schools. Because of their lack of exposure to children from other cultures, poverty, and lack of encouragement at home, they often drop out of school without obtaining even a high school diploma. Isolation of African Americans and Latino children in low-performing schools has adversely affected achievement levels, including performance on tests under No Child Left Behind (2001) federal legislation, and has resulted in higher dropout rates, leaving students unprepared for the technological world of the 21st century and jobs that require a higher level of education and job skills than these students possess. Some parents fight to get their children who are excellent students in a city’s top-performing schools or put them in private schools sometimes at substantial economic sacrifice, leaving poor-performing students in a city’s low-performing schools.

The quality of all of our schools—in inner cities and in rural areas—must be improved to ensure that students of all racial-ethnic backgrounds have access to a quality education, regardless of their economic and social class status. Federal, state, and local governments will need to find ways and means, and the funding sources, necessary to raise the educational level of all students in the nation.

Arthur L. Burnett

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Busing; Desegregation; *Grutter v. Bollinger*; *Plessy v. Ferguson*; Urban Schools

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WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. (1856–1915)

In the evolution of African American education, no historical personality stands out more than Booker Taliaferro Washington, commonly known as Booker T. Washington, who rose from enslavement to the heights of the United States and world society; who, having a brilliant mind, mastered skills that enabled him to become not only a top-notch educator but also a consummate administrator; who served as a key leader of African Americans; and who stands at the center of a perpetual controversy concerning the optimal development path for African Americans.

This entry addresses each of these aspects of Washington’s life. In addition, these characteristics and accomplishments are used to assess whether history supports the notion that Booker T. Washington is one of, if not the most prophetic and visionary African American leader of all time.

Early Years

Washington's lasting contribution to the literary history of African Americans in the United States is titled *Up From Slavery*. He was born in 1856, as an enslaved African in Franklin County, Virginia. In this book, he recounts stories that span his early life through 1901 when he had completed 20 years as president of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute—now known as Tuskegee University.

Washington was a young boy when the Civil War ended in 1865, and he recounts in *Up From Slavery* the day the master of the plantation on which he lived summoned all his enslaved Africans to the “big house” to hear the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation and to be told that they were free to live their own lives. Shortly thereafter, his family relocated to Malden, West Virginia, where he worked in salt and coal mines and as domestic help for wealthy Whites. It was during this period that a fire for education began to burn in his consciousness—a fire that would never be extinguished and that he learned to use as a source of energy for his own learning and to direct the learning of many others. In his late teens, Washington learned about ongoing training of African Americans at the Hampton Institute in Virginia and vowed to let nothing separate him from the opportunity to learn at Hampton.

In the fall of 1872, Washington began training at Hampton and met General Samuel C. Armstrong—the founder of Hampton Institute. During his 2 years at Hampton, Washington came to highly value General Armstrong's principles of industry and inculcated them as his own. After completing the 2-year program at Hampton, where he made a powerful impression on General Armstrong, spending 2 years as an educator in his hometown of Malden and studying in Washington, D.C., for 9 months, Washington was called back to Hampton for more study and to serve as a leader of a program to train Native Americans. It was during this stint at Hampton that Washington received the call from Tuskegee to develop a normal school.

Tuskegee Years

In the spring of 1881, Washington arrived in Tuskegee, Alabama, to begin what was to become a prolific and productive career of education institution building.

Using a stable and a hen house as classrooms, Washington began classes with 30 students. Displaying masterful leadership, planning, fund-raising, management of personnel, and strategic risk taking, Washington guided Tuskegee to become the most renowned African American academic center for learning by the time of his death in 1915.

Washington and his staff developed a broad industrial training program at Tuskegee, very much like the training program at Hampton. For males, there was carpentry, brick masonry, architectural design, veterinary training, agricultural, and more. Females were trained in laundering, sewing, health, and food sciences. For both genders, there was normal school training of teachers. What was special about Tuskegee was that Washington incorporated a very strong applied aspect of training into the program: Students were required to actively participate in applying their chosen trade—from helping build structures on the Tuskegee campus to producing and preparing garden and animal produce for consumption.

Beginning with nothing except a \$2,000 annual appropriation from the State of Alabama for salaries, Washington grew Tuskegee to an institution with property and an endowment valued at more than \$2 million by the first decade of the 20th century. More important, Washington almost single-handedly orchestrated the training of young, and sometimes not so young, African American men and women in the aforementioned fields of education and industry. These Tuskegee alumni fanned out all over the nation and around the world to serve as Washington's disciples in spreading a philosophy of love of labor and the use of industry to achieve success.

Outlining a Philosophy

Washington's rapid progress in building Tuskegee was fueled, in no small measure, by his fund-raising efforts and those of his staff members. He received a big boost from his connection with General Armstrong, who introduced him to many philanthropists across the country. These fund-raising ventures presented an opportunity for Washington to speak often and widely about challenges facing African Americans as they sought to grow up as positively contributing citizens following the antebellum and Reconstruction periods. He developed a reputation as a dynamic orator and

was invited to serve as a representative of African Americans in various forums—including appearing before the U.S. Congress. However, it was an invitation to speak during the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition on September 18, 1895, that propelled Washington into the national spotlight from which he would never be completely removed.

It was during this speech, the so-called Atlanta Compromise, that Washington elaborated on his philosophy that African Americans and Whites could remain separate in all things social while being unified in all things essential to mutual progress—that is, in industrious efforts to rebuild the South specifically and to continue building the nation generally. In addition, he commented on the inappropriate evolution of African American life in the United States during Reconstruction, which commenced for many African Americans at the top as opposed to at the bottom in industry and building a steady program of industrial training. The latter, he argued, was a natural and logical process for a people who lacked almost everything when freedom came.

These two key ideas of Washington's were received very favorably by most Whites, especially those in the South. However, for some African Americans across the nation, these ideas sounded a tone of acquiescence and softness on African American civil rights. Washington's ideas and philosophy were to become the heart of a controversy over the appropriate approach to African American development for the remainder of his career and beyond.

Nevertheless, Washington's address at the Atlanta Exposition marked him as a leader of African Americans. It was not long before he was traveling up, down, and across the country to speak about his work at Tuskegee and about African Americans in the United States. He held annual conferences on African American issues at Tuskegee; helped establish a Black Business League; was consulted on issues involving African Americans, and he advised U.S. Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft. On June 24, 1896, Harvard University bestowed upon him an honorary master's of arts degree, the first ever awarded to an African American. As another symbol of the heights to which he rose, during a 3-month vacation trip to Europe in 1899, which

was sponsored by philanthropists who respected and valued his work, Washington met with high-ranking officials in several European countries—including Queen Victoria of England.

Debate With Du Bois

At the heart of the aforementioned controversy was the question of whether education for African Americans should follow a curriculum like that of traditional White schools in the Northeast. Such schools focused on the letters of Greek, Latin, European, and U.S. languages and literatures and the high sciences of physics, chemistry, astronomy, and mathematics. Another option, consistent with the tradition established by General Armstrong at Hampton, was education for African Americans that would feature training related to the practical industries of agriculture, laundering, sewing, construction trades, veterinary sciences, and so on. Scholars such as W. E. B. Du Bois favored the former, while Washington favored the latter. So heated and vigorous was the debate that, later, African American poet Dudley Randall was inspired to pen the poem "Booker T. and W. E. B."

Du Bois and his colleagues believed that the African American "Talented Tenth" should be permitted pursuit of higher learning and the formation of a leadership core for formerly enslaved Africans. They criticized Washington's emphasis on industrial education to the virtual exclusion of higher education. Moreover, they rejected Washington's willingness to set aside the need for immediate and persistent confrontational efforts to obtain suffrage and civil rights for African Americans. They also argued that Washington's educational philosophy and nationally powerful influence impeded the flow of financial support to African American institutions of higher learning that could produce and support the Talented Tenth. Most important, they felt helpless to promulgate their own plan for African Americans against a pervasive Tuskegee machine that developed and controlled the flow of information about all things of importance to African Americans.

Washington, on the other hand, believed that African Americans were best served by training to become expert in fields in which African Americans already had some familiarity and for which employment was virtually guaranteed. He believed that, by taking this approach, African Americans would be

able to develop material wealth and be included by the larger society because they filled essential roles. Using this wealth and good relations, African Americans would be able to secure political and civil rights at an appropriate point in time. At a minimum, training in practical trades made it possible for African Americans to build self-sufficient and sustaining communities. Washington not only held these beliefs deeply, but, as stated previously, he also demanded that Tuskegee students apply this philosophy as an integral part of their training.

The Test of History

Proof of the soundness of ideas often lies in the unfolding of history. Was Washington or Du Bois the greater visionary? Experts may argue for both. Indeed, the reality at the beginning of the 21st century is that colleges and universities are converging on the principle that it is insufficient for their alumni to possess academic knowledge alone. One institution after another is adopting supplemental training programs that are designed to ensure that students are able to translate academic knowledge into a practical and applied entrepreneurial framework. Today's ultimate question for graduates is, How can you use your education to create a profitable venture? All of this sounds consistent with Washington's principles and philosophies.

While Du Bois lived into the 1960s, he never achieved the type of popular acclaim that Washington enjoyed at the turn of the 20th century. Moreover, Du Bois was never called upon to build the type of permanent infrastructure that is required to institutionalize a learning tradition and to promulgate a philosophy like that established and perpetuated at Tuskegee Institute. In addition, Du Bois never equaled Washington in building a network of adherents who not only were indoctrinated with his principles and philosophy but who, because of their training at Tuskegee, went on to replicate the Washington mind in their communities.

The nation is yet young; however, few African Americans, to date, have displayed the character, fortitude, genius, ability, and sheer will to place their people on a development path that has stood the test of time as has Booker T. Washington. History shows that his ideas, principles, and philosophy concerning education and training for African Americans were visionary and long lasting.

The details of the purpose, intent, and application of Washington's plan are readily accessible. It would not be surprising if, in the future, Washington's plan is resurrected, modified as appropriate, and implemented to lift African Americans up from economic, social, and moral shortcomings to enjoy the type of success that Washington enjoyed during his lifetime.

Brooks B. Robinson

See also DuBois, W. E. B.; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Tuskegee University

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W. DEEN MOHAMMED HIGH SCHOOL (ATLANTA, GEORGIA)

W. Deen Mohammed High School was established in 1988 by the Atlanta Masjid of Al-Islam, an African American Muslim community in Atlanta, Georgia. It is a private coeducational Islamic (religious) school providing 9th- through 12th-grade educational services to students regardless of race, religion, or national origin. Funded by the African American Muslim community, W. Deen Mohammed High School teaches all subjects

required by the state in addition to the Qur'an, Islamic studies, and the Arabic language. It has a highly regarded athletic program. This entry looks at the school's founding and development and at its educational strategy.

Historical Background

Initially established to support the graduates of the local Clara Muhammad Elementary School, the high school was originally called the Clara Muhammad High School until 1987. In 1988, the community acknowledged the need for a quality Islamic high school for all students, particularly graduates from Clara Muhammad Schools throughout the United States, and the name W. Deen Mohammed High School was chosen. It was determined that Imam W. Deen Mohammed, the son of Clara and Elijah Muhammad, deserved distinction as a result of making education the number one priority of the African American Muslim community and for transforming the Nation of Islam in 1975, which had been headed by his father, from a race-centered philosophy to the universal philosophy of Al-Islam.

To accommodate out-of-state students, the Atlanta Masjid of Al-Islam organized families who agreed to host (board) students for the school year. These "host families" provided an invaluable service that enabled interested families to enroll their children in the school, overcoming one of the major obstacles of local residency. As a result, W. Deen Mohammed High School has drawn students from around the country.

The first graduating class in 1992 had eight students—three males and five females. The school was accredited in 1998 by CITA (Commission on International Trans-Regional Accreditation) and "Accredited With Quality" in 1999 by SACS (the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges), and GAC (Georgia Accrediting Commission); it has had a working relationship with Clark Atlanta University for ongoing teacher education. The school has a 100% graduation record. The school prides itself on students performing at least two to three grade levels above students in other schools and as a result, 99% of its graduates are offered scholarships to and matriculate from Ivy League universities in the United States. Further distinction arises from its renowned athletes in men's swimming—although

the school does not have a swimming program—and their celebrated male and female basketball teams, the Caliphs and the Lady Caliphs.

Alumni and Achievements

Graduates of W. Deen Mohammed High School include three medical doctors—graduates of Morehouse School of Medicine, Columbia University, and Meharry Medical School—with one alumni in residency at Johns Hopkins Hospital; two PhDs—a professor of Islamic studies at Spelman College and a professor of biology at Morehouse College who is a Clara Muhammad School alumni; a graduate of Harvard University and Emory University, now a practicing attorney; a Fulbright Scholar; an international businessman; a White House intern; two swimmers who participated in Olympic trials; a Most Valuable Player at the National Invitational Tournament for Georgia Tech; and many responsible citizens and dedicated parents. Graduates have also received scholarships to study abroad.

The outstanding athletic program was enhanced by the building of the Shareef Abdur-Rahim Gymnasium, which bears the name of its chief contributor and former student of Clara Muhammad School and National Basketball Association star Shareef Abdur-Rahim, who played for the Vancouver Grizzlies, Atlanta Hawks, and the Sacramento Kings. W. Deen Mohammed High School expanded to Oakland, California, in 2002, opening with 12 students. That school has continued the tradition of academic excellence and is accredited by the National Association of Private Schools.

Educational Strategy

W. Deen Mohammed High School believes that education is sacred, a human right, and required for a civilized society. It believes the purpose of education is to nourish the human being toward a higher awareness of his or her purpose in life, beginning with God consciousness, moral integrity, and social responsibility. The school believes that everyone possesses an inherent capacity for intelligent life, and the need for fulfillment of that intelligent life binds one to morally sound and intelligent behavior. It believes education should meet the challenge of the environment in which it is imparted; it should enable its recipients to address the physical, social,

and psychological realities of the world in which they live; and it must always aim at excellence.

W. Deen Mohammed High School believes its students are obligated to understand the history and challenges peculiar to the United States and the African American community and to honor and give back to their community. It also fosters an appreciation for the noble principles upon which the United States was founded that contribute to the cultivation of the qualities of good citizenship.

At W. Deen Mohammed High, competencies and instructional methods are based on Islamic principles to ensure that each student's behavior is consistent with that of a civilized member of society, responsible for self, family, and community, locally and globally. The expansive curriculum includes human development, in which students are taught to revere God first, to appreciate and respect people of all ethnicities and cultures as one human family, and to strengthen an appreciation of the African American experience as a significant development in human history and destiny. Students are taught to develop an appreciation for the value of religion in human existence and Al-Islam as a total system of life. The curriculum provides an integration of Islamic, African, and African American cultural sensibilities. Students are prepared to be enlightened leaders and global citizens whose values are democratic and humane and who are willing to work for a more just and equitable society and world.

Zakiyyah R. Muhammad

See also Clara Muhammad Schools

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WHITE FLIGHT

The phenomenon known as "White flight" is commonly associated with the demographic shifting of working- and middle-class White U.S. citizens from the urban areas of the United States to outlying suburbs and exurbs. According to geographers, sociologists, economists, political scientists, and other researchers, White flight partly contributed to the concentration of African American people in urban communities, that resulted in communities and schools that became predominantly African American in a short span of time. This entry looks at the historical context of White flight and its consequences for African American education.

Historical Context

White flight began to occur shortly after World War II, a time in which there was a squeeze on properties located in major urban areas, and U.S. prosperity after the war facilitated the rise of suburbs. During this time (shortly after 1945), African American people were in the midst of the Second Great Black Migration, and more than 5 million people were making their way from rural southern towns into urban industrial areas of the United States, particularly in the Midwest and Northeast. Although the passage of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, in 1954 eradicated the legal segregation of public schools, White flight played a critical role in creating the de facto racial segregation of African American people in urban communities and schools during the 1960s and afterward.

As African American people became a more urbanized population during the 1950s and 1960s, White people began to feel threatened by the increasing African American presence in these urban centers. The prevalence of the automobile and the building of interstate systems, especially

through the areas of the cities where African American people resided, played a critical role in ensuring White families that African Americans could reside in one area and work in another.

This pattern of White flight from urban areas escalated after the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. As there was already a demographic shift toward the suburbs, urban areas and urban school systems increasingly became less and less White and more and more African American. After efforts were stepped up to enforce *Brown* through the desegregation of public schools, many Whites made no secret of their feelings about living near African Americans and attending schools with them, not only verbally but also by moving to suburban and outlying communities.

In many instances, these actions were facilitated and encouraged by White communities and realtors through race steering and other means of deterring African Americans from moving into these suburban neighborhoods. And when White families could not afford to leave the urban centers, they did all they could to prevent African American families from enrolling their children into the urban schools. For example, in cities such as New Orleans, White families pulled their children out of the schools altogether. In other cities such as Chicago, district officials adjusted boundary lines, assuring that the schools remained segregated.

Impact on Urban Schools

In addition to White citizens' resistance to desegregation and the mandates of *Brown*, their massive exodus to suburban communities struck another unexpected blow to desegregation efforts that sought to make *Brown* a reality. When White citizens began to depart the cities for the suburbs, so did the financial resources and political support for urban schools. In addition to an ever-increasing African American population that Whites felt little obligation to educate, these new African American school leaders also inherited myriad financial and social concerns.

Urban centers and school districts throughout the United States, such as those in Detroit, Milwaukee, Atlanta, and St. Louis, witnessed an increasingly low-income African American student population and contended with serious fiscal and social crises as a result of social and economic changes in the broader U.S. society. With the loss of a political and

economic base, the communities and schools in these areas began to experience a decline.

The 1971 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* provided a glimmer of hope for desegregation proponents because it mandated the busing of students across district lines. African American students were bused to predominantly White suburbs, and White students from suburbs were bused into the city. However, in a ruling in 1974, *Milliken v. Bradley*, the U.S. Supreme Court changed the course of desegregation when the justices ruled 5–4 to exempt 53 suburban school districts in metropolitan Detroit from participating in cross-district desegregation with the city of Detroit. The majority argument was that the 53 suburban communities and school districts did not intentionally contribute to the creation of predominantly African American and segregated schools in Detroit. Thus, the court limited *Brown's* influence by asserting that the court case banned de jure (legal segregation), not de facto segregation caused by individuals' voluntary housing patterns. In essence, desegregation plans could be undermined by White families' flight into suburban school districts.

But despite the *Milliken* decision, some school districts throughout the United States continued to operate under court-supervised desegregation plans. Some of these districts voluntarily operated interdistrict desegregation plans. One of the largest voluntary desegregation plans was the St. Louis Inter-District Transfer plan. In 1983, the city of St. Louis became the site of the nation's largest voluntary desegregation plan. Through a system of voluntary choice, the plan allowed African American parents in the city of St. Louis to send their children to their assigned neighborhood schools, to magnet schools in the city, or to schools in one of 16 participating, predominantly White county school districts. White parents who resided in one of the 16 participating county school districts had the option of sending their children to magnet schools in the city.

During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the White population decreased dramatically in the urban centers of the United States and increased in the suburbs. Whereas there were multiple factors that caused this decline, such as African American influx into the cities, the expansion of interstate travel, and so on, White parents' resistance to their children being educated in schools with African American children fueled White residents' flight

away from central cities—those places where African American people lived.

The Future of African American Children

Since the 1980s and 1990s, there has been an increasing presence of African American families in once predominantly White suburbs—what can be called “Black departure.” But just as African American people are increasingly present in suburban contexts (more than one third of all African Americans at the turn of the 21st century live in suburban settings), urban centers during the 1990s experienced a return flight of White people. This phenomenon, called “gentrification,” is a process by which more prosperous individuals move into and refurbish inner-city areas that have experienced decades of neglect, often resulting in the displacement of lower-income residents who can no longer afford to pay the increased property taxes on their homes.

What will happen to the low-income African American children of these families that have been displaced is something that remains to be seen. One thing that is clear, however, is that despite the direction of White U.S. residential patterns and the subsequent impact on the racial composition of schools—whether they move away from or toward the areas where African American people reside—it is imperative that efforts to achieve quality schooling for African American students must make these children a primary focus.

Jerome E. Morris

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* (and *Brown II*); Desegregation; *Milliken v. Bradley*; Socioeconomic Status (SES); *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*

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WOMEN'S STUDIES

Women's studies as a distinct entity within higher education in the United States appeared in 1969–1970 with the establishment of the first program at San Diego State University. The National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), the professional association for the field, identifies more than 900 programs in the United States, which enroll the largest number of students in any interdisciplinary field, and well over 10,000 courses. In addition to a professional association, there are numerous refereed women's studies journals (over 30 in the United States), numerous journal articles, and hundreds of monographs by university presses and trade publications. Women's studies programs have expanded internationally and can be found in Europe, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Costa Rica, and the English-speaking Caribbean, as well as India, Indonesia, China, Korea, Japan, and Africa (Uganda and South Africa). Doctoral programs have been established at more than 10 U.S. universities (the first ones at Emory University and Clark University), as well as in Canada, Australia, and England. Colleges and universities across the nation routinely advertise faculty searches in women's studies as well as award prestigious endowed professorships in women's studies. In addition to higher education, there is a growing domestic and international market for women's studies scholars and practitioners in government and nongovernmental organizations, policy and research institutes, foundations, and nonprofit organizations.

While the first phase of the evolution of women's studies in the academy during the 1970s focused on

the establishment of the field as a separate discipline, the 1980s ushered in a second phase that focused on “mainstreaming” women’s studies throughout the established male-focused curriculum. This process of bringing about a gender-balanced curriculum represented an attempt to deghettoize women’s studies and to incorporate it into the rest of the academic enterprise. The objective was to incorporate feminist scholarship or new scholarship on women and gender within all the academic disciplines by initiating curriculum transformation projects in academic settings throughout the United States. The history of women’s studies in higher education involved the development of separate women’s studies courses and autonomous programs, as well as mainstreaming projects whose aim was the creation of gender-balanced courses in various disciplines, particularly in the humanities and social sciences.

One of the earliest of these curriculum integration projects in women’s studies was launched in 1981 at the University of Arizona. Initially a 4-year, cross-disciplinary project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and later the Ford Foundation, the program developed an interdisciplinary format that provided a model for subsequent curriculum integration projects. A steering committee of women’s studies professors designed and conducted faculty development seminars that focused on analyzing major texts in feminist theory and discussing teaching strategies in women’s studies classrooms. Numerous curriculum integration projects followed, the best known of which was initiated in 1980 at Wheaton College, in Norton, Massachusetts, with funding from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). The collegewide goal of the program was to integrate the new scholarship on women into introductory courses in various disciplines. In 1983, Wheaton convened the first national conference on curriculum integration in women’s studies. FIPSE, which assumed a leadership role in such projects, also funded curriculum development by Smith College’s Afro-American Studies Department and the University of Massachusetts’ Women’s Studies Program that intended to bridge the gap between African American studies and women’s studies.

In the late 1970s, African American women began to critique both women’s studies and curriculum integration projects for their lack of attention to questions of racial-ethnic, class, or cultural differences in

definitions of womanhood. One of the hardest-hitting critiques of the insensitivity of women’s studies to race, class, and ethnicity can be found in the pioneering work of Black feminist theorist bell hooks, especially in *Feminist Theory From Margin to Center* (1984). A new field of study, Black women’s studies, also emerged because of the failure of both African American studies and women’s studies to adequately address the unique experiences of African American women and around the globe. It provided the conceptual framework for moving African American women from the margins of women’s studies to the center and provided the catalyst for initiatives to incorporate “minority women’s studies” into core curricula in diverse academic settings. *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave* (1982), edited by Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, defined Black Women’s Studies, traced its development, provided a rationale for its existence, and analyzed its implications for curriculum and societal reform.

The founding of *SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women* in 1983 (hosted by the Women’s Research and Resource Center at Spelman College and coedited by Patricia Bell Scott and Beverly Guy-Sheftall) was a major milestone in promoting scholarship on women of African descent around the globe; its other editors included Professors Jacqueline Jones Royster (Spelman College), Janet Sims-Wood (Howard University), Miriam DeCosta Willis (Howard University), and Lucille Fultz (Rice University). It appeared at the height of an African American women writers’ renaissance that included Toni Morrison, Paule Marshall, Alice Walker, Ntozake Shange, Audre Lorde, Toni Cade Bambara, and others. The theme of its first issue in April 1984 was Black women’s education. In subsequent issues, themes included Black women’s studies, Africa and the diaspora, women as writers, women as workers, artists, and artisans, leadership, science and technology, health, relationships, and male kin. One of its thematic issues, mothers and daughters, led to the publication of the landmark text on African American mothers and daughters, *Double Stitch: Women Write About Mothers and Daughters* (1992), edited by the SAGE collective. The journal also served as the focal point of the SAGE Scholars Internship Program at Spelman College, which in 2001 became the Toni Cade Bambara Collective; it sponsors an annual Toni

Cade Bambara scholars and activists conference during Women's History Month in March. In collaboration with Spelman's Comprehensive Writing Program, the internship program enabled a select group of students to learn, firsthand, the dynamics of publishing a scholarly journal and be mentored by some of the most influential feminist scholars and writers in the academy and beyond. The presence of *SAGE* (published from 1983 to 1996) also signaled the coming of age of Black women's studies and illustrated the importance of feminist theorizing around the intersection of race, class, and gender within the evolving field of women's studies. Along with Black women's studies, scholarship by and about other women of color also generated oppositional discourses that challenged the ethnocentrism of mainstream women's studies methodologies.

A historical perspective on the development of women's studies in African American higher education begins with Spelman College, the older of only two historically Black colleges for women in the United States. In 1981, the Women's Research and Resource Center was founded with a grant from the Mott Foundation; its primary goal was the establishment of a women's studies program, the first on a historically Black college campus. In 1983, under the auspices of the center, Spelman engaged in the first curriculum integration project in women's studies at a Black college. The goal of this Ford-funded project was to invigorate its liberal arts curriculum by redesigning introductory courses to reflect the new scholarship on women generally, but especially African American women, in the United States and beyond. Courses such as freshman English, world literature, introduction to sociology, and introduction to psychology were targeted and revised.

During the early years, the Women's Center broadened its program to include an international component that focused on third world women, with special attention to women from Africa, Asia, India, and the Caribbean. In support of this global outreach initiative, the center launched an enrichment program for African women living in Atlanta. To further the center's evolving global dimension, it led a delegation of women to the 1985 UN Decade Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya. In 1995, a similar delegation traveled to Beijing, China, to attend the Fourth UN Conference on Women. Also in the 1980s, Spelman became one of the most sought-after sites for national conferences that addressed women's

issues in general and African American women's issues in particular. The first conference, organized by the Women's Center in 1982, examined African American women's public policy issues. The second gathering, the first National Black Women's Health Conference, was held in 1983 under the auspices of the National Women's Health Network, and provided the impetus for the founding of the National Black Women's Health Project. With more than 1,500 participants, the conference was the largest women's conference to have been convened on a Black college campus. In 2005, the center convened an international, invitational conference on "Women, Girls and HIV/AIDS in Africa and the African Diaspora." Funded by the Ford Foundation, it was the first conference of its kind on a Black college campus and included faculty from historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) as well as delegations from Brazil, Senegal, and the Caribbean.

In June 1987, Spelman hosted the 10th anniversary of NWSA, whose theme was "Weaving Women's Colors: A Decade of Empowerment." This conference marked the first meeting of NWSA on a Black college campus. In 2008, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, founding director of Spelman's Women's Center, was appointed president of NWSA. When Johnnetta Betsch Cole, a former professor of African American studies and women's studies, was appointed president of Spelman College in 1987, she convened a Black Women's Studies Task Force to explore the feasibility of establishing both women's studies and African American studies majors. In 1996, after having established a minor in 1982, Spelman became the first historically Black college to offer a women's studies major. In 1992, the Anna Julia Cooper Professorship in Women's Studies was established with a grant from the Mott Foundation and matching funds from William and Camille Cosby. Spelman is the only Black college with a women's studies major, a women's center, and an endowed chair in women's studies.

While the evolution of women's studies at Spelman has not been typical of African American coeducational institutions, and while there is no history of women's studies in African American higher education, there were early efforts, largely on the part of African American women faculty, to bring women's studies to Black campuses. The most noteworthy project in this regard occurred at

Atlanta University (now Clark Atlanta University), whose Africana Women's Center, founded by political science professor Shelby Lewis, initiated a graduate degree program in Africana women's studies in 1987. The project also involved faculty development in Africana women's studies at four other predominantly Black colleges—Hampton University, Atlanta Junior College, Southern University, and Jackson State University. The project was managed by their Women's Institute of the Southeast Developmental Project in Africana Women's Studies, funded by FIPSE from 1982 to 1985. Atlanta University's Africana Women's Center held the first national conference on Africana women's studies in the United States in December 1985. Clark Atlanta University offered the first and only doctoral program in Africana women's studies, which was an outgrowth of the early work of the Women's Center at Atlanta University.

In 2002, Johnnetta Betsch Cole assumed the presidency of Bennett College for Women, one of only two historically Black colleges for women, and provided leadership for the development of an Africana women's studies program. With funds from the Mott Foundation, Bennett College also established a Mott Professorship in Africana Women's Studies. The chair has been held by anthropologist Irma McLaurin, the first director of the program, and Valerie Kaalund, now director of the program. Tennessee State University, Morgan State University, Howard University, and Medgar Evers College also have women's studies programs, though Spelman College remains the only historically Black college with both a women's studies major and a women's research institute.

Despite the development of women's studies at Black colleges and universities, this work has been largely invisible in the scholarship on curriculum transformation in the liberal arts as well as in histories of women's studies in U.S. higher education. Sorely needed is a comprehensive history of the development of women's studies at Black colleges and universities. Without such research, it will be difficult to capture this history in its entirety and over time.

Beverly Guy-Sheftall

See also Bennett College for Women; Black Females in College; Cole, Johnnetta

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WOODSON, CARTER G. (1875–1950)

During the first half of the 20th century, Carter Godwin Woodson, “The Father of Black History,” laid the foundation for the rigorous study and popularization of African American history. A committed educational reformer and forerunner of the interwar Intercultural Educational Movement, Woodson was the central figure in the early African American history movement that lasted from the founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 until his death in 1950. Not only was Woodson a prolific scholar, but he also systematically democratized, popularized, and legitimized the study of African American history in U.S. educational institutions and popular culture during the era of Jim Crow segregation.

Before his sudden death on April 3, 1950, Woodson accomplished a great deal and wore many different hats. He served as a high school teacher and college professor; he earned a doctoral degree in history from Harvard; he produced an important body of scholarship; he founded the first major organization and scholarly journal devoted to promoting, documenting, and studying African American history; he mentored many professionally and nonprofessionally trained African American scholars; he joined and/or supported

organizations like the Committee of 200, the National Urban League, the NAACP, the Friends of Negro Freedom, the New Negro Alliance, and the National Negro Business League; and he worked tirelessly as a leader, activist, and spokesperson for African American advancement.

Woodson was born in New Canton, Virginia, toward the end of the Reconstruction era, on December 19, 1875. Woodson's parents, James Henry and Anne Eliza (Riddle), had been formerly enslaved, and they shared with him and their other children firsthand histories of life during enslavement. As an adult, Woodson recalled that his parents instilled within their children a respect for education and the philosophy of self-determination and character building. A year before Woodson's birth, his parents had settled in New Canton, Virginia, buying a farm of 21 acres. Woodson grew up on his parents' farm and attended school for only 4 months out of the year. He worked on the family farm until he was about 15 and then secured a job as a farm laborer and a jack-of-all-trades in Buckingham County, Virginia. Two years later, Woodson moved to Fayette County, West Virginia, to work in the coal mines. In his late sixties, looking back on his life, Woodson described this period as very significant to his intellectual development. In the coal mines, he met an African American Civil War veteran named Oliver Jones, who allowed many of the coal miners to use his home as an intellectual movement center. Being the sole literate worker of the group, Woodson read newspapers to his coworkers. Jones also had a valuable library of books containing classic works by pioneering African American scholars.

At the age of 20, Woodson returned to West Virginia and attended Frederick Douglass High School. It took him only 2 years to finish the requirements for graduation. In the fall of 1897, he enrolled at Berea College, in Kentucky. It took him more than 5 years to receive a BA from Berea. For financial reasons, he left Berea in the 1897–1898 academic year. From 1898 until 1900, he worked as a teacher for a school in Winona, West Virginia, where he educated the children of African American miners. From 1900 until 1903, he worked at his high school alma mater, teaching history and serving as the principal. Woodson received a bachelor's degree in literature from Berea in 1903. From mid-December 1903 until early February 1907,

Woodson traveled abroad extensively. For roughly 5 years, under the auspices of the U.S. War Department, he was stationed in the Philippines "to train the Filipinos to govern themselves," teaching English, health, and agricultural classes. After leaving the Philippines in early 1907, Woodson briefly traveled around the world and spent roughly half a year in Europe. He briefly attended the Sorbonne.

After returning from Europe, Woodson enrolled in the University of Chicago and earned an MA degree in history, romance languages, and literature in the summer of 1908. Woodson then enrolled in Harvard University as a doctoral student. In 1909, he left Cambridge and settled down in the Washington, D.C., area, teaching French, Spanish, English, and history at the prestigious M Street High School. Woodson finished his coursework in less than 2 years and submitted the first draft of his dissertation in the spring of 1910. His committee, consisting of Albert Bushnell Hart, Edward Channing, and Charles Haskins, made many suggestions for revision. In April 1912, Woodson completed his PhD dissertation, *The Disruption of Virginia*.

Three years later, in 1915, at the age of 40, Woodson published his first monograph, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. On September 9, 1915, Woodson cofounded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in Chicago with George Cleveland Hall, James E. Stamps, and Alexander L. Jackson. The purpose of the organization was to collect records pertaining to African Americans' past and disseminate the "truth" regarding African American history. The ASNLH was one of the first scholarly organizations of its kind to be founded early during the era of Jim Crow segregation. Early on, the association developed intimate connections to the heart of African American communities. Every year during Woodson's lifetime, the association meetings were held in African American churches, community centers, colleges and universities, and high school auditoriums throughout the country. Churches were most often used because they could accommodate many people and they constituted the centers of the African American community.

In 1916, Woodson launched the first issue of the *Journal of Negro History*. By 1919, the *Journal* reached approximately 4,000 people, and there were 1,648 subscribers. While a teacher at

Armstrong Manual Training High School, Woodson published his second major monograph, *A Century of Negro Migration* (1918). Early on in the association's history, Woodson sought to popularize and democratize the study of African American history by gaining a mass following. By 1919, he began systematically organizing "Negro History Clubs."

While Woodson was laying the foundations for the early African American history movement, he was also active as a teacher of history. In 1918, Woodson became the principal of Armstrong Manual Training School, in Washington, D.C., where he advocated vocational and classical education and introduced an adult education program. From 1919 until 1920, he served as the dean of Howard University's School of Liberal Arts. He also introduced and taught black history at Howard. From 1920 until 1922, he served as a dean at West Virginia Collegiate Institute. In 1921, he published his third major monograph, *The History of the Negro Church*.

During the early 1920s, Woodson wore many hats. While an educator, he directed the ASNLH, edited a journal, and managed the Associated Publishers (founded in 1921). In 1922, Woodson published *The Negro in Our History*, the first major African American history textbook and Woodson's most popular book. By March 1941, Woodson noted that 40,000 copies of his text had been sold. By 1922, Woodson also decided to devote his life to the association. He resigned from his position at West Virginia Collegiate Institute and moved to Washington, D.C., in order to commit himself to the ASNLH.

One of Woodson's most important contributions to the early African American history movement was his transformation of African American history into a practical and popular medium for uplifting African Americans and challenging racial prejudice. He revolutionized the U.S. historical profession, in part, by popularizing the study of African American history. Within the ranks of the association, there were many different groups of people, including professionally trained scholars, schoolteachers, African American history enthusiasts, African American race leaders and representatives, and young African Americans. In adopting this approach, he did not de-emphasize the role of rigorous scholarship in the "life-and-death struggle" for

African American liberation. On the other hand, he maintained that in addition to being founded on rigorous research, the study and dissemination of African American history should extend to the working class and youth. Woodson reasoned that the knowledge of African American history was a fundamentally practical, though nonmaterial, way in which African American people could become liberated and empowered.

Between 1915 and 1950 (increasingly more by the 1920s), he strove to enlighten the African American community, popularizing African American history in a variety of ways. He extended himself as a resource and lecturer to African American communities throughout the country. He opened the doors of the association to lay historians, ministers, secondary and elementary schoolteachers, businessmen, and the African American community as a whole. In 1926, he initiated Negro History Week. By the early 1930s, Woodson called this celebration the "greatest educational work" of the ASNLH. With this "mass educational program," Woodson sought to help educate and instill racial pride within African American, introduce and integrate African American history into U.S. educational institutions, dispel racist stereotypes and prejudice within White society, and inspire African American youth. Woodson routinely warned against those who sought to profit from the celebration, stressing that the children themselves be central figures in Negro History Week events.

In 1927, a year after the founding of Negro History Week, Woodson established the association's Extension Division, exposing more people to African American history through public lectures and correspondence study. The Home Study Department was necessary, in Woodson's view, because not enough teachers were qualified to teach African American youth about their history and because "various classes of citizens" needed to know their history. While the Home Study Department did not enjoy a large enrollment, the teaching staff included leading African American scholars of the interwar period. Beginning in October 1937, Woodson began publishing *The Negro History Bulletin*, an easy-to-read African American history magazine that was created primarily for African American youth and schoolteachers as supplements for mainstream U.S. history textbooks.

Beyond popularizing African American history, Woodson was also one of the first professionally trained African American scholars to publicly critique African American intellectuals, scholars, and professionals, as well as the historically Black colleges and universities that produced them. He was also a political commentator. His columns appeared in outlets such as the Baltimore *Afro-American*. A self-proclaimed supporter of Booker T. Washington, Woodson openly indicted his African American professional and academic counterparts for not contributing as much as they could to the African American struggle. In *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, Woodson challenged African American intellectuals to be practical and to help the less fortunate, very much as Washington had urged in *My Larger Education*. In his now-famous 1933 polemic, Woodson was not turning over a new stone but rather continuing his evolution as a scholar-activist and iconoclastic thinker. In this important book, Woodson's main focus was first showing how "highly educated Negroes" had misled, exploited, and hampered the livelihood of the African American masses, and how these destructive approaches could be reversed.

Woodson's scholarship did not highlight the roles of African American women, but in the 1930s, he published several key articles on African American women. After Woodson founded Negro History Week in 1926, African American female teachers, club women, librarians, and social activists played essential roles in popularizing the study of African American history. By the early 1920s, African American women were active in the ASNLH conferences, and at the Annual Meeting in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1936, Mary McLeod Bethune was elected president of the ASNLH "to fill the vacancy" opened by John Hope's death in February 1936. Bethune, founder of Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute, served as the president of the ASNLH until 1952.

Woodson's legacy can be measured in many ways. Not only did he found Negro History Week, which laid the foundations for what we now call Black History Month, but throughout his career, Woodson also mobilized a tight circle of younger professionally trained African American historians who, despite his hardness, apprenticed themselves to him for varying periods of time. These scholars, who were born mainly during what Logan deemed

"the nadir" and took pride in calling themselves Woodson's "Boys," often ideologically departed from their mentor, but they usually put these differences to the side in order to work with Woodson in establishing African American history as a legitimate field of study, a vital and practical source of pride for African Americans, and as a cross-cultural educational reform movement. The dialogues, interactions, and relationships among Woodson and his disciples contributed to the evolution of the African American historical enterprise during a fundamental period in its maturation. These historians in turn trained succeeding generations of African American historians who helped legitimize African American history during the dynamic Black Power era. It is no exaggeration to say that today's leading African American historians, from those who came of age during the civil rights era to those socialized during the "golden age" of hip hop, were indirectly influenced by Woodson.

During an era of overt Jim Crow segregation, Woodson espoused a worldview that dictated that he make the historical craft relevant and practical by working closely with and for the rank and file of his people. He was a committed scholar-activist, an "intellectual-activist," or a "liberated intellectual."

As a member of the early to mid-20th century African American professional class, he embraced a "service ethic." For Woodson, this translated into delivering African American history to the African American masses, working class, and youth throughout the nation. From 1922 until 1950, this mission was orchestrated from his "office home" at 1538 Ninth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. Central to many 20th century African American professionals' lives, as was the case with Woodson, was service to disempowered African American people. Woodson faced many challenges while serving his clientele. Above all, he was committed to the promotion of African American history. As an underacknowledged contributor to the interwar Intercultural Education Movement and to the African American cultural consciousness movement that blossomed during the Black power era, he wholeheartedly believed that African American history was a vital medium of social reform, cross-cultural understanding within U.S. society, and African American identity formation and psychological liberation. He demonstrated that practical, effective African American leaders could and should emanate from the ranks

of professional historians, a concept that appears to have declined following the civil rights movement and continues to challenge African American historians. Carter G. Woodson's contributions to African American education, identity formation, culture, scholarship, intellectual thought, and historiography are truly remarkable.

Pero G. Dagbovie

See also African American Studies; Bethune, Mary Mcleod; Jim Crow; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); National Urban League

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WYGANT V. JACKSON BOARD OF EDUCATION

Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education, decided in 1986, stemmed from a collective bargaining agreement between the school board of Jackson, Michigan, and its teachers' union that provided racial preferences for minority teachers in the event that layoffs became necessary. White teachers who lost their jobs as a result of this provision filed suit, claiming that the policy impermissibly discriminated against them on the basis of race. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the White teachers, signaling that affirmative action programs in the future would be more difficult for state and local governments to justify. This entry provides an exploration of the backstory, the facts, and the implications of *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education*.

Historical Context

The first African American schoolteacher was hired by the Jackson School District in 1954. By 1969, or

African American representation within the district's teaching force had risen only to 3.9%. In that year, the Jackson branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a complaint to the Michigan Commission on Civil Rights, alleging that the school district had engaged in a variety of discriminatory practices, including racial discrimination in the hiring of teachers. The commission conducted an investigation pursuant to the complaint and concluded that the allegations had merit. As a result, the commission issued an order of adjustment, under which the Jackson Board of Education agreed to a number of measures to improve educational opportunities for African American public school students, including a promise to take affirmative steps to recruit, hire, and promote African American teachers and counselors.

However, in 1971, layoffs of faculty became necessary. The collective bargaining contract in place at the time gave preference to faculty with the highest levels of seniority. Because the school district had only recently implemented an affirmative action hiring plan, the provisions of the existing contract led to disproportionately large job losses among newly hired African American faculty members. The layoffs eliminated all of the gains in African American hiring that the affirmative action plan had caused to take place.

In 1972, when racial tensions escalated in the school system to the point of violence, school officials determined that the only solution to the crisis was full-blown desegregation, including desegregation of the faculty. However, they also recognized that if the collective bargaining agreement preserved the seniority-based layoff system, genuine faculty segregation could not take place. After a lengthy negotiation between the board and the teachers' union, the parties agreed to a compromise that amended the seniority layoff system. Article XII of the collective bargaining agreement stated as follows:

In the event that it becomes necessary to reduce the number of teachers through layoff from employment by the Board, teachers with the most seniority in the district shall be retained, except that at no time will there be a greater percentage of minority personnel laid off than the current percentage of minority personnel at the time of the layoff. In no event will the number given notice of possible layoff be greater than the

number of positions to be eliminated. Each teacher so affected will be called back in reverse order for positions for which he is certificated maintaining the above minority balance.

In the event of layoffs, the effect of this provision would be that some White teachers with greater seniority would be laid off while some African American teachers with less seniority were retained. The goal of the policy was not to repeat the experience of 1971, when African American teachers were disproportionately victimized by those layoffs.

Facts of the Case

When layoffs became necessary in 1974, the board, rather than enforce the requirements of the amended layoff policy, retained tenured (White) teachers and laid off probationary African American teachers, failing to maintain the percentage of minority teachers who were employed at the time of the layoffs. The union, together with the two African American teachers who had lost their jobs, filed suit against the board in federal district court. The suit alleged that the board's failure to adhere to the provisions of the collective bargaining contract with respect to the layoffs violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The board, for its part, denied any previous employment discrimination against African Americans and argued that the provision in question violated the Michigan Teacher Tenure Act. The district court declared it lacked jurisdiction to rule on the matter, in part because the plaintiffs lacked sufficient evidence to prove their claim that the school board had engaged in discriminatory hiring practices and because the plaintiffs had failed to file a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC).

State Court Rules

The plaintiffs subsequently sued the school board in state court, making essentially the same claims. The state court ruled against the board, rejecting its claim that the layoff provision did not violate the Michigan Teacher Tenure Act. The court also found that though there had not been a judicial finding of overt racial discrimination by

the school system, the affirmative action plan was permissible because of the need to remedy the effects of "societal discrimination."

As a result of the state court ruling, the Jackson Board of Education adhered to Article XII; consequently, during the 1976–1977 and 1981–1982 school years, White teachers with greater seniority were laid off, while African American teachers with less seniority were retained. The displaced White teachers brought suit in federal district court, alleging violations of the equal protection clause, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and other federal and state laws. The district court ruled against the displaced teachers, arguing that the racial preferences granted by the board need not be grounded in a finding of past discrimination. Rather, the court held that the policy was permissible to remedy societal racial discrimination by providing minority students with positive role models. The Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit affirmed the district court's decision, largely adopting the reasoning and language of the lower court's ruling. The displaced White teachers appealed their case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court Steps In

In a 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court decisions. Writing for a plurality, Justice Lewis Powell argued that the layoff provision violated the equal protection clause because, as executed, it required that the teachers be laid off simply because they were White. He further maintained that whenever the government embarks upon affirmative action, it had two duties: (1) to justify racial classification with a compelling state interest and (2) to ensure that the means chosen were narrowly tailored to its purpose.

Regarding the first, Powell rejected the board's claim that racial preferences were justified because the percentage of minority students exceeded the percentage of minority teachers. At best, he continued, this scheme implied a separate-but-equal system that the Court had already repudiated in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Racial preferences had to be based on findings of prior discriminatory conduct on the part of the board, rather than claims of "societal racial discrimination."

Second, the Court concluded that the school district's remedy—layoff preferences—incorrectly addressed past discriminatory hiring practices

since “denial of future employment opportunity [was] not as intrusive as loss of an existing job.” Other less-intrusive methods (such as hiring goals) were available to the board to address past discrimination. Writing separately from the majority, Justice Byron R. White agreed that the layoff preferences for minority teachers violated the equal protection clause.

Justice Thurgood Marshall, joined by Justices William Brennan and Harry Blackmun, penned a dissenting opinion in which they chided their colleagues for too hastily concluding, in their view, that the claims of prior racial discrimination in hiring by the board had not been proved. They felt that the layoff provision in the collective bargaining contract was the legitimate result of a democratic process that the courts should not have disturbed. Justice John Paul Stevens also dissented, maintaining that the board’s goal of employing an integrated faculty advanced an important government interest that should have been permissible, despite the burdens it might impose on some White teachers in the event of layoffs.

The Impact of the Ruling

Wygant sent a signal to state and local governments that affirmative action programs would be required to undergo strict scrutiny in order to pass constitutional muster in the future. Simply arguing that because U.S. society has discriminated against African Americans in general would not be a sufficient justification for an affirmative action plan. Rather, government bodies would have to root their policies in evidence of specific histories of documented discriminatory conduct.

By vindicating the claims of the displaced White teachers, *Wygant* gave encouragement to White plaintiffs in other contexts to pursue equal protection claims based on the contention that they were the innocent victims of racial preferences designed to undo the effects of past discrimination. It also suggested that, with future appointments of additional conservatives to the federal judiciary, supporters of affirmative action should expect additional legal challenges to its constitutionality.

Albert L. Samuels

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA)

Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is an international association of local and national associations with a membership of approximately 45 million individuals located in 124 countries. Although its original mission focused on the development of a healthy spirit, mind, and body through activities for young men that embodied Christian principles, YMCAs today serve men, women, and children. Although Christian in its origin and affiliations, the YMCA of the United States is open to people of all religious affiliations.

History of the YMCA in the United States

YMCAs were established in London, England, in 1844, to respond to dreaded social conditions in the urban areas. During the Industrial Revolution in England, young men came to the big cities to find work. Working long hours and far from home, these young men lived and worked in close proximity and became susceptible to the ills of the urban metropolis. George Williams and a group of similarly minded clerks founded the YMCA to utilize Bible study and prayer as a substitute for leisure time on the streets. Meeting for the first time in a coffeehouse in London, the founders brought the idea to life; the organization and grew to 24 chapters and 2,700 members within seven years. In that same year (1851), the YMCA concept spread to Boston, Massachusetts—the first association in the

United States. With similar urban decay occurring in the United States, especially in the northeastern cities, the idea gained traction with associations formed in New Orleans and New York City and several cities between. By 1860, there were more than 200 YMCAs in the United States.

As quickly as these earlier YMCAs were established or collectively organized, they suffered a major setback. Divided over the issue of enslavement and the Civil War, the federation of YMCAs in the United States dissolved, and the majority of the locations in the South closed. Many of the northern YMCAs reestablished their federation and built stronger ties through their collective support of Union soldiers. With the close of the Civil War, wounds between northerners and southerners healed, and a new federation with YMCAs from southern cities was soon established.

This new federation of YMCAs continued with its evangelical pursuits of young men; however, YMCA programming began to diversify. A four-fold concept—serving the intellectual, physical, social, and religious life—became prominent. Services to boys increased in importance to local associations. World War I and II brought expanded support of troops in combat. During World War I, YMCAs implemented religious, recreation, and entertainment activities for troops at home and abroad. During World War II, YMCA continued this service to troops as an affiliate of the United Service Organization (USO). Finally, the close of World War II brought services to women and girls as well as the establishment of sites outside of urban areas.

Through the next 50 years, the YMCA continued to evolve and diversify. Its ability to maintain a consistent base while continually reinventing itself has been the foundation of the organization's growth and longevity. Primarily through this adaptability, the YMCA of the USA has become the largest non-profit service organization in the United States.

YMCAs and African Americans

The remarkable aspect of African American's history with YMCAs is the fact that the first YMCA organized to serve African Americans opened nine years after the movement's founding in London, England. In 1853, Anthony Bowen, a previously enslaved African from Maryland, along with a group of colleagues, established the first African American YMCA in Washington, D.C. Leading the way for other YMCAs, Bowen's YMCA provided religious services to men and boys. Following the Civil War, other African American associations grew from New York City to Philadelphia to Charleston, South Carolina.

Although the issue of services to African Americans was an issue from the inception of the YMCA, it was finally addressed with the hiring of an international secretary in 1876 to promote association work with African Americans. This promotion took hold when emphasis was placed on establishing associations on campuses of historically Black colleges and universities. However, with little or no money, volunteer leadership, and no support from the national office, these early YMCAs struggled to maintain their existence. In 1891, the first African American international secretary, William A. Hunton, was hired. His focus on educated African American leadership, black leadership, racial solidarity, and self-help spurred the growth of these YMCAs over the next 50 years. During this period, African American YMCAs grew in size and scope. They hired local executive secretaries and program staff and constructed facilities fit to implement the fourfold program; however, the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s slowed the expansion and closed some associations.

With the end of the World War II, African Americans protested segregationist policies of the YMCA yet relished their autonomous local associations. With increasing challenges from African American association leadership, the YMCA of

the USA in 1946 closed their "Colored Work Department," eliminated racial designations of local associations, and promoted desegregation of existing associations.

Demographics

Today, the YMCA serves approximately 21 million men, women, and children in the United States. Of the 20.2 million served, approximately 9.5 million are under the age of 17, and 11.5 million are 18 years old or older. Moreover, this membership is split evenly across genders (about 10.4 million males and 10.5 million females). These adults and youth are served in 2,686 local YMCAs across the United States. Supplementing the local YMCA professional staff, more than 600,000 volunteers provide leadership and support to the mission of these organizations.

YMCA Programs

With its national headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, the YMCA of the USA employs approximately 350 persons to provide programmatic, governance, and organizational support to its 2,686 associations. In communities across the United States, local YMCA activities are based on local wants and needs. Autonomous from the national office, local boards of directors and professional staff make local decisions on program content, staffing, and other operational issues.

Individual YMCA programs strive to achieve the vision of the organization: strong kids, strong families, and strong communities. Collectively, the local program seeks to address all three sides of the triangle in the YMCA logo representing the mind, body, and spirit. Additionally, through partnership with the Search Institute (an independent nonprofit organization with a focus similar to that of the YMCA), YMCAs develop programs through an asset-building approach. In this regard, YMCAs use their programs to infuse developmental experiences that have been demonstrated to help young people develop into caring, honest, respectful, and responsible adults.

Although each YMCA's program mix is contingent upon local interest, needs, resources, and desires of the community, YMCA programs can be categorized in the following 11 areas:

1. Aquatics and scuba
2. Arts and humanities
3. Camping
4. Child care
5. Family
6. Health and fitness
7. International
8. Older adults
9. Sports
10. Teen leadership
11. Youth and community development

Local YMCAs implement these programs in both traditional and nontraditional locations. Through local collaborations, YMCAs implement programs in elementary, middle, and high schools; homeschooling; hospitals; churches; and in conjunction with juvenile courts.

Carter Julian Savage

See also Desegregation; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Religious-Based Education

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Appendix

The Complete Bibliography of *The Journal of Negro Education*, 1932–2008

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Journal of Negro Education Articles on Segregation, Desegregation, and Equality in Education

1935

A Critique: The Courts and the Negro Separate School, by Newton Edwards 925

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1952

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1956

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1968

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INTRODUCTION

The *Journal of Negro Education* is pleased to contribute the complete bibliography of our first 76 years of continuous publication to *The Encyclopedia of African American Education*. The bibliography was originally published in the spring 2006 issue under the leadership of Dr. Frederick D. Harper, who served as Editor-in-Chief from 2004–2008. The complete bibliography of *The Journal of Negro Education* from 1932–2006 commemorated our 75th volume year. Since spring 2006, we have published 11 issues, including 3 special issues: *Research and Its Impact on Educational Policy and Practice* in summer 2006, *Looking Beyond the Digital Divide* in winter 2007, and *Learning Communities in the Higher Education of African Americans* in summer 2008. In summer 2007, we released the Diamond Anniversary Issue of *The Journal of Negro Education*, coedited by Editor-in-Chief Emeritus Dr. Faustine C. Jones-Wilson and Dr. Veronica G. Thomas.

In the summer of 2008, Dr. Ivory A. Toldson was selected to serve as the seventh Editor-in-Chief

of *The Journal of Negro Education*. As a member of Howard University's counseling psychology faculty and senior research analyst for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Dr. Toldson has led initiatives to place the *Journal* in a position to influence federal-level educational policy. As we follow changes in educational legislation under the Obama administration and the cultural changes as American society becomes more diverse and inclusive, presently the *Journal* is focused on research that provides solutions for the persistent achievement gaps between races, the education of Black people in the Diaspora, interdisciplinary educational research, and research that celebrates our legacy and builds on strengths instead of focusing on deficits. *The Journal of Negro Education* will continue to be "a Howard University quarterly review of issues incident to the education of Black people."

Ivory A. Toldson

Editor-in-Chief

The Journal of Negro Education

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Full-text articles from *The Journal of Negro Education* are available from JSTOR, at <http://www.jstor.org> through participating libraries. JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals.

Editor's Comments:
The Complete Bibliography of
The Journal of Negro Education,
1932–2006, by Frederick D. Harper
(Spring 2006 Issue)

EDITOR'S COMMENTS

THE COMPLETE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION*, 1932–2006

As the spring 2006 issue, *The Journal of Negro Education (JNE)* is pleased to publish the complete bibliography of all articles printed in *The Journal* since its founding in 1932. When I assumed editorship of *The Journal* in 2004, one of my goals was to develop a bibliographic listing of all published *JNE* articles by year, volume, and issue. The major purpose of developing the bibliography was to provide a valuable reference source for research and teaching. Failing to receive a small grant to carry out the project, *The Journal* staff agreed to carve out time to produce the bibliography. All staff members, including the Editor-in-Chief, participated in typing, proof-reading, and formatting what has become the content of this special publication.

To a degree, the bibliography chronicles historical and educational developments of people of African descent in the U.S. and other sectors of the world over a span of more than 74 years. During these years, *JNE* articles have documented events, published survey results and other research findings, promulgated theoretical and philosophical thoughts, profiled outstanding educational leaders and scholars, and discussed legislative acts and judicial decisions as related to the education and welfare of Black people. Moreover, as a significant archive and contribution to Black studies, *JNE* articles, over the years, have documented important events of Black history and the various conditions of race relations throughout the world (e.g., see Bunche, 1934, 1940, 1950; Du Bois, 1941, 1946; Logan, 1946, 1955; May, 1937).

The Journal of Negro Education began publishing during a time in U.S. history when there were very few Black, scholarly journals. Furthermore, this was a time when traditionally White journals very often excluded articles related to Black people, or they tended to publish racially biased and negative articles regarding Blacks. Therefore, *The Journal of Negro Education* filled a void and became a major forum for articles by and/or about Black people.

Over the decades of its existence, *The Journal* has published articles by some of America's eminent leaders, literary figures, and educational scholars—both Black and non-Black authors. In addition, it has published works of authors from Canada and numerous countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Caribbean. Presented in Table 1 by name, year of publication, and number of articles are fine examples of distinguished Black scholars who authored or coauthored three or more articles in *The Journal of Negro Education* during its earlier decades (1930s through the 1960s). As noted in Table 1, these outstanding *JNE* authors include Horace M. Bond, Ralph J. Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, W. Montague Cobb, W. E. B. Du Bois, John Hope Franklin, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles H. Houston, Charles S. Johnson, Alain L. Locke, Rayford W. Logan, Benjamin E. Mays, Frederick D. Patterson, Dorothy B. Porter, and Robert C. Weaver. Other notable Black scholars who authored or coauthored in the *JNE* during this time period include James A. Bayton (1942, 1949),

Table I Eminent Authors Who Published Multiple Times in *The Journal of Negro Education* by Name, Year of Publication, and Number (N) of Articles Published

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>	<i>N of Articles Published in JNE</i>
Horace Mann Bond	(Bond, 1932, 1935a, 1935b, 1937a, 1937b, 1938, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961; Johnson & Bond, 1934)	19
Ralph J. Bunche	(Bunche, 1934, 1935, 1936a, 1936b, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1950)	8
Kenneth B. Clark	(Clark, 1943, 1959, 1967, 1988; Clark & Clark, 1950)	5
W. Montague Cobb	(Cobb, 1934, 1939, 1949, 1951, 1958)	5
W. E. B. Du Bois	(Du Bois, 1932, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1943, 1946)	9
John Hope Franklin	(Franklin, 1948, 1956, 1957)	3
E. Franklin Frazier	(Frazier, 1933, 1935, 1936, 1939, 1940, 1944, 1950, 1961)	8
Charles H. Houston	(Houston, 1935, 1938, 1943)	3
Charles S. Johnson	(Johnson, 1935, 1936, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944a, 1944b, 1944c, 1949, 1951, 1954, 1957; Johnson & Bond, 1934)	15
Alain L. Locke	(Locke, 1935, 1939, 1944a, 1944b, 1945)	5
Rayford W. Logan	(Logan, 1933, 1940, 1941, 1946, 1955, 1958, 1961, 1963)	8
Benjamin E. Mays	(Mays, 1933, 1937, 1940, 1942, 1945, 1950, 1952, 1959, 1960)	9
Frederick D. Patterson	(Patterson, 1936, 1942, 1952, 1955, 1958, 1960, 1966; Trent & Patterson, 1958)	8
Dorothy B. Porter	(Porter, 1936a, 1936b, 1943, 1952, 1963)	5
Robert C. Weaver	(Weaver, 1938a, 1938b, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1947, 1950, 1953, 1956, 1960a, 1960b, 1960c; Weaver & Gabel, 1957)	13

Sterling A. Brown (1933, 1939), Allison Davis (1939), Arthur P. Davis (1962), Dorothy I. Height (1945), Thurgood Marshall (Marshall, 1952, 1957; Carter & Marshall, 1955), A. Philip Randolph (1936), Lucy Slowe (1933), Arthur B. Spingarn (1938), and Clemmont E. Vontress (1966, 1968, 1969).

Among eminent White authors who published in *The Journal of Negro Education* during its early decades were Nobel Prize novelist, Pearl S. Buck (1942);

former University of Chicago President, Robert M. Hutchins (1941); and former First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt (1934), who listed her authorship as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In recent decades, since 1970, *The Journal* has published articles by scores of notable authors, who are too numerous to name in the space of this editorial. However, some of these *JNE* authors who pioneered their scholarly areas of interest or who have broad professional recognition include Molefi Kete Asante (1991), James A. Banks (1979, 1995), Andrew Billingsley (1982), A. Wade Boykin (1984), Johnnetta B. Cole (2001), James P. Comer (1989), Lisa D. Delpit (1992), Jacqueline Fleming (1981), Mary Hatwood Futrell (1999), Edmund W. Gordon (1985), Asa G. Hilliard (1983, 1992), Jacqueline Jordan Irvine (1999), Joyce A. Ladner (1987), Gloria Ladson-Billings (1991, 1998), Beverly Lindsay (1980, 1994, 2004), Harriette Pipes McAdoo (1991), John U. Ogbu (1990), Alvin F. Poussaint (Poussaint & Atkinson, 1968), Mwalimu J. Shujaa (1992), and Charles V. Willie (1987, 1994, 2000).

Some of the classic articles published in *The Journal of Negro Education*, since its founding, include Clark and Clark's (1950) study of Black children's preference for White vs. Black dolls, research that contributed to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision. Moreover, there is Du Bois's (1935) often-quoted article that discusses the pros and cons of "separate" Black schools versus "mixed" schools (p. 328). In addition, there is Ralph Bunche's (1940) call for Blacks in academia to be "public intellectuals" and, thus, have a positive influence on moral and political issues that are relevant to Black people. In *The Journal's* recent special issue on Ralph Bunche, celebrating the centenary year of his birth, Holloway (2004, p. 130) states, ". . . Bunche believed that intellectuals and universities had an extremely important role to play in shaping the public's morality and politics."

In addition, *The Journal* has published numerous themed issues (special issues, special focus issues, and yearbooks) that are identified within this bibliography. A few examples of these *JNE* special publications, by theme, include hip-hop, rap, and oppositional culture (summer, 2005); special education and the achievement gap (fall, 2005); Ralph J. Bunche and education (spring, 2004); commercialism and youth (fall, 2003); juvenile justice (summer, 2002); recruiting, preparing, and retaining qualified teachers (summer, 1999); education in South Africa (fall, 1997); education of children in a violent society (summer, fall, 1996); Black males and education (winter, 1992; fall, 1994); racism and education (spring, 1991); mathematics, science, and technology (summer, 1990); Head Start (winter, 1989); Black language, Ebonics, and education (winter, 1983; winter, 1998); Black women and education (summer, 1982; summer, 2001); assessment and testing (summer, 1980; summer, 1986; summer, 1998); *Brown v. Board of Education* on its 40th and 50th anniversaries (summer, 1994; summer, 2004); Black studies (summer, 1984); Africentrism and multiculturalism (summer, 1979; summer, 1992); urban education and schools (summer, 1975; summer, 1988); international education as related to the Black Diaspora (summer, 1941; summer, 1946; summer, 1961; summer, 1987); equal educational opportunity (summer, 1968); racial desegregation (summer, 1954; winter, 1978); health status and health education (summer, 1937; summer, 1949); leadership and higher education (summer, 1933; winter, 2004).

In developing this bibliography, we learned a number of things that are worth bringing to the attention of *JNE* readers. For example, upon realizing that punctuation and terminology have changed over the decades, we held in almost all cases to remain true to the actual punctuation and language of the titles as printed. For

example, in publications of the early decades, authors tended to use a dash, instead of a colon, to separate the main title of an article from the subtitle. Also, in a series (seriation) of three or more items within a sentence, a comma was often omitted before “and,” which is unlike today’s formal writing of U.S. English. Moreover, the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, as we know it today, did not exist during the early period of *JNE* publishing, and it was not adopted as the publication style for *The Journal* until 1990 (see the current or 5th edition of the manual, American Psychological Association, 2001).

In several cases, while developing the bibliography, the *JNE* staff found that the titles and page numbers of articles printed in the table of contents did not match up precisely with those on the actual title page of the article or the actual pagination of the article. For example, a word or spelling of a name varied or a page number was off by one digit. Although such cases were very rare and expected in decades of published journal issues, the *JNE* staff adopted a rule to use bibliographic information from the title page of the printed article and the actual beginning and ending page numbers from the printed article. In other words, we relied on the printed text of articles and not the table of contents of issues or electronic copies of articles from the Internet.

The development and presentation of this bibliography is only a beginning toward exploring what has been published in *The Journal of Negro Education* and what is available for research, teaching, and learning. It is our purpose to update this document from time to time as new articles are published. Moreover, we plan to carry out qualitative content analyses of the articles in the bibliography by various categories such as by topic, author/s, educational context, educational level, period or time of publication, geographic area of focus, and method of research, among other categories of analysis.

I cannot conclude this editorial without mentioning that *The Journal of Negro Education* could not have existed in perpetuity for more than 74 years without the budgetary support of Howard University; the administrative/faculty support of its School of Education; and the dedicated, persevering, and unselfish work of *The Journal*’s Editors-in-Chief and staff over these years. As we showcase the totality of published work in *The Journal*, it is appropriate to acknowledge those who toiled for years to make *The Journal* go and to keep it in print. Foremost, the founder and first Editor-in-Chief, Charles H. Thompson, served admirably in this capacity for 31 and one-half years (1932–1963). Faustine C. Jones-Wilson, the fifth and second-longest-tenured Editor-in-Chief, served for a total of 13-plus years (1978–1992). Other Editors-in-Chief who served unselfishly and made unique contributions to the publication of titled articles in this bibliography and the ongoing promulgation of *The Journal* include Walter G. Daniels (1963–1970), Earle H. West (Acting Editor-in-Chief, 1970–1973), Charles A. Martin (1973–1978), Sylvia T. Johnson (1993–2001), and Rc Saravanabhavan (2001–2004).

It is noteworthy to acknowledge two Associate Editors who each labored for 10 years or more in the editorial production of manuscripts into articles and the perpetual assurance of *JNE*’s scholarly integrity. These two persons are Theresa A. Rector and Kamili Anderson. Theresa Rector worked for *The Journal* a total of 27 years, initially as Assistant Editor and most of her years as Associate Editor/Business Manager (Jones-Wilson, 1988). Kamili Anderson served as Associate Editor/Business Manager for 10 years. In addition, Heather H. Austin served three years as Associate Editor and the late Mahmoud Gudarzi was employed 18 years as Circulation Manager/Editorial Assistant.

Lastly, I take this opportunity to acknowledge *JNE* staff members who contributed to the development of this bibliography during the 2004–2006 work period of the project. These full-time, part-time, and graduate student contributors include Abraham Owusu-Afriyie (part-time Computer Tech Specialist, 2004–2006), Michael Guilbault (Graduate Assistant, 2005–2006), Lenda P. Hill (Associate Editor, 2004–2006), Sharlene R. Jacobs (Graduate Student Office Assistant, 2004–2005), Selena Jones (McNair Graduate Assistant, 2005–2006), Cynthia Joseph (Administrative Secretary, 2006), Yvonne N. Langdon (Graduate Assistant, 2004–2005), Octavia McGill (Graduate Student Research/Marketing Assistant, 2005–2006), Temika Michael (Research Assistant, summer, 2006), and Marjorie B. Wiltshire (Research Assistant/Office Manager, 2004–2005; Marketing Consultant, 2006).

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Frederick D. Harper

Editor-in-Chief

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A HOWARD UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY REVIEW OF ISSUES
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Note: In order to facilitate research and clarify titles of articles, especially where relatively unfamiliar acronyms or names are employed, a brief explanatory note is inserted within brackets. However, the bracketed information is for explanation only and not to be interpreted as a part of the title of the article. See an example below wherein the reader is informed that a high school of focus is located in the state of Illinois:

Sims, E. R. (1988). Successful programs, policies, and practices employed at Corliss High School [IL]. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 57, 394–407.

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Survey of the Health Status, Facilities and Education of Negroes

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**Shaping the Urban Future:
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Special Issue: Schooling, Egalitarianism, and Social Justice

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Yeakey, C. C., & Bennett, C. T. (1990). Guest Editorial. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 1–2.

Articles

Yeakey, C. C., & Bennett, C. T. (1990). Race, schooling, and class in American society. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 3–18.

- Cross, R. D. (1990). The historical development of anti-intellectualism in American society: Implications for the schooling of African Americans. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 19–28.
- McLaren, P. L., & Dantley, M. (1990). Leadership and a critical pedagogy of race: Cornel West, Stuart Hall, and the prophetic tradition. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 29–44.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1990). Minority education in comparative perspective. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 45–57.
- Gifford, B. R. (1990). The political economy of testing and opportunity allocation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 58–69.
- Gordon, E. W., & Thomas, K. H. (1990). Reading and other forms of literacy: Implications for teaching and learning. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 70–76.
- Sizemore, B. A. (1990). The politics of curriculum, race, and class. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 77–85.
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Special Focus: Presentations of the 10th Charles H. Thompson Lecture**Guest Editorial**

- Bennett, C. L. (1990). Who shall determine the means and ends of American education? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 115–118.

The 1989 Charles H. Thompson Lecture-Colloquium: Feature Presentation

- Jones-Wilson, F. C. (1990). Race, realities, and American education: Two sides of the coin. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 119–128.

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- Gladden, E. (1990). "Heads, I win; tails, you lose": Today's realities in the general population and at Dunbar. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 129–133.
- Harris, J. J. (1990). Strategies for success. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 134–138.
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- Daniel, W. G. (1990). Closing remarks. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 143–147.

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- Calabrese, R. L. (1990). The public school: A source of alienation for minority parents. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 148–154.
- Weldon, W. (1990). Effects of the 1987 Civil Rights Restoration Act on educational policy and practice. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 155–164.
- Scott, H. J. (1990). Views of Black school superintendents on Black consciousness and professionalism. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 165–172.
- Olson, C., & Hagy, J. (1990). Achieving social justice: An examination of Oklahoma's response to *Adams v. Richardson*. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 173–185.
- Levine, D. U., & Eubanks, E. E. (1990). Achievement disparities between minority and nonminority students in suburban schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 186–194.
- Jansen, J. D. (1990). Curriculum as political phenomenon: Historical reflections on Black South African education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 195–206.
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Special Issue: Black Students and the Mathematics, Science, and Technology Pipeline: Turning the Trickle into a Flood

Guest Editorial

Bailey, R. (1990). Mathematics for the millions, science for the people: Comments on Black students and the mathematics, science, and technology pipeline. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 239–245.

Editorial

Section A: The Issues

Malcom, S. M. (1990). Reclaiming our past. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 246–259.

Anderson, B. J. (1990). Minorities and mathematics: The new frontier and challenge in the nineties. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 260–272.

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Section B: Programs and Applications

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Silva, C. M., & Moses, R. P. (with research assistance from Rivers, J., & Johnson, P.). (1990). The Algebra Project: Making middle school mathematics count. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 375–391.

Kamii, M. (1990). Opening the algebra gate: Removing obstacles to success in college preparatory mathematics courses. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 392–406.

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- Jibrell, S. B. (1990). Business/education partnerships: Pathways to success for Black students in science and mathematics. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 491–506.

Section C: Prize-Winning Student Paper

- Anderson, S. K. (1990). The effect of athletic participation on the academic aspirations and achievement of African American males in a New York City high school. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 507–516.

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Special Focus: School Choice and African American Children's Literature

Focus Articles

- George, G. R., & Farrell, W. C., Jr. (1990). School choice and African American students: A legislative view. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 521–525.
- Farrell, W. C., Jr., & Mathews, J. E. (1990). School choice and the educational opportunities of African American children. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 526–537.
- Harris, V. J. (1990). Benefits of children's literature. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 538–539.
- Harris, V. J. (1990). African American children's literature: The first one hundred years. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 540–555.
- Bishop, R. S. (1990). Walk tall in the world: African American literature for today's children. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 556–565.
- Spears-Burton, L. A. (1990). Welcome to my house: African American and European American students' responses to Virginia Hamilton's *House of Dies Drear*. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 566–576.
- Levine, D. U. (1990). Update on effective schools: Findings and implications from research and practice. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 577–584.
- Dantley, M. E. (1990). The ineffectiveness of effective schools leadership: An analysis of the effective schools movement from a critical perspective. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 585–598.

General Articles

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- Strom, R., Griswold, D., Strom, S., Collinsworth, P., & Schmid, J. (1990). Perceptions of parenting success by Black mothers and their preadolescent children. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59, 611–622.

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Guest Editorial

- Taliaferro, M. B. (1991). The myth of empowerment. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 1–2.

Articles

- Harris, J. J., III, & Ford, D. Y. (1991). Identifying and nurturing the promise of gifted Black American children. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 3–18.

- Washington, V., & Newman, J. (1991). Setting our own agenda: Exploring the meaning of gender disparities among Blacks in higher education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 19–35.
- Bassey, M. O. (1991). Missionary rivalry and educational expansion in southern Nigeria, 1885–1932. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 36–46.
- Madhere, S. (1991). Self-esteem of African American preadolescents: Theoretical and practical considerations. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 47–61.
- Agar, D. L. (1991). Academic support and academic progress: English-second-language speakers in a faculty of commerce at a university in South Africa. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 62–77.
- Clayborne, B. M., & Seefeldt, C. (1991). The relationship between the attitudes of urban students and mothers toward computers. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 78–84.
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- Allen, H. L. (1991). The mobility of Black collegiate faculty revisited: Whatever happened to the “brain drain”? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 97–109.
- Bronzaft, A. L. (1991). Career, marriage, and family aspirations of young Black college women. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 110–118.

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Special Focus: Dysconscious Racism and Multicultural Illiteracy

With the 11th Charles H. Thompson Lecture

Guest Editorial

- Wildgoose, J. (1991). Let there be no babies for the babies. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 123–125.

The 1990 Charles H. Thompson Lecture-Colloquium Presentation

- Goodwin, R. K. (1991). Roots and wings. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 126–132.

Focus Articles

- King, J. E. (1991). Dysconscious racism: Ideology, identity, and the miseducation of teachers. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 133–146.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1991). Beyond multicultural illiteracy. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 147–157.
- Ahlquist, R. (1991). Position and imposition: Power relations in a multicultural foundations class. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 158–169.
- Asante, M. K. (1991). The Afrocentric idea in education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 170–180.
- Cross, L. H. (1991). Public opinion and the NCAA Proposal 42. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 181–194.
- Waks, L. J. (1991). Science, technology, and society education for urban schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 195–202.
- Plank, D. N., & Turner, M. E. (1991). Contrasting patterns in Black school politics: Atlanta and Memphis, 1865–1985. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 203–218.
- Cookson, P. W., Jr., & Persell, C. H. (1991). Race and class in America's elite preparatory boarding schools: African Americans as the “outsiders within.” *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 219–228.

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**Special Issue: Socialization Forces Affecting the Education of African
American Youth in the 1990s**

Editorial

Jones-Wilson, F. C. (1991). A distinctive subculture. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 243–244.

Section A: Popular Culture—"The Street"

Powell, C. T. (1991). Rap music: An education with a beat from the street. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 245–259.

MacLeod, J. (1991). Bridging school and street. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 260–275.

Rose, T. (1991). "Fear of a Black planet": Rap music and Black cultural politics in the 1990s. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 276–290.

Lee, C. D. (1991). Big picture talkers/words walking without masters: The instructional implications of ethnic voices for an expanded literacy. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 291–304.

Mahiri, J. (1991). Discourse in sports: Language and literacy features of preadolescent African American males in a youth basketball program. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 305–313.

Section B: The Media

Stroman, C. A. (1991). Television's role in the socialization of African American children and adolescents. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 314–327.

Johnson, K. A. (1991). Objective news and other myths: The poisoning of young Black minds. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 328–341.

Turner, P. A. (1991). From Homer to Hoke: A small step for African American mankind. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 342–353.

Section C: The Family and Family Life

Slaughter-Defoe, D. T. (1991). Parental educational choice: Some African American dilemmas. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 354–360.

McAdoo, H. P. (1991). Family values and outcomes for children. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 361–365.

Spencer, M. B., Swanson, D. P., & Cunningham, M. (1991). Ethnicity, ethnic identity, and competence formation: Adolescent transition and cultural transformation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 366–387.

Washington, V. (1991). Child care policy, African Americans, and moral dilemmas. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 388–398.

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Brown, D. R., & Gary, L. E. (1991). Religious socialization and educational attainment among African Americans: An empirical assessment. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 411–426.

Billingsley, A., & Caldwell, C. H. (1991). The church, the family, and the school in the African American community. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 427–440.

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Epperson, A. I. (1991). The community partnership: Operation rescue. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 454–458.

Section E: Prize-Winning Student Editorial

Haynes, P. P. N. (1991). The relationship between the friendships of nursing home residents and their morale. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 459–466.

Jeanty, Y. J. (1991). Cytoskeletal protein distributions in the leading edge of a cell as an indicator of cell contact inhibition of motility. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 467–476.

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Editorial

Johnson, S. T. (1991). America 2000 and the National Testing Program: Implications for African American children and youth. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 497–501.

Articles

Michel, G. J. (1991). School politics and conflict in racially isolated schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 502–511.

Samaroo, N. K. (1991). The political economy of education in Guyana: Implications for human rights. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 512–523.

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Blake, E., Jr. (1991). Is higher education desegregation a remedy for segregation but not educational inequality? A study of the *Ayers v. Mabus* desegregation case. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 538–565.

Gill, W. (1991). Jewish day schools and Afrocentric programs as models for educating African American youth. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 566–580.

Simon, A. (1991). Reasons provided by Black pupils in the rural Mahlabathini area in Natal Province, South Africa, for poor academic performance in Black secondary schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 581–592.

Ntshoe, I. M. (1991). Curriculum as a selection from a culture in post-apartheid South Africa. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 593–601.

Nyankori, J. C. O. (1991). Postsecondary enrollment patterns after court-ordered desegregation: The case of South Carolina. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 60, 602–611.

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Special Focus: Black Males and Education

Guest Editorial

Jenifer, F. G. (1992). Between a rock and a hard place. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 1–3.

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Garibaldi, A. M. (1992). Educating and motivating African American males to succeed. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 4–11.

- Hood, D. W. (1992). Academic and noncognitive factors affecting the retention of Black men at a predominantly White university. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 12–23.
- Leake, D. O., & Leake, B. L. (1992). Islands of hope: Milwaukee's African American immersion schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 24–29.
- Solorzano, D. G. (1992). An exploratory analysis of the effects of race, class, and gender on student and parent mobility aspirations. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 30–44.
- Ford, D. Y., & Harris, J. J., III. (1992). The American achievement ideology and achievement differentials among preadolescent gifted and nongifted African American males and females. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 45–64.

General Articles

- Mattai, P. R. (1992). Rethinking the nature of multicultural education: Has it lost its focus or is it being misused? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 65–77.
- Nhundu, T. J. (1992). A decade of educational expansion in Zimbabwe: Causes, consequences, and policy contradictions. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 78–98.
- Johnson, S. T. (1992). Extra-school factors in achievement, attainment, and aspiration among junior and senior high school-age African American youth. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 99–119.

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Special Focus: African Americans and Independent Schools: Status, Attainment, and Issues

Editorial

- Johnson, S. T., & Anderson, D. K. (1992). Legacies and lessons from independent schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 121–124.

Focus Articles

- Jones-Wilson, F. C., Arnez, N. L., & Asbury, C. A. (1992). Why not public schools? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 125–137.
- Ratteray, J. D. (1992). Independent neighborhood schools: A framework for the education of African Americans. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 138–147.
- Shujaa, M. J. (1992). Afrocentric transformation and parental choice in African American independent schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 148–159.
- Lee, C. D. (1992). Profile of an independent Black institution: African-centered education at work. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 160–177.
- Rashid, H. M., & Muhammad, Z. (1992). The Sister Clara Muhammad schools: Pioneers in the development of Islamic education in America. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 178–185.
- Foster, G. (1992). New York City's wealth of historically Black independent schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 186–200.
- Hoover, M. E. R. (1992). The Nairobi day school: An African American independent school, 1966–1984. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 201–210.
- Polite, V. C. (1992). Getting the job done well: African American students and Catholic schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 211–222.
- Schneider, B., & Shouse, R. (1992). Children of color in independent schools: An analysis of the eighth-grade cohort from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 223–234.

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Special Issue: Africentrism and Multiculturalism: Conflict or Consonance?**With the 12th Charles H. Thompson Lecture****Editor's Note**

Johnson, S. T. (1992). Editor's note. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 234.

Guest Editor's Comments

Gordon, E. W. (1992). Conceptions of Africentrism and multiculturalism in education: A general overview. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 235–236.

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Delpit, L. D. (1992). Education in a multicultural society: Our future's greatest challenge. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 237–249.

Articles**Section A: Theoretical Foundations**

Greene, M. (1992). The passions of pluralism: Multiculturalism and the expanding community. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 250–261.

Banks, W. C. (1992). The theoretical and methodological crisis of the Africentric conception. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 262–272.

Banks, J. A. (1992). African American scholarship and the evolution of multicultural education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 273–286.

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Section B: Revisiting the Curriculum and Instructional Practices

Harris, M. D. (1992). Africentrism and curriculum: Concepts, issues, and prospects. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 301–316.

King, J. E. (1992). Diaspora literacy and consciousness in the struggle against miseducation in the Black community. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 317–340.

Swartz, E. (1992). Emancipatory narratives: Rewriting the master script in the school curriculum. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 341–355.

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Hilliard, A. G., III. (1992). Behavioral style, culture, and teaching and learning. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 370–377.

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Section C: Award-Winning Student Articles

Durant, N. A. (1992). Preface to student editorial. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 419–420.

- Edwards, K. N. (1992). The detection of plasmid DNA-membrane complexes using a biotinylated labeled DNA probe. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 421–426.
- Ortiz, G. (1992). The study of the kinetics and the crystallization of the enzyme 3 alpha, 20 beta-Hydroxysteroid Dehydrogenase and its steroid inhibitors, and the modeling of the catalytic site using 3-alpha- and 20 beta-steroid substrates. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 427–432.
- Peppers, A. (1992). Effect of environment on leaf morphology in the woody plant genera *Ceanothus* and *Alnus*. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 433–438.

Volume 61**Fall 1992****Number 4**

**Special Focus: African Americans and Independent Schools:
Status, Attainment, and Issues—Part Two**

Guest Editorial

- LaPoint, V. (1992). Accepting community responsibility for African American youth education and socialization. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 451–454.

Focus Articles

- Lomotey, K. (1992). Independent Black institutions: African-centered education models. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 455–462.
- Houston, A. V., Byers, S. M., & Danner, D. (1992). A successful alternative to traditional education: Seattle Middle College High School at Seattle Central Community College. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 463–470.
- Warfield-Coppock, N. (1992). The rites of passage movement: A resurgence of African-centered practices for socializing African American youth. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 471–482.

General Articles

- Hunter-Boykin, H. S. (1992). Responses to the African American teacher shortage: “We grow our own” through the Teacher Preparation Program at Coolidge High School [D.C.]. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 483–495.
- Jones, B. A. (1992). Collaboration: The case for indigenous community-based organization support of dropout prevention programming and implementation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 496–508.
- Kobrak, P. (1992). Black student retention in predominantly White regional universities: The politics of faculty involvement. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 509–530.
- Jagers, R. J. (1992). Attitudes toward academic interdependence and learning outcomes in two learning contexts. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 531–538.
- Hughes, C. E. (1992). A case for the formation of strategically focused consortia among HBCUs. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 539–553.
- Strom, R., Collinsworth, P., Strom, S., Griswold, D., & Strom, P. (1992). Grandparent education for Black families. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 554–569.

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Editorial

- Jones-Wilson, F. C. (1993). Hope rekindled. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 1–2.

Articles

- Walker, S. S., & Rasamimanana, J. (1993). Tarzan in the classroom: How “educational” films mythologize Africa and miseducate Americans. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 3–23.
- Dunn, F. (1993). The educational philosophies of Washington, Du Bois, and Houston: Laying the foundations for Afrocentrism and multiculturalism. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 24–34.
- Toliver, K. (1993). The Kay Toliver Mathematics Program. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 35–46.
- Ford, D. Y. (1993). Black students’ achievement orientation as a function of perceived family achievement orientation and demographic variables. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 47–66.
- D’Augelli, A. R., & Hershberger, S. L. (1993). African American undergraduates on a predominantly White campus: Academic factors, social networks, and campus climate. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 67–81.
- Obidi, S. S. (1993). A study of the reactions of secondary grammar school students to indigenous moral values in Nigeria. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 82–90.
- Cooper, E. J., & Levine, D. U. (1993). A comprehension and cognitive development approach to school reform. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 91–100.

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Special Focus: A Return to Prince Edward County, Virginia**With Presentations from the 1992 Charles H. Thompson Lecture****Editorial**

- Jones-Wilson, F. C. (1993). Farewell. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 111–112.

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- Stewart, D. M. (1993). Education, race, and class: A new calculus for the 21st century. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 113–124.

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- Yeakey, C. C. (1993). The social consequences of public policy. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 125–143.
- Smith, D. H. (1993). Higher education for cultural liberation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 144–148.

Focus Articles

- Brookover, W. B. (1993). Education in Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1953–1993. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 149–161.
- Brookover, W. B., Dudley, A., & Green, R. L. (1993). Prince Edward County, Virginia, 30 years after: “A pretty good place to live.” *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 162–170.
- Hale-Smith, M. E. (1993). The effect of early educational disruption on the belief systems and educational practices of adults: Another look at the Prince Edward County school closings. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 171–189.

General Articles

- Verharen, C. C. (1993). A core curriculum at historically Black colleges and universities: An immodest proposal. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 190–203.

- Phillips, C. P., & Asbury, C. A. (1993). Parental divorce/separation and the motivational characteristics and educational aspirations of African American university students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62, 204–210.

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**Special Issue: The Opportunity to Learn:
Implications for School Reform**

Preface

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Special Focus: Ebonics and the Education of African Americans**Editor's Note**

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- Gopaul-McNicol, S. (1998). African American education and the Ebonics issue. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 67, 2–4.

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- Kimbrough, W. M., & Hutcheson, P. A. (1998). The impact of membership in Black Greek-letter organizations on Black students' involvement in collegiate activities and their development of leadership skills. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 67, 96–105.
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- Hood, S. (1998). Assessment in the context of culture and pedagogy: A collective effort, a meaningful goal. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 67, 184–186.

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**Special Issue: The Full Circle: TRIO Programs, Higher Education,
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- Blake, J. H. (1998). The full circle: TRIO programs, higher education, and the American future—Toward a new vision of democracy. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 67, 329–332.

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- Balz, F. J., & Esten, M. R. (1998). Fulfilling private dreams, serving public priorities: An analysis of TRIO students' success at independent colleges and universities. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 67, 333–345.
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**Special Issue: Preparing Students for the New Millennium:
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- Cooper, R., & Thornton, T. (1999). Preparing students for the new millennium. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 1–4.

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- Yan, W. (1999). Successful African American students: The role of parental involvement. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 5–22.
- Kaplan, A., & Maehr, M. L. (1999). Enhancing the motivation of African American students: An achievement goal theory perspective. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 23–41.

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- Lynn, M., Johnson, C., & Hassan, K. (1999). Raising the critical consciousness of African American students in Baldwin Hills [CA]: A portrait of an exemplary African American male teacher. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 42–53.
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- Griffin, J. B. (1999). Human diversity and academic excellence: Learning from experience. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 72–79.

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- Tierney, W. G. (1999). Models of minority college-going and retention: Cultural integrity versus cultural suicide. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 80–91.
- Williamson, J. A. (1999). In defense of themselves: The Black student struggle for success and recognition at predominantly White colleges and universities. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 92–105.
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- Aldridge, D. P. (1999). Guiding philosophical principles for a DuBoisian-based African American educational model. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 182–199.
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- Brown, J. W., Hughes, G. B., & Vance, P. L. (1999). The new face of teaching in the 21st century: Are we ready for the challenge? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 241–243.

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- Irvine, J. J. (1999). The education of children whose nightmares come both day and night. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 244–253.

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- Darling-Hammond, L., & Berry, B. (1999). Recruiting teachers for the 21st century: The foundation for educational equity. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 254–279.
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- Borman, G. D., & Rachuba, L. T. (1999). Qualifications and professional growth opportunities of teachers in high- and low-poverty elementary schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 366–381.
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- Baratz-Snowden, J. (1999). Support for teacher quality: An AFT [American Federation of Teachers] priority. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 433–441.
- Stevenson, Z., Jr., Dantley, S. J., & Holcomb, Z. J. (1999). Factors influencing the retention of mathematics and science teachers in urban systemic initiative school districts: Administrative perspectives. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 442–450.
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Special Focus: Leading for Diversity

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- Henze, R. C. (1999). About the Leading for Diversity Research Project. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 461–465.

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- Norte, E. (1999). “Structures beneath the skin”: How school leaders use their power and authority to create institutional opportunities for developing positive interethnic communities. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 466–485.
- Walker, E. W. (1999). Conflict in the house: Interethnic conflict as change agent, change as conflict instigator. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 486–495.
- Katz, A. (1999). “Keepin’ it real”: Personalizing school experiences for diverse learners to create harmony and minimize interethnic conflict. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 68, 496–510.
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Special Issue: Knocking at Freedom's Door: Race, Equity, and Affirmative Action in U.S. Higher Education

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- Jewell, J. O. (2000). An unfinished mission: Affirmative action, minority admissions, and the politics of mission at the University of California, 1868–1997. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 69, 38–48.
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- Good, J. M., Halpin, G., & Halpin, G. (2000). A promising prospect for minority retention: Students becoming peer mentors. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 69, 375–383.

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Special Issue: Samplings From Howard University CRESPAR

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- Saravanabhavan, R. (2001). Call and response. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 1.

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- Jagers, R. J. (2001). Pursuing a talent development approach to education: Samplings from Howard University CRESPAR. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 2–3.

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- Towns, D. P., Cole-Henderson, B., & Serpell, Z. (2001). The journey to urban school success: Going the extra mile. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 4–18.
- Butty, J. L. M. (2001). Teacher instruction, student attitudes, and mathematics performance among 10th and 12th grade Black and Hispanic students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 19–37.
- Carroll, G., LaPoint, V., & Tyler, K. (2001). Co-construction: A facilitator for school reform in school, community, and university partnerships. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 38–58.
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Special Issue: Black Women in the Academy: Challenges and Opportunities

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Section I: African American Women in U.S. Colleges and Universities

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- Thomas, V. G. (2001). Educational experiences and transitions of reentry college women: Special considerations for African American female students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70, 139–155.
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**Special Focus: Presentations of the 22nd
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Special Issue: Student Mobility: How Some Children Get Left Behind**Introduction and Overview**

- Hartman, C., & Franke, T. M. (2003). Student mobility: How some children get left behind. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 1–5.

Section I: An Overview of the Problem

- Rumberger, R. W. (2003). The causes and consequences of student mobility. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 6–21.
- Crowley, S. (2003). The affordable housing crisis: Residential mobility of poor families and school mobility of poor children. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 22–38.

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- Weckstein, P. (2003). Accountability and student mobility under Title I of the No Child Left Behind Act. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 117–125.

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Special Focus: The Permanence of Race in North America

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Overview

- Philipsen, D. (2003). "... One of those evils that will be very difficult to correct": The permanence of race in North America. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 190–192.

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- Philipsen, D. (2003). Investment, obsession, and denial: The ideology of race in the American mind. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 193–207.
- Hill, R. A. (2003). Seeing clearly without being blinded: Obstacles to Black self-examination. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 208–216.
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and Youth of Color:
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Violence, Sexuality, and Identity**

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- Gruber, E., & Thau, H. (2003). Sexually related content on television and adolescents of color: Media theory, physiological development, and psychological impact. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 438–456.
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- Linn, S. (2003). Children and commercial culture: Expanding the advocacy roles of professionals in education, health, and human service. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 478–486.
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- Snell, C. L. (2003). Commercial sexual exploitation of youth in South Africa. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72, 506–514.

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- Holmes, S. L. (2004). An overview of African American college presidents: A game of two steps forward, one step backward, and standing still. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 21–39.
- Minor, J. T. (2004). Decision making in historically Black colleges and universities: Defining the governance context. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 40–52.

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- Jenkins, A. H., Harburg, E., Weissberg, N. C., & Donnelly, T. (2004). The influence of minority group cultural models on persistence in college. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 69–80.

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**Special Issue: The Legacy of Ralph J. Bunche and Education:
Celebrating the Centenary Year of His Birth**

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- Brown, F. (2004). The continuing search for quality education by African Americans: Fifty years after Brown. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 172–173.

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- Russo, C. J. (2004). One step forward, half a step backward? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 174–181.
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- Hunter, R. C. (2004). The administration of court-ordered school desegregation in urban school districts: The law and experience. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 218–229.
- Gooden, M. A. (2004). A history of Black achievement as impacted by federal court decisions in the last century. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 230–238.

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- Contreras, A. R. (2004). Impact of *Brown* on multicultural education of Hispanic Americans. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 314–327.

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- Harper, F. D. (2004). Editor's comment. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 379–380.

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- Bush, L., V. (2004). How Black mothers participate in the development of manhood and masculinity: What do we know about Black mothers and their sons? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 381–391.
- Battle, J., & Coates, D. L. (2004). Father-only and mother-only, single parent family status of Black girls and achievement in grade twelve and at two-years post high school. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 392–407.
- Nichols, J. D. (2004). An exploration of discipline and suspension data. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73, 408–423.

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- Taylor, K. A. (2005). Mary S. Peake and Charlotte F. Forten: Black teachers during the Civil War and reconstruction. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 124–137.
- Sutton, A. M. (2005). Bridging the gap in early library education history for African Americans: The Negro Teacher-Librarian Training Program (1936–1939). *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 138–150.
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- Cooper, C. W. (2005). School choice and the standpoint of African American mothers: Considering the power of positionality. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 174–189.

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- Harper, F. D. (2005). Editor’s comment. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 199–200.

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- Fisher, E. J. (2005). Black student achievement and the Oppositional Culture Model. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 201–209.
- Au, W. (2005). Fresh out of school: Rap music’s discursive battle with education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 210–220.
- Hurley, D. L. (2005). Seeing White: The children of color and the Disney Fairy Tale Princess. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 221–232.
- Lundy, G. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2005). Peer relations and school resistance: Does oppositional culture apply to race or to gender? *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 233–245.

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- Klugh, E. L. (2005). Reclaiming segregation-era, African American schoolhouses: Building on symbols of past cooperation. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 246–259.
- Jeynes, W. H. (2005). The effects of parental involvement on the academic achievement of African American youth. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 260–274.
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- Harper, F. D. (2005). Rosa Parks and our challenge for the future. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 295–296.

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- Kearns, T., Ford L., & Linney J. A. (2005). African American student representation in special education programs. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 297–310.
- Patterson, K. B. (2005). Increasing positive outcomes for African American males in special education with the use of guided notes. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74, 311–320.
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A Critique: The Courts and the
Negro Separate School

NEWTON EDWARDS

INTRODUCTION

This summary attempts to do two things: (1) to restate the contents of the Yearbook, chapter by chapter, in sufficient detail to enable the hurried reader to get a general idea of the content of the book; and (2) to make a somewhat critical evaluation of the Yearbook as a whole.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Plan of Organization

The Yearbook is divided into five parts. In Part I an attempt is made to define the problem of the Negro separate school more comprehensively than it has been defined heretofore. The purpose of Part II is twofold: (1) to describe the status of the separate school as defined by legislation and court decisions; (2) to point out the types of cases which have resulted in decisions favorable to the separate school and to indicate the types of cases which in the future may reasonably be expected to result in favorable decisions. Part III is a symposium on the issue: Should the Negro resort to the courts as a means of remedying the abuses of the separate school? Part IV consists of a critical summary. Part V is a selected, annotated bibliography of cases relating to the separate school and to other issues in which Negroes have been interested.

The Status of the Negro in the American Social Order

Frazier, in Chapter I, traces the development of the status of Negroes in American society. He differs sharply with those sociologists who draw a distinction between the forces which determine the social status and the economic status of an individual or group. In fact, the major thesis of this chapter is that the status of the Negro in the American social order has been, is, and will be determined, in the main by his position in the economic structure.

Before 1860, the status of the Negro was determined by the conditions of tobacco and cotton culture. During the period of reconstruction, representatives of Northern industry and finance were primarily interested in the Negro because they could use him to make secure their victory over the agrarian interests of the South. They extended to the Negro equal political and civil status in order to win his support for the Republican party which represented the interests of the expanding capitalism of the North. As soon, however, as the planter class was completely broken and power had passed unmistakably into the hands of the capitalistic class, the North abandoned the Negro and permitted the South once more to determine his status.

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During the two decades following the withdrawal of federal troops in 1877, the South worked out a social pattern to which the Negro was forced to conform by law and custom. Legislation requiring separation of the two races in a number of social relations was designed to fix the status of the Negro in the social order. Such legislation was not motivated by a desire to prevent an intimacy which was physically repulsive; it was designed "to keep the Negro in his place." Legislation was not necessary to enable the whites to keep the Negro in poverty and to exploit him to their own economic advantage. Other means were at hand to accomplish these ends. Thus in the social pattern prescribed for him by law and custom, the Negro was neither a slave nor a free citizen.

The pattern of race relations which was defined in the late 90's has continued to the present without any fundamental changes, although there are signs that the status of the Negro is losing its purely racial character and is being tied into the struggle of both white and black laborers against white landlords and capitalists. There is noticeable, too, a growing bi-racialism in the South; that is to say, the distinction between the races may be indicated by a vertical rather than a horizontal line. Many Southern liberals favor this bi-racial conception of race relationships, but Frazier feels that its significance is much overrated. People who compose interracial committees either lack the power or do not care to effect any fundamental change in the status of the Negro. The status of the Negro in the South is, as it always has been, determined

by his economic dependence. For a while it was believed by some that the Negro could emancipate himself from economic dependence upon the whites by building up "a separate economy behind the walls of segregation," but the fallacy of this belief has become apparent.

There is going forward a rapid urbanization of the Negro. In 1930, 43.7 per cent of the Negro population was living in cities as compared with 22.7 per cent in 1920. This urbanization is tending to weaken the controls over the Negro both North and South. More important than that, the Negro is beginning to realize that the "good will" of sentimental whites will not help him, that his status in final analysis is based upon economic and social power. In his new urban environment the Negro is beginning to show signs of understanding the struggle for power between labor and capital and a willingness to strike hands with white workers in an effort to achieve economic emancipation.

*Tactics and Program of
Minority Groups*

Bunche, in Chapter II, points out some of the basic factors which lead to group conflict in society, and analyzes the tactics which the Negro has employed or may employ in an attempt to improve his status.

It is seemingly a basic fact that group antagonisms inevitably arise where two groups having readily distinguishable racial and cultural characteristics are required to live in close contact with each other and are also forced into sharp economic competition. So basic is this fact that it is questionable whether a democracy

can be built up where blacks and whites are present in significant numbers in the same community. At any rate, in the world today democracy has become a tool of the dominant white population to keep the blacks vigorously suppressed. It is not to be assumed, however, that democracy *per se* has failed, or that blacks and whites can not mix amicably on a common political and economic basis. Modern democracy is the product of middle-class revolutions, and has been made to serve the interests of the capitalistic interests which fathered it. Democracy, rarely extended to blacks at all, has been extended to the masses of the working class only so long as they refrained from using it as a threat to the control of society by the ruling classes.

Negro leaders have traditionally stressed the element of race; they have attributed the plight of the Negro to a peculiar racial condition, and they have worked to eliminate "discrimination against the race." They have overlooked the fact that economically the interests of the Negro are in reality identical with those of the peasant and proletarian classes of the country. Until this common economic interest is recognized it will be impossible to modify the racial attitudes of the masses of the dominant population.

The tactics which Negro leaders have considered or have employed in improving the status of their people may be enumerated as follows: racial separation, economic passive resistance; economic separation; civil libertarianism; interracial conciliation, and appeal to the courts. Racial separation as represented by the Garvey

back-to-Africa movement is expressive of a defeatist philosophy and is, moreover, entirely impractical. Likewise nothing can be gained from a policy of economic passive resistance. Such a program could not long withstand the resistance which would be launched against it by the business leaders of the country. Similarly, any attempt to establish "an independent and segregated black economy" seems clearly doomed to failure. Such an economy could develop only with the aid and sufferance of the white world which controls credit, basic industry, and the state as well. Civil libertarianism implies the use of political action to secure social and economic justice. Far too great faith has been placed in the instruments of government as means of securing social and economic equality. Certain Negro leaders have been inclined to overlook the pertinent fact that all political institutions, all instruments of the state, merely reflect the political and economic ideology of the dominant group and that "the political arm of the state cannot be divorced from its prevailing economic structure whose servant it must inevitably be." It follows, therefore, that the Negro can secure no greater rights under the constitution than the dominant group in society is willing that he should have. "In other words, this charter of the black man's liberties can never be more than our legislatures, and, in the final analysis, our courts, wish it to be. And, what these worthy institutions wish it to be can never be more than what American public opinion wishes it to be." Efforts at interracial conciliation can result at best in only petty gains. This is true

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because those who are engaged in developing better interracial relationships can ill afford to be aggressive; they are necessarily forced to adopt a policy of conciliation; their action is circumscribed by the dominant mores. "In other words, they play cricket." Little, too, may be expected from an appeal to the courts. In the first place, the courts, like legislative bodies, merely reflect the popular will. Even court decisions which are contrary to popular opinion can not be enforced. More important than that, however, is the fact that the status of the Negro is fixed by the economic order. It is utterly fallacious to suppose that revolutionary changes in the economic order can be effected by court decisions. Moreover, it is clearly evident from numerous cases that with respect to the Negro the Supreme Court of the United States is disposed to acquiesce in the prevailing attitudes of the dominant population. Although Negro leaders should not delude themselves by expecting a great deal from resort to the courts, they should not relent in a determined fight to gain whatever can be gained in this way.

Bunche's final conclusion is that the only hope for any fundamental improvement in the condition of the masses of any minority group is the hope that can be held out for the improvement of the masses of the dominant group. The basic interests of the two groups are identical; their programs and tactics must be identical.

*Extent and Character of
Separate Schools*

Bond, in Chapter III, indicates the extent to which the separate school

prevails in the United States. He describes in a general way the inferior character of separate schools for Negroes and attributes this inferiority to the fact that the Negro school is merely a symbol of social and economic status.

School authorities in nineteen states and in the District of Columbia are required by law to maintain separate schools for white and Negro pupils. In three other states the school authorities may, at their discretion, provide for separate schools. In twelve states separate schools are prohibited by law, and in fourteen states the law is silent on the subject. There is the greatest variety of practice with respect to the enforcement of the law. In Northern states segregation is not infrequently found even though the law positively prohibits it. Segregation is by no means a sectional or geographical phenomenon.

In the Southern states there "is an undeniable inequality in the existing separate systems." This inequality is perfectly evident whatever index of efficiency may be employed. There is inequality with respect to length of school term, salaries, training of teachers, buildings, and equipment. There seems to be an inescapable tendency for the separate Negro school to become inferior. Separate school systems in the South began with an assurance of equality, and for a decade this equality was substantially maintained. There has been, nevertheless, a progressive disparity in the educational opportunities afforded by the two systems. There is evidence to indicate that much the same pattern is being developed in those Northern cities which have

adopted the policy of segregation in the schools. In other words, inequality for the Negro schools seems to be an almost inevitable feature of separatism.

The reason for this inevitable inferiority is that the separate school is an instrument of policy in the hands of the dominant group. It is a mere symbol of more important maladjustments in race relations. Bond concludes his discussion with the following significant statement. "Whether we accept the separate school as an inevitable *fait accompli*, and try to make the best of it; or whether we refuse to accept it, and intend to devote all of our energies to fighting it; these alternatives should be linked to our attitude toward our existing social and economic system, and be consistent with it."

*Does the Negro Need
Separate Schools?*

Du Bois, in Chapter IV, discusses in a very realistic way the problem of policy which the Negro should pursue with respect to the separate school. He urges vigorously that Negroes adopt the policy which will result in the most adequate education for the race. Ideally, youth of both races should be educated in mixed schools characterized by the absence of race prejudice and discrimination. Schools of this type would afford a more natural basis for the education of youth, would provide wider contacts, inspire greater self-confidence, and suppress the inferiority complex. Practically, however, Negro leaders may as well recognize the utter impossibility of realizing this ideal within this or, for that matter, the next generation.

Du Bois leaves the reader in no doubt of his reasons for believing that it is impossible at any time in the near future to develop satisfactory mixed schools in this country.

The belief that race prejudice is decreasing is entirely unfounded; as a matter of fact there is, among the whites, a growing animosity toward the Negro. Race prejudice as it exists today makes it impossible for most Negroes to receive a proper education in institutions designed primarily for white youth. Negroes who enter such institutions are not educated; "they are crucified" by the attitudes of intolerance and animosity to which they are subjected. Under such circumstances there is no question as to whether the Negro needs separate schools; he will either have them or he will not be educated. In any particular instance the Negro's attitude toward separate schools should be determined by the temper of the community. Where prejudice and animosity prevail, separate schools are preferable; where they do not prevail, mixed schools are to be desired. It is "a silly waste of money, time, and temper" to try to compel by law a powerful majority to do what it is determined not to do.

Facing the facts as they are, the Negro must change definitely and absolutely his customary attitude toward the separate school. That attitude has been almost invariably one of disparagement. Negroes commonly look down upon their own schools; they hold Negro teachers in contempt; and they are little disposed to pursue measures designed to improve the separate school. There are two reasons for such an attitude: (1)

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there is a fear that any movement to improve the separate school will result in a surrender of principle; and (2) Negroes have a genuine lack of faith in their own race. Du Bois hesitates to surrender the principle of mixed schools; he is still more hesitant to adopt a policy which will thrust Negro children into white schools where they are not wanted, "into hells where they are ridiculed and hated." The only realistic policy for the Negro to pursue is to abandon the effort to establish mixed schools except in those communities where public opinion is favorable, and devote his energy to developing separate schools in which Negro youth will receive sympathetic and intelligent tuition. Negroes in America must be inspired with a greater faith in their race and with pride and enthusiasm for their educational institutions. In short, Negroes should abandon their indifferent attitude toward the separate school and press vigorously for its improvement.

Du Bois does not rest his arguments for the separate school on negative considerations alone; there are certain positive reasons for the maintenance of separate institutions. Negroes in America have their history, their group experiences and memories, their particular culture which demands a certain type of education for its development. Negroes need a type of history which they seldom get in institutions designed for whites. Moreover, there is a need for the study of anthropology, biology, psychology, and the social sciences from the point of view of the colored races.

It should be pointed out that

throughout his discussion Du Bois makes it perfectly clear that he is not pleading for segregated schools as an ideal arrangement. His chief concern is for the proper education of the Negro. American society being what it is, Negro youth stand a better chance of getting a "proper education" in segregated schools than in mixed schools.

*Psychogenic Hazards of Segregated
Education of Negroes*

Long, in Chapter V, attempts to classify the concept of segregation "by definition, by a summary of opinions, by examination of the underlying causes, and by brief review of researches on the problem." He then turns to his major problem, that of pointing out the psychogenic hazards implicit in segregation in general and in the separate school in particular. He discusses the influence of segregation with respect to incentives, inferiority feelings, superiority feelings, racial self-appreciation, and the democratic ideal.

Segregation necessarily results in the weakening of incentives. When an individual has to look forward to life apart from the general populace and in a society of limited choice and opportunity, regardless of ability, ambition is chilled in the embryo. Mediocrity becomes an accepted standard. The segregated school inescapably forces a sense of limitation upon the Negro child.

Feelings of inferiority which are produced by segregation result in the adoption of eight mental mechanisms of adjustment. These fall into two well defined classes: (1) mechanisms

involving yielding or flight; and (2) mechanisms involving protest. The former class includes fantasy, bulkhead, regression, ostrich, and mysticism. Fantasy, of course, opens up a wide vista of possible compensations. The baffled individual, by taking flight into the unreal, is able to escape, in part at least, the adversities of the actual. A proscribed group may easily become so given to fantasy that it gets out of touch with reality. Bulkhead is the mechanism whereby one closes one's mind to a rational consideration of beliefs which may result in mental discomfort. There is evidence that this mechanism operates among Negroes. It results in the inhibition of rational self-criticism. Regression is the mechanism employed when one falls back upon juvenile or infantile responses in the face of difficulties. White persons often look upon the Negro as childish. This conception of the Negro is no doubt due to the fact that regression is often evident in the behavior of Negroes when in the presence of white persons. By the mechanism of ostrich one is able to attain a forgetfulness of tomorrow while indulging in the pleasures of the present. The ostrich mechanism permits a partial escape from reality by indulgence. Mysticism is based upon a blind faith that things will come out right. Like the other mechanisms it is essentially a retreat from reality. It is manifest in the hopefulness so often evident in the Negro.

Mechanisms involving protest may be defined as projection, rationalization, and catharsis. Projection occurs where one derives satisfaction from

blaming one's shortcomings on something or somebody other than one's self. "Rationalization is an attempt to satisfy one's self by giving more or less plausible self-deceiving reasons for one's acts or condition." Catharsis is the process of purging one's system by speaking one's mind freely.

Just how these mechanisms of behavior are related to the segregated school is not definitely and specifically known. It is a fact, however, that "the segregated school is the state's or community's affirmation of conditions out of which these feelings spring."

The segregated school, moreover, creates feelings of superiority in the white child; it discourages racial self-appreciation on the part of the Negro; and it is contrary to the democratic ideal.

*Status of the Negro Separate
School as Defined by
Court Decisions*

In Chapter VI Peterson makes a very complete analysis of the court decisions relating to separate schools for Negroes. She has two distinct purposes in mind: (1) to determine to what extent litigation since 1865 has resulted in decisions favorable to the Negro separate school; (2) to indicate the types of cases which have resulted in favorable decisions in the past and which are most likely to result in favorable decisions in the future.

Since 1865 the state and federal courts of this country have decided 113 cases involving some issue with respect to the educational rights of Negroes. In 49 cases, or 43 per cent of the total number decided, the decision of the court was such as to confer some advantage upon the Ne-

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gro public school. In 64 cases, or in 57 per cent of the cases, the decision may be considered as lost in that no advantage accrued to Negroes. It should be pointed out in this connection that in a number of instances the cases classified as lost were lost merely because the wrong action was brought. These cases may or may not have been decided favorably to the Negro if they had been decided on the merits of the issues involved. It should be noted, too, that the evidence seems to indicate little, if any, relation between geographical areas and favorable court decisions. The issue involved rather than the state in which the action is brought seems to be the determining factor.

Cases in which the educational rights of Negroes have been the subject of adjudication may be divided into five categories according to the issue involved: (1) cases which contest segregation in the absence of any constitutional or statutory provisions on the subject; (2) cases which contest discriminatory taxation; (3) cases which contest the constitutionality of segregation; (4) cases which contest the legality of unequal educational opportunities; and (5) cases which attempt to prevent the exercise of arbitrary power.

In fourteen states neither the constitution nor the statutes make any reference to race segregation in the schools. In nine of these states cases have been decided in which the authority of local school boards to maintain separate schools was the issue involved. In every case it was decided that in the absence of constitutional or statutory authority a local board of education cannot main-

tain separate schools. Peterson concludes, therefore, that the law is well settled where issues of this kind are involved.

A number of cases have been brought to contest the constitutionality of legislation which provides that revenue derived from a tax on white persons shall be applied to the support of schools for white children and revenue derived from a tax on colored persons be applied to the support of schools for colored children. Such legislation has been held unconstitutional in Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Oklahoma, the only states in which the issue has been carried into the courts.

Numerous decisions of state and federal courts have established without question the principle that a statute authorizing or requiring separate schools is in no way violative of the Constitution of the United States. On this point all the courts are in accord. The courts are all agreed, however, that where separate schools are maintained the children of the two races must be afforded substantially equal educational opportunities.

In numerous instances existing educational arrangements have been challenged on the ground that colored pupils were being denied equal educational advantages. The plaintiff was successful in only nine of the twenty-eight cases of this type. With respect to the possibility of winning a case where the issue of equal educational advantage is involved, Peterson comments as follows: "If . . . the facts show that the advantages offered in the separate school are grossly inferior, or hazardous, and that the lack suffered is a lack in educational

facilities rather than social facilities, then the case is likely to be decided favorably for the cause of the separate school. But, if on the other hand, the facts show the educational facilities to be substantially equal to those for white [children], the case will very probably be unfavorably decided."

Types of Cases Potentially Favorable to the Separate School

Hubbard and Alexander, in Chapter VII, review in considerable detail cases decided by state and federal courts with the view of discovering just what types of action may reasonably be expected to result in decisions favorable to the separate school. In those states where either the constitution or the statutes prohibit the maintenance of separate schools, the only remedies available are to be found in the laws of the state involved. Unless it can be shown that the educational opportunities afforded colored children are substantially inferior to those afforded white children, there is no point in appealing to the federal courts.

In those states which authorize or require the maintenance of separate schools by constitution or statute, there may be a remedy to prevent an unequal distribution of school funds. The authors examine in a good deal of detail the statutes governing the distribution of school funds in certain of the Southern states. They discover the following methods of distributing the school funds.

1. Where the statutes provide for a proportionately equal division of available funds among the counties or school districts according to some precise method or formula which if followed would in fact produce

a proportionately equal division of these funds. . . .

2. Where the statutes provide for a distribution of the funds to be made by a certain officer or board but specifies no rule or standard to guide the officer or board in making the division. . . .

3. The third situation arises where the statutes provide that the proper officials "shall make a fair and equitable division of the funds" but furnishes them no rule or requirement by which this is to be done. . . .

4. In the fourth situation the law gives to the voters of particular counties or school districts, the power to either vote down taxes, which would be used to support Negro schools, or to specify that certain taxes, which they pay, shall be used only for white schools.

Where funds are being distributed by methods described in the first situation, two remedies are suggested: (1) mandamus or injunction proceedings in the state courts in order to secure a proper enforcement of the law; (2) proceedings in a federal court to enjoin the action of the state officials on the ground that their action is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In this connection a number of decisions of the United States Supreme Court are discussed in order to show that the court interprets the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment as being broad enough to include the illegal acts of a state official in case those acts deprive a citizen of the equal protection of the law. Where funds are distributed according to the second, third, and fourth methods as described in the preceding paragraphs, the only remedy is to appeal to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment. Cases are again cited to show that the Supreme Court of the United States may be expected to declare unconstitutional a statute which confers unlimi-

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ted discretion upon administrative officials.

Two methods of procedure are recommended. The first of these is to bring action in equity to enjoin local school authorities from maintaining separate schools for colored children. One ground for such an action should be that the statutes by which the funds are to be raised for these schools are violative of the Fourteenth Amendment, in that they confer upon the local school authorities an unlimited discretion in the distribution of the funds. These statutes should also be attacked on the ground that they result in discrimination against the colored schools. A second procedure would be to institute mandamus proceedings in the state courts to compel admission of colored children to the schools for white children. The bases for proceedings of this kind would be the same as would be urged in the federal courts to enjoin the maintenance of schools for colored children.

The Dilemma of Segregation

In Chapter VIII, Locke raises the issue as to whether the Negro's attitude toward segregation should be governed by the short-term or the long-term point of view, by expediency or principle. He leaves the reader in no doubt with respect to his own position. He recognizes that certain private schools for Negroes have vested interests in segregation, but he foresees the time when many such institutions will find it necessary to close in order to force upon the community the assumption of its proper duty. He recognizes, too, that segregated schools afford opportunity

for "careers" for Negro teachers and administrators, but these "temporary and short-sighted gains" count for little. The separate school permits of no automatic or gradual improvement; gradualism is a mistaken policy. Moreover, it is utterly fallacious to suppose that schools for the two races will ever afford equal opportunities as long as they are separate. In short, the only rational policy for Negroes to pursue is to fight segregation vigorously and to do it by appeal to the courts.

Resort to Courts by Negroes a Conditional Alternative

In Chapter IX, Kilpatrick points out certain elements in our social life which need to be taken into consideration before making an immediate and vigorous appeal to the courts as a means of securing equal educational opportunities for Negroes. It is a fundamental consideration that court decisions, as well as laws in general have to be enforced by public sentiment. If outside agencies attempt to enforce a decision or a law which receives little support in a locality, there is danger of resort to violence and cruelty. A second consideration is the influence of historical tradition. In the South, between the white man and the Negro there developed a master and servant relationship. Because of their color, the poor non-slaveholding whites belonged to the master class, but they were not fully accepted as belonging to this class by either the slave-holder or the slave. An inferiority complex developed among the poor whites which has remained under changed conditions and which still makes the problem of racial adjust-

ment exceedingly difficult. Among many of the poorer elements in the South there persists the belief, found so often throughout history, that fear based upon the threat of violence "is the best means for maintaining any existing status of superior privilege. It is in this general region of old remnant traditions, selfish wishes and fears, and violent tendencies that our problem finds its most difficult features." Two other factors which have to be taken into consideration are the historical laissez faire attitude of the South toward school support and the lack of resources with which to support an adequate educational system. Kilpatrick concludes, then, that in determining whether an appeal should be had to the courts in any particular instance, the following factors should be taken into consideration.

1. The courts, whether they are aware of it or not, are sensitive to prevailing public opinion. They cannot do otherwise than to seek ways of carrying into effect what they deem sound public policy. Moreover, courts are very hesitant to interfere with the exercise of discretionary powers on the part of policy-forming and executive officers.

2. The popular support which a court decision will receive in the area of the court's jurisdiction must be taken into account. Hostile legislatures will find ways of thwarting unpopular court decisions. In fact the decisions may result in loss rather than gain.

3. Court decisions not supported by public opinion may lead to "reactionary opposition inflamed by demagogic politicians."

4. Even though favorable decisions might be won in the United States Supreme Court, such decisions "would not settle anything except the particular draft of the law or practice brought before it."

5. The poverty of the South is likewise to be taken into consideration.

Kilpatrick concludes his statement by pointing with some alarm to the activities of "a certain political-economic group, acting on a European psychologic analysis of society, [which] hopes to find in the Negro the needed fertile soil for a program of so creating trouble as to bring about a violent revolutionary change in the social order." He sees in this new agitation a dangerous threat to the peaceful solution of inter-race relations. The leaders of both races should act "to the end that wisdom and justice may prevail, not discord and violence."

Court Action the Only Reasonable Alternative

Thompson, in Chapter X, attempts to evaluate the arguments and the evidence bearing on the issue as to whether court action is desirable as a remedy to reduce or to remove the abuses of the Negro separate school. Policy in this matter is necessarily conditioned by the fact that during the past thirty years there has been an increasing disparity in the educational opportunities afforded white and colored children in those areas where separate schools are required by law. Not only that, there is a notable tendency to maintain separate schools even in those areas where separate schools are prohibited by law.

Starting with the firm conviction that the ultimate solution of the sep-

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arate school is its abolition, Thompson considers the alternatives to court action in those states where the separate school is legally established. Migration, revolt, and attempt to regain the ballot are deemed practically inconceivable. An appeal to the sense of fairness of the whites has neither eliminated nor minimized discrimination in school facilities. Court action is the only alternative.

Thompson finds little merit in the arguments against court action. To the contention that court decisions unsupported by public opinion cannot be enforced, he replies that by its very nature public opinion is based upon a rational consideration of both sides of an issue. Court action, therefore, is one of the processes of creating public opinion. It serves, moreover, as a barometer of "the social weather." That court action may invoke reprisals or disrupt race relations is not borne out by the facts. "Diligent search has revealed neither scientifically-collected facts, nor reliable empirical data, nor even valid logical deductions which indicate that this contention is based upon anything more valid than an *unreasonable* fear of an ignorant and apparently impotent minority in the face of a seemingly ruthless and powerful majority. Neither history nor logic confirms these dire predictions."

There is, too, little merit in the arguments for separate schools in those areas where such schools are prohibited by law. These arguments are: (1) Negro pupils are socially ostracized and discriminated against by white pupils and teachers. (2) In the matter of employment, Negro teachers are discriminated against in

the mixed schools (3) Negro pupils do better scholastic work and develop more wholesome personalities in separate than in mixed schools. The first argument can have little weight unless the second and third are true, and such evidence as there is does not indicate that they are true. The author examines the experimental studies carried on at the University of Cincinnati to determine the relative efficiency of separate and mixed schools, and concludes that they do not prove conclusively that the scholastic achievement of Negro pupils is any better in separate than in mixed schools, or that Negro pupils in separate schools develop more wholesome personalities than in mixed schools.

The arguments against the separate school are: (1) Segregation necessarily results in stigmatization. (2) The separate school is uneconomical. (3) Segregation is undemocratic and results in the "mis-education of both races."

Court Action a Doubtful Remedy

Williams, in Chapter XI, expresses the opinion that any widespread and vigorous attempt to improve the educational status of the Negro through an appeal to the courts would be a mistaken policy. He states, moreover, that his opinion is shared by a large number of white educational leaders in the South and by Negro leaders who have been most successful in securing public funds for Negro education.

Numerous arguments are advanced against vigorous court action in the immediate future. Favorable outcomes of court action would be more than offset by disastrous results of one kind or another. Among the unfavor-

able results may be listed: (1) retaliation, especially among white officials; (2) alienation of the support which Negroes are now receiving from white people and the consequent "set back" of healthy movements already under way for the improvement of Negro education.

Williams' distrust of vigorous court action grows out of his faith in the effectiveness of enlightened public sentiment as a means of securing better educational opportunities for Negroes. Such a sentiment is perceptibly developing in the South. It has, in fact, already resulted in a "general movement for better educational facilities for Negroes all over the South." The increase of Negro high schools in the South in recent years has been "rather phenomenal." If this movement to improve the educational opportunities of Negroes "is allowed to develop gradually and naturally, as it apparently bids fair to do, more good will come to Negro schools . . . than from any general attempts by Negroes to hasten progress by legal action."

GENERAL CRITICAL STATEMENT

Thompson points out that public opinion is developed by the clash of opposing views. If that be the case, the present Yearbook should contribute much to the creation of public opinion with respect to the separate school for Negroes. On many points there is sharp conflict of opinion among the various contributors and no doubt those who read the volume will find much with which they disagree. It is this focusing of various opinions on the issues involved that makes the volume particularly challenging.

In attempting to orient the separate school in the American social order, the contributors to the first part of the Yearbook have made a searching analysis of those forces which have determined the status of the Negro. They very properly regard the separate school as something more than an educational institution; they are correct in insisting that it is an instrument of policy and a symbol of status. They are correct, too, in their contention that the position of the Negro in the economic structure has been the most important factor in determining the total pattern of his social relations. Frazier and Bunche go so far as to insist that the economic and social emancipation of the Negro depends primarily upon the recognition of the community of interest between white and colored workers. They have little faith in interracial conciliation, or in the good will of sentimental whites. Bunche is also of the opinion that little can be accomplished through political action or appeal to the courts. On a number of these points there is ground for difference of opinion.

The influence of race antagonism in fixing the status of the Negro seems to be underestimated by Frazier and overestimated by Du Bois. No doubt many will be disposed to challenge Du Bois' statement that race prejudice is increasing.

The part of the Yearbook which attempts to reduce to systematic organization the principles of the case or common law relating to the educational rights of Negroes has been worked out admirably. There are, however, two interpretations of court decisions about which the writer is disposed to raise some question. Peter-

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son, and Hubbard and Alexander all agree that where there is no constitutional or statutory provision which requires or authorizes segregation, local authorities may not maintain separate schools. Certainly this position is supported by the weight of judicial opinion, but there is some possibility that the law on this point is not conclusively settled. In a number of the cases in which it was held that local school boards did not have authority to maintain separate schools, the wording of the statutes, or the history of legislation, was such that it seemed a fair assumption that the legislature did not intend that separate schools should be maintained.

There is, moreover, some authority to the effect that school boards may provide for separate schools for colored and white children even though the statutes are silent on the subject. In a case decided by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in 1848, it was held that the school committee of Boston had the implied power to provide separate schools for colored children. This case, it would seem, is still authoritative notwithstanding the later adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court conceded that colored persons in Massachusetts were entitled by law to equal political, civil, and social rights. The court held, nevertheless, that the school committee, under its general power of superintendence, had the power to classify and distribute pupils in such manner as seemed best adapted to promote the interests of the schools.

The writer is also disposed to express some doubt as to whether the Supreme Court of the United States would extend the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment as broadly as Hubbard and Alexander are inclined to think it would if the proper kind of action were brought. The cases they rely on as precedents in no way involved educational rights or the status of the Negro. After all, one cannot forget that the Supreme Court of the United States has found it possible to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment in substantial conformity with its own economic and social point of view. The logic of the law does not always lead to certain conclusions. Whether Hubbard and Alexander have discovered a remedy by which the Supreme Court can be brought to force the Southern states to provide substantially equal educational opportunities for the two races can only be determined by an appeal to the court.

In the third part of the Yearbook there is a clear and forceful presentation of the arguments for and against vigorous court action as a means of securing more adequate educational facilities for Negroes. From the necessities of the case, the reader will have to judge for himself the merits of these arguments.

The Yearbook is a distinct contribution to the literature of inter-race relations. It is a vigorous, challenging, and realistic presentation of an issue of vital interest to the members of both races.

CHAPTER XXII

AVAILABILITY OF EDUCATION FOR NEGROES IN THE
SECONDARY SCHOOL

WALTER G. DANIEL

INTRODUCTION

Education is the inalienable right of every American citizen. This principle is accepted throughout the nation, is repeated in the official documents of the several states and discussed at some length by professional educators. Following World War I and the revival of interest in democratic ideals there was an increased demand for educational opportunity. Larger enrollments were noted in schools all over the country. Negro secondary schools recorded an almost phenomenal growth for a twenty-five year period. In 1919-20 the enrollment in regular four-year high schools for Negroes in the seventeen states and the District of Columbia where separate school systems are maintained was 33,341.¹ This figure increased to 112,586 in 1929-30, to 254,580 in 1939-40 and dropped slightly to 247,374 in 1943-44. Paralleling this growth in numbers was the increase in the ratio of the high school enrollment to the total school population. High school pupils were 1.6 per cent of the Negro school enrollment in 1919-20, became 4.9 per cent ten years later, 10.5 per cent in twenty years and reached 10.9 in the twenty-fifth year. Such achievement has been accompanied by the enlargement of the

teaching staff from 935 in 1919-20 to 10,507 in 1943-44. These are truly great gains and they give cause for encouragement; but the continued lack of secondary education facilities for Negroes in many counties or other educational divisions in the South, the insufficient or ill-suited provisions quite generally characteristic of schools for Negroes and the slowness of progress toward the ideal of equality in educational opportunity give cause for thoughtful concern and critical scrutiny of the present situation.

SOURCES AND SCOPE

Previous chapters have treated the extent to which education is available to Negroes in the various states.

This chapter is concerned with the general availability of secondary education to Negroes on the basis of data assembled by the Bureau of Educational Research at Howard University for this special issue of the JOURNAL, of statistics from the U. S. Office of Education and of current trends as found in pertinent educational literature. The data for 1944-45 and comparative data for 1929-30 were taken from the files of the Bureau of Educational Research. The other figures on education are from Statistics of State School Systems, 1943-44.²

We propose in this article to indicate the nature and possibilities of a program that will provide equal facili-

¹David T. Blose, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1943-44*. U. S. Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1942-44. Chap. II. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946, pp. 78.

²*Ibid.*

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ties for Negroes on the secondary level. We shall consider the potential enrollment, the actual enrollment, the length of school term, transportation, current expenditures, the ratio of teachers to students, teachers' preparation and salaries, accredited schools, and the program.

ENROLLMENT

Since there was no national system of education in the country, the several states developed systems of schools which show many elements of variation along with much uniformity. Many Southern states developed a public school system of eleven years which comprised seven years of elementary school and four years of high school. Today practically all states have a twelve-year system, but the years regarded as a part of the high school show a considerable variation. Since the figures reported in the biennial surveys of the U. S. Office of Education are for the four-year organization and the information in the reports to the Bureau of Educational Research shows that this same type predominates in the states having dual systems, our treatment will be confined to this traditional pattern.

A publication of the National Association of Secondary School Principals³ proposes that every youth should remain in school until he reaches his eighteenth birthday or has completed high school. If a child enters school at the age of six and progresses normally he will attain this goal at the specified time. If all pupils progressed

at this rate, the age range of pupils in the four secondary years would be fourteen through seventeen. On this assumption we could obtain the potential high school enrollment by ascertaining the number of pupils in this range. This estimate was made for the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which have the dual public school system. According to the 1940 census tables there were 2,815,014 white youth and 876,806 non-white youth in these areas, or a total of 3,691,810 adolescents for whom an adequate program of secondary education must be planned. The figures for the age range show that 2,035,798 whites or 72.3 per cent and 544,690 non-whites or 62.3 per cent are enrolled in some school. They are not enrolled in high school, however, for the high school enrollment estimates are considerably smaller. According to the U. S. Office of Education there were 1,500,102 white and 247,401 Negro pupils in the traditional four years in 1943-44. If the potential enrollment figures previously mentioned are used, we would conclude that the high schools for white pupils are enrolling only 53.2 per cent of the expected number and the segregated schools only 26.8 per cent. Of course, some of the persons in the age-range of fourteen through seventeen have finished secondary school, or have gone to colleges, or may be attending private or specialized schools. Many, however, are greatly retarded and are still enrolled in the elementary school. When we realize that the Negro high school enrollment was only 10.9 per cent of the total Negro student population and yet 62.3 per cent of the fourteen

³National Association of Secondary-School Principals, *Planning for American Youth*. Washington: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1944, pp. 64.

to seventeen age youth are in school, we become aware of the number of overage pupils in the elementary school.

One of the reasons for the small per cent of pupils in the secondary school is found in the alarming rate of drop-outs in the elementary school. In the Negro schools of the dual systems under discussion, there were 791,079 enrolled in the first primary grade in 1932-33. This figure included those who entered and those repeating. In 1938-39 when these pupils should have been in the seventh grade, there were only 151,997 pupils in that grade. In the following year the pupils enrolled in the eleven-year school systems would be in a four-year school and the eighth grade figure would naturally show a sharp decline. If the four-year high school figures are used, the fact that the per cent of pupils remaining in school is alarmingly low is clearly revealed. Roughly, one out of eight pupils of the beginning group reached the first year of high school. The enrollment of 101,017 for this year dwindled to 74,272 in the second year, to 51,097 in the third year and to 31,989 in the fourth year. The graduates numbered 31,180. Only 3.9 per cent of the first primary grade group finished high school. Only 30.9 per cent of those who reached the first high school year graduated. The situation for Negroes is in marked contrast to the nation as a whole. Of the 3,826,112 whites who were in the first primary grade in 1932-33, 953,254 or 24.9 per cent were graduated from high school and of 2,034,316 who were in the first high school year, 46.9 per cent graduated.

LENGTH OF SCHOOL TERM

The number of days that school is open indicates the extent to which a pupil may be able to receive the benefit of an education. In 1929-30 high schools were open for an average of 173 days for white students and 159 days for Negroes. In 1944-45, both systems provided schools for an average of 175 days. Of all the factors associated with providing equality of opportunity, this is the only one that has been realized. In this respect the Negro high schools are superior to Negro elementary schools for the latter have not achieved parity with white elementary schools.

TRANSPORTATION

Because of the rural character of the South, many high schools serve large areas and pupils must travel long distances to attend school. In recent years there has been a concerted movement for the consolidation of schools in such a manner as to make possible enriched offerings and better educational facilities. Associated with consolidation is the provision of transportation, for consolidated schools serve a larger geographical territory than smaller ones. Southern states have begun to appropriate larger sums each year for the transportation of pupils. For example, eight Southern states in 1929-30 spent \$9,598,837 for whites and \$63,536 for Negroes; in 1944-45 they spent \$27,219,324 for whites and \$1,370,713 for Negroes. The extent of equality may be seen by a study of the figures from five states which gave comparable data on the number of pupils transported and the amounts expended in 1929-30 and 1944-45 for

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whites and Negroes. Although these figures are not reported separately for the secondary and elementary levels, they show the extent of disparity in the accessibility of schools, so that the observer may deduce the effect upon secondary education. Because there are fewer high schools than elementary schools, the need for transporting high school pupils is greater. In 1929-30 five states reported expenditures of \$6,288,430 for transporting 439,723 white children and four of them expended \$48,473 for transporting 4,970 Negro children. The per capita cost for transportation was \$14.31 for whites and only \$9.73 for Negroes. Fifteen years later there were appreciable increases in the total amounts spent and a small amount in the per capita cost. The disturbing fact is the slow rate at which expenditures for the transportation of Negroes are approaching equality with those for whites. The 1944-45 figures showed a total of \$20,182,033 for 946,544 white pupils representing a per capita cost of \$21.32 and an expenditure of \$1,041,859 for 99,788 Negro pupils representing a per capita cost of \$10.44. The per capita cost of transporting Negroes is a gain of only \$.71 and the amount is \$3.87 less than the per capita cost for transporting whites in 1929-30. If the average per white pupil remained the same, it would require 229.5 years for Negroes to achieve equality in transportation, at a gain of 71 cents in fifteen years. The five states show very interesting variations. Texas, for example, made practically no gain in per capita expenditure for Negroes (from \$2.78 to \$2.89 or 11 cents) but approximately quadrupled the expen-

diture for whites (from \$7.23 to \$30.46). On the other hand, the state of Maryland seemed to have placed special emphasis on the Negro in a manner that would equalize the per capita costs. This state spent \$26.62 for each white pupil in 1929-30 and \$22.14 in 1944-45. It spent per Negro child transported the former year \$17.92 and raised it to \$23.59 in fifteen years.

CURRENT EXPENDITURES

The current expenditures for education in seven dual system states show the same general trends observed regarding transportation. In 1929-30 the annual expenditure for each white child in school was \$43.50 and for each Negro child \$11.26. The corresponding figures for 1944-45 were \$73.67 and \$32.46. The first significant fact is that the expenditure per Negro child had not reached in 1945 what it was per white child in 1930. If the per capita expenditure for the white enrollee remained constant and the per capita expenditure for the Negro increased at the rate of \$21.20 for a fifteen-year period about 29 years would be required to achieve equality of opportunity implied by this index. When figures for the seven states are examined, it is noted that North Carolina is the exception to the general trend observed. For the year ending in 1945 the state spent an average per Negro child of \$49.83 compared with an average per white child of \$40.32 for the 1930 year. Each state will have to follow this pattern if the rate of growth is to be accelerated and Negroes are to receive equal opportunity in a reasonable time. Otherwise the amount of money appro-

priated for the education of white children will increase by such large amounts that the total effect will be to continue a large disparity in the expenditures for the dual systems and delay progress toward equality.

VALUE OF SCHOOL PROPERTY

On the simple basis of dollars spent, the most serious discrepancy in the educational provisions for Negroes as compared with whites is found in the figures regarding the value of property used for school purposes, per pupil enrolled. In 1929-30 the average for the Negro pupil was \$32.47 and for the white \$165.56; in 1944-45 the amounts were \$52.40 and \$224.08 for Negroes and whites respectively. In order that Negroes may have the advantage of equal facilities as indicated by capital outlay, it would be necessary to increase the per capita expenditure by \$171.68. On the basis of a gain of \$20.07 for a fifteen-year period used in this study, about 129 years would be required to achieve equality.

THE TEACHER

Essential to the effectiveness of a school program is a teaching staff that is large enough to organize and direct the pupil learning, sufficiently educated to bear the responsibilities and perform services usually expected in the profession and compensated so adequately that a desirable living standard may be maintained. The exact class size for the most effective instruction is not known. Where small high schools are maintained there may be small classes while urban schools frequently have large classes. Many factors influence the educational proc-

ess and class size may depend upon the objective, methods and policies of the school. In spite of this admitted limitation of knowledge, essential guidance and desirable individualization in the educational process cannot be attempted without some appropriate ratio of teachers to pupils. In 1943-44 there were 90,898 white teachers and 10,507 Negro teachers in the separate high schools. These totals give a ratio of one teacher for 16.5 white enrollees and one for 23.5 Negroes.

The educational preparation of teachers is usually expressed in terms of the number of collegiate years completed. The possession of a bachelor's degree is generally required for obtaining a position as a high school teacher. In the District of Columbia most senior high school teachers have the master's degree when they are appointed and there is no difference in the preparation requirements for Negroes and whites. Comparable data were not furnished on this item. There were reports on Negro high school teachers from individual states. Tennessee gives an average education of high school teachers as 4.79 years. In Missouri the average range of college credits is from 120 to 149 semester hours which is above the bachelor's level. For Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas and West Virginia, the average education of the Negro high school teacher is estimated to be the possession of a bachelor's degree. In Maryland 94.3 per cent of the Negroes possess the bachelor's degree while in Mississippi ten per cent have earned that degree. In Alabama the average education is reported as two collegiate years. The median training, there-

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fore, is at or near the possession of the bachelor's degree.

Improvement in salaries has been the most important need for teacher welfare since the war focused attention on the plight of the teacher. A new salary bill has just been passed for District of Columbia teachers and its provisions will apply to all school employees without reference to race. For six states which furnished figures for Negro high school teachers, the averages in 1929-30 were \$1,285 for whites and \$875 for Negroes, a difference of \$410. For these same states the averages in 1944-45 were \$1,640 and \$1,295 or a difference of \$349. In view of the fact that the Negroes' salary average was increased by \$420 in the fifteen-year period, this differential could be removed in twelve and one-half years, if the average for whites remained constant. Of the various differentials involving money, progress in regard to salary improvement is most encouraging. Since a number of suits involving salary equalization have been instituted in recent years, and some localities, including a few states, have announced plans for equalization, future progress should be made at an even faster rate than past growth.

ACCREDITATION

One measure of the quality of education is the evaluation of the work of an institution on the basis of factors that may be appraised by professional educators. By 1929-30 Negro schools in the Southern states had not been rated by the regional accrediting agencies. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools took a highly significant for-

ward step when it began to rate Negro institutions. The first high school was approved in 1931. At the end of a fifteen-year period 163 Negro high schools had been accredited in fifteen dual system states included in the area of the Southern and North Central Associations of Colleges and Secondary Schools.⁴ These same associations had accredited 1,833 high schools for white students in the same area. Negroes have the possibility of attending 8.2 per cent of the approved high schools which include both public and private institutions.

THE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM

There is still a lack of clarity as to the purpose and program of the high school and the form or forms of organization best suited to its constituents. Agreement has been reached on some areas, namely, (1) that it should extend the common, integrating program which all pupils have begun in the elementary school, (2) that it should provide the necessary preparation for those who will probably go to college, and (3) that it should provide either the general education preliminary to vocational education or the specific occupational training necessary to prepare for earning a livelihood. The program of the high school is not meeting the needs of thousands of youth, black and white. The studies⁵ reported by Dr. Ambrose Caliver of the U. S. Office of Education show that offerings of Negro high schools are meager, that there is little relation between the curriculum pur-

⁴Information obtained from the lists published in *The Southern Association Quarterly* 11:14-56, 111-4, F 1947, and *The North Central Association Quarterly* 21:89-152, J1 1946.

sued and the occupation of the graduate or non-graduate, that the curricular and extra-curricular program for whites is generally superior to the offerings for Negroes. It is interesting to note that the ineffectiveness of secondary education throughout the entire South has been the cause of some concern. Dr. Fred Alexander⁶ of the Virginia State Department of Education, addressing the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools after consultation with educational leaders and writings, stated that the South provides programs geared to the needs of only fifteen per cent of the boys and girls enrolled and served only from forty to fifty per cent of those who should be in school. He advocated a revision of the curriculum, the planning of curricula for those who are going to college and those who are not, the development of comprehensive high school programs, and the consolidation of high schools. He suggested that adequate provisions for secondary education could be made in a school enrolling from 600 to 1,200 pupils. Education for Negro and white pupils needs revision and improvement. Unfortunately improvements for the minority group lag from 10 to 25 years behind those for the majority.

⁵Three pertinent studies by Caliver are *Secondary Education for Negroes*, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1932, No. 17. National Survey of Secondary Education, Monograph No. 7. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933, pp. 121; *Vocational Education and Guidance for Negroes*. U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1937, No. 38. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 137; *Negro High-School Graduates and Non-graduates*. U. S. Office of Education Pamphlet, No. 87. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. 19.

⁶Fred M. Alexander, "Problems Facing Secondary Education in the South." *The Southern Association Quarterly* 11:271-9.

Mention was made of the need for vocational education for those persons who do not go to college and should acquire competence for earning a livelihood. The U. S. Office of Education study of Negro high school graduates and undergraduates⁷ found that graduates have a better occupational opportunity and less maladjustment than nongraduates. Of the more than twenty thousand people studied 64.8 per cent had no vocational training and 11 per cent said that their vocational training did not aid them in securing work. These findings suggest that the school seriously review its program. There are specific vocations which may be taught on the high school level. Some leaders in industry have suggested that the school can make its best contribution to developing individual competence by giving a background in science, mathematics, social studies and occupational information that will lead to an understanding of the principles and problems involved in various vocations; but that the school lacks the facilities and arrangements for teaching the specific techniques involved in many occupations which can be learned most efficiently on the jobs. In view of the fact that the number of pupils who drop out of school is greater in the case of Negroes and that the number who enter professions is small, it is necessary to stress vocational education and guidance as an important part of Negro secondary education. The best meth-

⁷Ambrose Caliver, *Negro High-School Graduates and Nongraduates*. U. S. Office of Education Pamphlet, No. 87, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. 19.

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ods and offerings are yet to be determined.

The junior high school and the junior college movements have not been discussed in this article. Such units, nevertheless, have been established in many localities. It is to be hoped that Negroes will share in any extension of facilities in accordance with their need and the principle of equality.

SUMMARY

Based upon the premise that all youth of secondary school age should receive equal opportunity in education, this article has sought to find out the extent to which secondary education is available to Negroes. It was found that:

1. There were 247,401 Negro pupils enrolled in the four traditional high school grades in 1943-44.
2. This number is only about 26.8 per cent of the number expected in terms of the potential enrollment of non-whites in the age range of 14 through 17.
3. The Negro high school enrollment was 10.9 per cent of the total Negro school population, whereas the white high school enrollment was 23.7 of the total.
4. Approximately 3.9 per cent of the first primary grade group finished the Negro high school and 30.9 per cent of those who entered the first secondary year graduated whereas 24.9 per cent of whites in the first primary year and 46.9 per cent of those in the first secondary year graduated.
5. In 1944-45 both white and Negro high schools were open 175 days.
6. Transportation expenditures per pupil transported averaged \$21.32 for whites and \$10.44 for Negroes in 1944-45; the amount for Negroes was a gain of 71 cents over 1929-30 and Negroes had not reached the average of \$14.31 for whites for this earlier year.
7. Per capita current expenditures for Negroes and whites still show great disparity. The figures for 1944-45 were \$73.67 for whites and \$32.46 for Negroes. Although these figures represent an increase of \$43.50 and \$11.26 respectively over the previous fifteen years, the Negroes have not yet reached the 1929-30 average for whites.
8. The amount of disparity between the two groups is greatest with regards to the value of school property per pupil-enrolled. In 1929-30 the average per Negro pupil was \$32.47 and for the white \$165.56; in 1944-45 the figures were \$52.40 for Negroes and \$224.08 for whites.
9. Negro teachers are rapidly approaching the minimum preparation for a bachelor's degree.
10. There has been some improvement in the salaries of high school teachers. In six states in 1944-45 the averages were \$1,640 for whites and \$1,295 for Negroes. These figures represented an increase over the 1929-30 averages of \$1,285 for whites and \$875 for Negroes.
11. In fifteen Southern states 163 Negro high schools have been approved and provide only 8.2 per

cent of the accredited facilities; the other 1,833 institutions are for whites.

12. Although the programs of both Negro and white high schools are poorly adapted to the needs of the majority of the adolescents, the offerings for Negroes are more meager than those for whites.

In an effort to determine the rate of growth and estimate the possibility of achieving equality of educational opportunity, the difference between Negroes and whites for each educational index for 1944-45 was calculated and then compared with the amount of gain made by Negroes for a fifteen-year period. As a result we were able to approximate the number of years Negroes would need to reach the average of whites for 1944-45. By this procedure it was found that equality might be achieved:

1. In 229.5 years in per capita transportation costs.
2. In 29 years in per capita expenditures.

3. In 129 years in value of school property per pupil enrolled.

4. In 12.5 years for high school teachers' salaries.

Computations for the initial three factors enumerated were made on the basis of figures combining the elementary and secondary school levels. It would have been desirable to have separate statistics but the conclusion regarding availability would be the same. Equality of high school term length has been achieved, equality of salary is attainable within the next ten years and is related to the approaching equality of educational preparation.

We conclude that secondary education is not available to Negroes to the extent that it is available to whites and that the remedy lies in making larger appropriations to Negro schools in sufficient amount to equalize the difference in per capita costs between Negroes and whites. Only then will the principle of equality in opportunity begin to operate and the educational responsibility of men to provide for the welfare of *all* people be properly borne.

VII

The Courts and Racial Integration in Education—A Critical Summary.

PUBLIC SESSION, FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 18, 1952

The public Friday Evening Session of the Conference convened at 8:30 p.m. in Rankin Memorial Chapel of Howard University, Washington, D. C., with Charles H. Thompson, Editor of the *JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION*, presiding.

MR. THOMPSON: Ladies and gentlemen, I take great pleasure in welcoming you to the final session of the conference on the Courts and Racial Integration in Education.

You know, it is awfully encouraging to see so many of you present. One of my main apprehensions was that the Conference would be so concentrated that everybody would be fagged out by this evening, and so it is indeed very heartening to see that my apprehension was groundless.

This final session is devoted to the subject: "The Courts and Racial

Integration in Education—A Critical Summary." We have asked two persons specifically to summarize what has gone on in the other sessions. As you can imagine, that is a very difficult job, to summarize what has gone on during the past two days. The third person is going to give a general overall summary. Then we shall try to leave some time after those talks, to see whether or not you agree with those people who have critically summarized the conference. We would like to know very much whether you agree with the summaries and the criticisms.

(Thereupon, Mr. Thompson introduced Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, President, Morgan State College, who presented a prepared paper entitled, "Problems Incident to Racial Integration in Education and Some Suggested Approaches to these Problems.")

PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO RACIAL INTEGRATION AND SOME
SUGGESTED APPROACHES TO THESE PROBLEMS—
A CRITICAL SUMMARY

MARTIN D. JENKINS

President, Morgan State College

Our responsibility at this final session is to summarize in critical fashion the assumptions, findings, and conclusions of a three-day conference. This is not an easy task. All of the participants in this conference are distinguished persons whose views demand respect and consideration. Simply to summarize these views would not be too difficult. To be critical, however, in a personal

sense, would be presumptuous. I must, perforce, assume the role of a Quaker moderator and attempt to express "the sense of the meeting" in a not too uncritical fashion. The larger value of this conference lies in the critical summary and evaluation each delegate will make for himself.

The present paper is concerned primarily with the educational and social

problems incident to racial integration in education. The appraisal of court action and the development of cooperative acceptance are to be covered by other papers and will consequently be given only peripheral attention here.

It is desirable at the outset that the scope and limitations of this conference be explicitly defined. The conference is concerned primarily with racial integration in *education* and only incidentally with integration in other areas of American life. This is due in part to the fact that the proceedings are to be published in the Yearbook issue of a publication devoted to educational problems. It is due in larger part, though, to recognition of the facts that the public school is the symbol of democracy and equal opportunity and that the segregated school is more than simply an educational institution—it is an instrument of policy and a symbol of subordinate status. Education, consequently, becomes the center of attraction in the struggle against segregation.

The discussions have been confined largely to Negro-white relationships in this country. The integration problems of the Mexicans, the orientals, and the foreign-born have been only incidentally considered. Despite this neglect, these too are problems which America must face and solve.

Implicit in the thinking of the membership of this conference are several basic assumptions, the most important of which are the following:

Racial segregation and discrimination are incompatible with the ideals of a democratic society and a violation of the Christian ethic. Disabilities and distinctions based on race, therefore, have no place in American life; their

entire removal is a desirable and necessary goal.

This would appear to be a self-evident proposition in our society in accordance both with constitutional guarantees of individual liberty and the concept of brotherhood inherent in the Christian faith. This assumption probably is held, implicitly at least, by a majority of the American people. Except for a small minority of racists, even those who oppose racial integration present their objections to the removal of racial disabilities in terms of time and timing.

Attitudes in the area of race relations are rapidly changing to the extent that there is a readiness on the part of the dominant racial group to accept racial integration in education now to some extent and in some situations, and ultimately throughout the country and in all areas of American life.

The dynamic character of race relations is, of course, a matter of fact. In the area of education the admission of Negroes to Southern graduate and professional schools, the increasing integration of Negro students and teachers in schools and colleges of the North, the deterioration of racial segregation practices in the educational programs sponsored by the armed services have all been accomplished without friction and indeed with the general acceptance of the white groups concerned. Integration works anywhere it has been tried.

Racial integration, although in accordance with the principles of our social organization, is contrary to historic and current practice. Its functional incorporation into the social fabric, therefore, has created and will create opposition and tension.

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We are all creatures of our culture. Deep-rooted behavior patterns, such as those involved in racial relationships, are not easily and readily changed. The protection of vested interests, whether concerned with the material fact of economic competition or the psychic fact of maintenance of the ego, inevitably constitutes a barrier to change. It is recognized that in the implementation of racial integration there will be individual casualties, in an economic and social sense, among both Negroes and white persons.

Finally, in its deliberations the conference implicitly accepted Thompson's definition of the term *racial integration*: "Full racial integration in education means that schools will be established and maintained where the admission of students; the employment of teachers, non-teaching personnel, administrative officers, and members of boards of control; and participation in the official life of the school by all concerned are based upon aptitude, ability, and character rather than race."

It was not clearly understood by all participants that the mere admission of Negro students to schools and colleges from which they formerly were excluded, or the token employment of a Negro teacher are, by definition, only steps toward integration as conceived by this conference, that *desegregation*—i.e., the mere admission of Negro students to existing institutions for white people—does not constitute *integration* proved a serious source of confusion to some.

It was held by others, correctly, I think, that true integration goes far beyond the mere physical fact of non-segregation; that it involves as well a feeling of acceptance and a sense of

belonging on the part of the participating individuals.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF RACIAL
INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

Provisions for the education of Negroes have been greatly improved throughout the South, particularly during the last decade, largely, but not entirely, as a result of legal pressures exerted by and under the direction of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The principle of "separate but equal" facilities has been generally adopted by the dominant racial group and in many, many localities a real effort is being made to bring Negro schools up to the level of their white counterparts. Nevertheless, by all objective criteria, facilities and opportunities for Negroes are still greatly inferior to those for whites.

Negro students are currently enrolled in graduate and professional schools, and in some instances undergraduate curricula in institutions formerly restricted to white students, in 12 Southern states and the District of Columbia. These steps towards desegregation have taken place without incident and with the general and sometimes enthusiastic acceptance of students and faculty. Except in a few parochial schools, racial segregation at the level of elementary and secondary education is universal practice throughout the South.

With a few important exceptions, full racial integration in education does not now exist in any state or any section of the country. Significant steps toward integration are being made in the Northern tier of states and in a number of communities, particularly in Connecticut, New Jersey, Minnesota, and the far Northwest where

teachers, as well as students, are being assigned to classes freely without regard to race, and Negroes are appearing with increasing frequency as members of governing boards of the public schools.

Despite these instances of real progress, however, only a very small minority of the Negro population of the North is experiencing full integration and the trend toward desegregation in the South is substantially limited to a few Negro students at the graduate and professional level.

Not a single conference participant expressed satisfaction with the *status quo* or with the progress that has been made in improving the educational opportunities of Negroes—as substantial as this progress has been. Despite this, there has been exhibited a considerable degree of optimism concerning prospects for future progress.

A complex of factors has operated to make possible now a basic change in social pattern which would have been almost inconceivable a quarter of a century ago. The Rooseveltian “New Deal” with its emphasis on the underprivileged; the impact of court decisions; the ideological conflict with communism; the rise of nationalism among the darker peoples of the world; the increasing educational level and political power of the Negro people; the industrialization of the South; the increased sensitivity of religious leaders to social problems; the scientific and practical demonstrations of the abilities of Negro individuals; the cumulative effect of many local incidents of violation of racial mores; and full employment with a resultant decrease of economic conflict have all combined to create a social atmosphere which makes positive

progress in race relations possible—indeed inevitable, so long as these factors continue to operate.

That last clause—so long as these factors continue to operate—is tremendously important. Perhaps the conference participants are too optimistic in their (almost) unanimous assumption that the curve of progress in racial integration will continue its upward course in geometric progression. One important aspect of the struggle for full citizenship rights lies in the maintenance of a social atmosphere conducive to further progress.

BASIC PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS

From the proceedings of this conference there have been developed areas of agreement on basic issues involved in the problem of racial integration in education.¹ These areas of agreement which may be regarded as *basic principles*, are as follows:

1. Present patterns of racial segregation and discrimination tend to deprive our society of the best resources of the Negro race and to weaken our nation in its ideological conflict with non-democratic powers.
2. The fight for the admission of students to schools and colleges, the employment of teachers and administrators and the selection of governing boards without respect to race must be carried on relentlessly and with increased vigor by all those who are devoted to the democratic way of life.
3. The struggle for racial integration must be conducted within the constitutional framework of our govern-

¹No votes were taken during the conference. Although there was no articulate disagreement, it is probable that some delegates do not fully subscribe to the principles stated.

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ment and with the utilization of tactics appropriate to a democratic society.

4. Racial integration in education is part of a larger complex involving integration in other areas such as employment, housing and government. It is necessary and desirable that the problem of racial integration be attacked on many fronts—legal, political, educational, governmental—rather than on a single front.

5. Participation in the areas of public interpersonal relations such as employment, schooling, housing, politics, civic activities and other public services, without discrimination on account of race, is a basic right which must be guaranteed every citizen by law.

6. It is not possible to establish “separate and equal” facilities. The best education of all students, from the elementary through the graduate level, can be achieved only under conditions of racial integration in our society.

7. Educational institutions organized on the basis of race must redefine their purposes and seek to serve a clientele on a non-racial basis where this is legally permissible.

8. Integration practices are not to be selective and applicable only to a few. The token admission of a few Negro students to schools and colleges formerly restricted to white persons and the token employment of a few Negro teachers in schools and colleges cannot be regarded as satisfactory even as a step toward integration.

There were a number of areas in which there was a considerable amount of disagreement and in which the conference could not arrive at a consensus. The more important of these areas of disagreement, which are termed

here *problems*, will now be briefly considered.

THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE UNDER INTEGRATION

The conference gave considerable attention to the question of what will happen to the Negro institutions of higher education, both public and private, under conditions of desegregation and integration. These colleges were established and are now supported to afford opportunities which were and are not available to Negroes at the institutions attended by white persons. There is no question but as racial bars are lowered the role of the segregated college will change. The extent and direction of this change cannot now be predicted nor can any general statement be made which will apply equally to the future of every existing institution.

It was the consensus of this conference that under conditions of full racial integration some of the present Negro colleges will be discontinued but that many will and should continue to exist, but as institutions serving all the people. It is felt that the first casualties will be the weaker colleges and those geographically adjacent to the stronger existing white institutions. In view of the anticipated increase in college enrollments in the years ahead, most of the publicly-supported institutions will be retained as a part of the states' system of higher education. A majority of the existing privately-supported colleges for Negroes will continue to exist to serve a clientele on an integrated basis and thus join the scores of private colleges now serving their respective communities in the South. The racial composition of the staffs of both

existing white and Negro institutions will undergo a process of gradual change and integration.

The land-grant colleges for Negroes pose a special problem because of their highly specialized curricula and because their programs are not comparable in scope and quality with white land-grant colleges in the same region. With Negro students freely admitted to the state universities and land-grant colleges, existing institutions for Negroes need no longer strive to become prototypes of the presently-organized white institutions. If these institutions are to survive at all in their land-grant function, their program must be reorganized to offer specialized curricula for the benefit of all of the people of the state. The danger here, of course, is that, under such arrangement an attempt may be made to perpetuate present patterns of inferiority and segregation and thus force continued appeal to the courts. There is need for serious and critical thinking with respect to the purposes and program of the existing land-grant colleges. The only alternative to the ultimate abandonment of the land-grant phase of their work is a redefinition of function in terms of service to all citizens of the state.

I sense the majority opinion of this conference to be that the Negro colleges have the responsibility of "working themselves out of a job", not necessarily as colleges but as segregated institutions. It is recognized that in the process there will be casualties among both administrators and teachers, and immediate losses to communities through being deprived of cultural centers. In the final analysis, though, Negroes will benefit through

improved educational facilities and increased opportunities for employment and adjustment in the general society. I may add that little attention was given, other than in the area of employment, to losses which will come with integration.

Adjustment of Negro Teachers and Administrators

The severity of the adjustment problem to be faced by Negro staff members depends in large measure upon the abruptness of change and whether, as anticipated, a large portion of existing institutions will be retained. Eventually, Negro teachers will take their places beside their white colleagues in schools and colleges throughout the nation. The short-term problem is one of individual competence and the willingness of institutions and communities to accept Negro teachers in non-segregated classrooms.

Just as in other areas of American life where racial segregation practices have been altered, institutions and communities throughout the nation will come to accept Negro teachers and administrators on the basis of their professional ability, as is being done now in a number of Northern cities and states. Negro teachers must be prepared to compete not as a unit but as individuals and with all others engaged in similar lines of work. As pointed out in this conference by Miller, "Only as the individual is willing to work harder, study longer, express himself more precisely, delve more deeply into research can he expect to achieve the goals he and his people have set for themselves. The Negro is, at this point, in the same position as representatives of other minorities. He cannot escape

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such rivalry nor can he hope to gain his place on other terms."

Adjustment of Negro Children and Youth to the Integrated Situation

Almost entirely neglected in this conference was the problem of the adjustment of the Negro child or youth who participates or shares directly in a racially-integrated situation in high school or college. Since this problem was not considered, I can only call attention to the fact that children and youth do, and will, in the beginning at least, have difficulties in academic and social adjustment. The effect of these problems both on the individual and on the process of integration demands careful consideration and study.

ELEMENTS OF A PROGRAM FOR THE FUTURE

The very topic of this conference has served to place emphasis upon the legal approach and to divert attention from other important techniques for achieving integration.

It is recognized that there is no alternative to court action in the elimination of segregation in the schools and colleges of the nation. It is clearly the sense of this conference, however, that racial integration in education cannot be achieved by court decisions alone. Other tactics, techniques, or approaches must be utilized concurrently to achieve racial integration. These things will seem "old hat" to members of this audience; as familiar as they are, though, they are essential.

Before considering each of the several approaches, I wish to make two observations which are relevant to the grand strategy of achieving racial integration.

First, it is a matter of considerable significance that there was little indication in this conference of any willingness to compromise at any point. Nevertheless, it is universal social and political experience that deep-rooted issues on which the protagonists hold tenacious views are resolved through compromise. At the risk of being termed an appeaser, I believe that we must be prepared to compromise, not on basic principle, but on intermediate adaptations at many points.

Second, it is imperative that in our struggle for democracy we preserve the democratic tradition of respect for minority viewpoints. There is observable a tendency to be impatient with persons whose views with regard to a particular tactic to be employed differ from the majority view. We must, of course, maintain and insist upon a solid front on the basic issue of the elimination of racial segregation from American life. Let us, though, recognize that there are choices in strategy and that persons of the highest integrity may often select different alternatives to arrive at common objectives.

Education

Certainly no thoughtful person would deny that racial integration in education can be achieved in a fundamental sense only if it is acceptable to—or at least not rejected by—a majority of the dominant racial group. It follows, then, that education—and we may include in the term "good" propaganda—is a desirable and necessary tactic.

The 13th Yearbook of the Journal, *Education for Racial Understanding* (1944) explored in much greater detail than was possible in the present conference the question of how the edu-

cational process might be effectively utilized. It was pointed out that the immediate function of education is to change the attitudes of the majority racial group through the utilization of schools and colleges, the church and religious organizations, organized labor, advancement organizations, government agencies, mass communication media and personal contacts.

An action program on the basis of the findings of the 13th Yearbook is necessary and desirable. To be guarded against, however, is the tendency to restrict education to verbalization and to allow talk to become a substitute for action. The effectiveness of education must be judged not simply by increased knowledge but in terms of changed behavior.

There is need, too, for redirecting the attitudes of Negroes themselves with respect to the problem of racial integration in education. The Negro people generally must be brought to understand the limitations placed upon them by segregation practices. In our segregated schools and colleges advantage must be taken of the opportunity to teach our youth democratic viewpoints and techniques for achieving racial integration.

Political Pressure

Negroes are becoming an increasingly significant factor on the American political scene. They are voting in the South to a greater extent than ever before and in many Northern states and communities they constitute the balance of political power. The emergence of this group has exerted tremendous influence on the alignment of diverse groups within the two major political

parties and in isolated instances has resulted in tangible and observable gains for the masses of the Negro people.

The use of the ballot for social reform in a democracy is a basic and legitimate procedure. Effective utilization of this instrumentality to attain racial integration in education entails the delineation of definite goals, political education in schools and on the adult level, intensified campaigns on the local level to increase the number of registrants and voters, and the education of candidates on the issues of race.

It must be clearly recognized, however, that for a minority group to structure an election on the basis of race alone would be fatal to the attainment of its objectives. What is indicated is the support of genuinely liberal candidates, regardless of party affiliation, who exhibit a readiness to incorporate Negroes into the fabric of American life.

Statutory Enactment

The 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which guarantees the individual the full privileges and immunities of citizenship, due process and the equal protection of the laws, provides the constitutional basis for the legal attack on racial segregation. The Constitution, however, "means what the Supreme Court says it means" and in a more fundamental sense means what the people clearly demand that it mean. Interpretations in the area of civil rights, as in others, vary, therefore, with changes on the personnel of the Court and with changes in the climate of public sentiment.

The enactment of legislation should

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be sought at both the Federal and state levels which specifically prohibit racial segregation in education. A number of states have already enacted such legislation with varying degrees of effectiveness. The experience at New Jersey, whose constitution provides that "no person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil or military right, nor be discriminated against in the exercise of any civil or military right, nor be segregated in the militia or the public schools, because of religious scruples, race, color, ancestry, or national origin," (Art. 1, Sec. 5) suggests that with the appropriate techniques and social climate, racial integration in education can be achieved.

Legislation which assures the tenure and seniority rights of teachers should also be sought. It is to be emphasized, however, that the experience of states such as Illinois shows that mere adoption of such legislation will not assure integration. Desirable if not essential concomitants are, determination of state officials to administer the law with firmness and the imposition of financial sanctions on school districts for non-compliance.

While it is unrealistic to anticipate the enactment of such legislation in the Southern and border states in the foreseeable future, this is a basic and effective approach to promote integration involving both students and employed personnel.

*Enlisting the Support of
Liberal Southerners*

In my experience, there are many, many Southerners, call them "cultural sports" if you will, who are ready not only to accept but to work for racial integration. They are to be found at

all class levels and at all ages but particularly among the younger generation. As Granger pointed out at an earlier session, "The intensity of the spirit of liberal reform in the South has probably been exaggerated by professional optimists as seriously as it has been underestimated by determined pessimists. Nevertheless, it is a fact that such a spirit does exist and is growing steadily. There has been too little recognition and examination of that growth by the very people who have most to profit from it."

*Utilization and Cooperation of
Advancement Associations*

Our advancement organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the American Council on Human Rights, the religious and fraternal councils and committees have done a magnificent job in promoting the cause for human rights in this country. Without these organizations, especially, in this connection, the NAACP the upsurge in educational opportunities for Negro youth would certainly not yet have occurred.

The very holding of this conference has vital meaning for these organizations. The process of sitting down and discussing problems with officers of other organizations having similar goals, and legal, educational, and governmental leaders from all sections of the country cannot fail to yield fruitful values. This procedure will serve to keep the leadership of these advancement organizations in close touch with the field and to avert the minor, and sometimes major, conflicts of policy. I would urge these organizations to provide for the calling of periodic confer-

ences such as this one as a technique for testing the validity and feasibility of projected lines of action.

Utilization of Non-Racial Organizations

We have had the common experience in this conference of considering the racial question involved as if it exists in a vacuum; as if it is unrelated to all the other social, economic and political forces operating in our society. This is not altogether fair criticism, for among the participants have been representatives of labor, the church, and government. But it is a substantially valid comment in that the discussions have been couched almost exclusively within the frame-work of Negro-white relations.

Recognition must be given to the fact that the problem of racial adjustment touches many facets of American life. The indirect approach to racial integration, through identifying our interests with the basic objectives of labor, the church, political organizations, and the like, may in a fundamental sense be just as effective as direct attack. Let us, then, cooperate with and become a part of all those movements and organizations in American life which have as their objective improvement of the welfare of the people.

CONCLUSION

This has been a fruitful conference and it has made a significant contribution to race relations in this country. I believe it will come to be regarded as one of the important milestones in the exciting, if sometimes halting, journey this country is making toward a truly democratic society. There were

a number of areas of disagreement as to tactics, as to immediate outcomes to be sought. But the main lines, the important lines, are clear and unmistakable.

Perhaps the most important single outcome of this conference is the demonstration of the absolute unanimity of Negro leadership that racial segregation must be abolished from American life. There was not a single dissenting voice. So far as Negro leadership is concerned, the doctrine of "separate and equal" facilities is dead as an objective or as a satisfactory solution.

There is full agreement, further, that there is no alternative to legal action "to secure these rights" and that seeking favorable judicial decisions is a continuing urgent necessity.

There is a consensus that judicial decisions will not in and of themselves result in integration. An essential concomitant is the development of favorable racial attitudes among the dominant racial group. The implementation of a supplementary program along the lines suggested in this paper is an urgent responsibility of our leadership.

We say to America and to the world that racial segregation is incompatible with the ideals and goals of our nation; that it prevents our country from exploiting in full the resources inherent in the Negro people and thus weakens our domestic economy; that it provides for our opponents in the world-wide ideological struggle a potent weapon for enlisting the support of darker peoples throughout the world and thus weakens our international position. We believe that the attainment of our goals, therefore, will serve the vital interests of our nation. (Applause)

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MR. THOMPSON: Before we come to the second appraisal, I want to take just a moment to refer to one thing that Dr. Jenkins has said. I do not know whether I made this statement on the opening night, but you will remember that he said that this conference was composed of people that were left of center and that one of the things that he missed here was the flavor of the right of center.

Well, let me say for the benefit of this audience that I did all that I could to get more of the opponents of integration here. I invited the school superintendents of 20 states to this conference. Half of them wrote very nice letters of regret; and I guess the other half did not believe I meant it.

We did all we could, Dr. Jenkins, to have more of this group present. However, I am sure that you will agree that the conference has not discounted or overlooked their point of view.

Now, the next appraisal is to be given by Dr. Nabrit, and it is called, "An Appraisal of Court Action as a Means of Achieving Racial Integration in Education." He has warned me that he cannot do this in less than 40 minutes although I have given him thirty. We shall see.

(Thereupon, Mr. Thompson introduced Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., Professor of Law and Secretary, Howard University, who addressed the Conference as follows.)

AN APPRAISAL OF COURT ACTION AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING RACIAL SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION

JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.

Professor of Law and Secretary, Howard University

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Those of us who have been fortunate enough to be present throughout this Conference have witnessed a highly significant, and I believe, constructive event occur in the field of education; namely, a thorough-going examination of the "Courts and Racial Integration in Education," a penetrating analysis of the varying patterns of segregation in education, a thoughtful consideration of means of eliminating them, and a keen study of the relationship of segregation in other areas of life to the problems faced in education. What is most important is, that this National Conference brought together scholarly experts in law, education, psychology, economics, sociology and government,

and strategically placed persons in "action" activities in the public life to mutually inform each other, to cooperatively grasp the scope of the problem confronted, and to comprehensively plan basic approaches to its solution.

Although the exact position of the "Talmadge" group was not presented as such, the editor of a leading Southern newspaper was present, and clearly set forth the conservative viewpoint of the white South. Invitations were extended to administrators of public school systems in all the Southern states. In spite of the absence from the Conference of exponents of the viewpoint of the most reactionary elements of the white South, it is safe to say that their position was injected into the discussions and consideration

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given to it by several of the speakers present.

Now, I do not propose to give a critical summary of each of the papers presented here, as I hope that my general summary of the Conference will take them into account, properly.

In the *first* place, the Conference was unanimous in its conclusion that segregation be uprooted from our democratic way of life.

It may safely be said that much of the law in this country developed out of a background of conditions then prevalent in a pioneer, rural, agricultural economy, where nationalism and individualism were dominant ideas. Many of the doctrines, much of the philosophy, and a considerable number of the laws and judicial decisions formulated or adopted to fit those conditions are not adaptable to our present urbanized industrial economy, in the face of an increasing wide-spread emphasis on an economic and cultural unification.

In particular there is a growing recognition of the idea of guaranteeing by law universal reasonable expectations involved in life in a civilized society. This is shown in recent provisions in many parts of the world for strengthening and enforcing bills or declarations of rights and in increasing formulation of such expectations not only in newly set-up states and in new constitutions for old states, but notably in proposed world constitutions. Illustrations of this may be found in the Russian Constitution, the United Nations Charter, the Proposed Constitution of Puerto Rico and the new constitution of New Jersey, which specifically interdict state action based on race, color or religion.

A reasonable expectation today, then,

of every American is that he will not be accorded state or Federal treatment solely on the basis of race, color or religion. If there be increasing emphasis on an economic and cultural unification of the entire world with a universal bill of rights, it is certainly a reasonable expectation that America, one of those leading this movement, would rid itself of legalized racial separatism.

In the *second* place, the Conference was unanimous in its opinion that court action was one of the best ways to get rid of segregation imposed by statutes or judicial decisions. Resort to the Courts is a normal method of doing this. It is in fact one of the only two ways of doing this—by resort to courts or legislation. Both are good. For the South, the courts are best. The Conference came to the conclusion that most of the extension and retention of segregation has been the result of judicial action. Therefore, we should resort to the courts to change these decisions.

Law and government must change as society and philosophies change. Some illustrations that many of our former concepts must yield to these changing conditions may be found in the field of labor law, in laws governing leases of urban apartments, in the law of privacy, and in air law. Slavery and the system of racial segregation which succeeded it are products of that pioneer, rural, isolationist background, but today both appear out of harmony with our nation's claim to leadership of a world of many races clamoring for basic human rights. The separate-but-equal doctrine is also a product of that background.

To paraphrase Mr. Justice Cardozo's

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language in the *Allegheny College Case*, courts today tend to treat the separate-but-equal doctrine as if it were identical with the equal-protection-of-the-laws clause of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. A classic form of statement frequently made is "separate but substantially equal." So compendious a formula is little more than a half-truth. There is need of many a supplementary gloss before the outline can be so filled in as to depict the classic doctrine, "Equal protection of laws." It is not enough that there be substantially equal protection of laws. It is not enough that attempts be made to achieve this on a racially separate basis.

The half-truths of one generation tend at times to perpetuate themselves in the law as the whole-truths of another, when constant repetition brings it about that qualifications, once taken for granted, are disregarded or forgotten. The doctrine of "separate but equal" has not escaped the common lot.

The doctrine of "separate but equal" is generally credited to the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in 1896. This case in turn cited *Roberts v. Boston* decided in 1849. A mere cursory acquaintance with the facts of American history tells us that *Roberts v. Boston* was decided when the institution of slavery was in existence, in a period of which a few years later the Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott Case* said, "a Negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." While the origin of this doctrine thus lies in the slave system, with its laws, customs, lack of citizenship of the Negro, these qualifications and limitations of the doctrine are forgotten in *Plessy* in 1896. When

Plessy was decided a civil war had been fought, slavery abolished and the 14th Amendment passed, giving state and Federal citizenship to the Negro, and *Railroad Company v. Brown* had been decided by the Supreme Court in 1873, all subsequent to *Roberts v. Boston*. In the *Brown Case* the Court decided that separate accommodations, no matter how identical they might otherwise be, were not equal. The Court in *Plessy* and subsequent cases has disregarded the *Brown Case* and the historical background out of which arose the *Roberts Case*. As a consequence, the Court has in effect placed a judicial limitation on the citizenship of the Negro; and has substituted for equal protection of laws a "separate but substantially equal" protection of the laws; by importing a philosophy of racial separatism properly applicable only to the slave system into the 14th Amendment, which was designed to end the last vestiges of that same slave system. This tendency toward effacement of the great clause of the 14th Amendment has not lessened with the years. From the field of transportation the separate-but-equal doctrine has been applied to all areas where the state exerts its power, where and when deemed expedient. The Court's use of the separate-but-equal doctrine reminds me of George Orwell's delightfully satirical novel in which the final commandment was painted in large letters on the barn in Animal Kingdom: "All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others."

In the *third* place, the Conference agreed that court action alone would not achieve integration. Mere enactment of laws in the field of civil rights, courts to apply them, and a political

organization behind them, will not of themselves secure equal justice under law. Administrative injustice may be suffered which is not readily amenable to court action. Witness segregation in the army in spite of the executive orders to end it. We are too well aware of laws and judicial decisions which are not enforced in our country today. Witness segregation in education in Illinois and other Northern states where it is unlawful. Segregation may result from the mere fact of residence, not laws. We must prepare our cities and states and country for acceptance of the doctrine of the universality of human rights before they can be effectively enjoyed. This requires a new interpretation of our constitution. This requires the geographical, economic, and historical understanding of sociology and politics. It requires knowledge of the social, social-psychological and economic background in which legal precepts must operate in their interpretation and application. It requires a revitalization of the principles underlying our democracy. Justice is the ideal relation of man. We seek to attain it primarily through a regime of adjusting relations among men and ordering men's conduct by systematic application of the force of politically organized society. But other factors and forces temper justice in our society. We must take account of them too—educational, sociological, psychological, economic, religious, and political factors. Frustration arising from tensions of urbanized life may manifest itself in racial injustice and prejudice, to mention only one of these.

In the *fourth* place, the Conference agreed that racial integration in education was only a part of the larger

problem of segregation in general. The problem of segregation in education cannot be isolated from the problems of segregation in all other aspects of American life, particularly employment and housing. It is only one facet of the total problem. The fundamental inquiry then is, can we have racial integration in education as long as segregation per se is lawful? The answer is *no*.

Our appraisal of court action as a means of achieving racial integration in education shall be made, then, in the light of those basic findings of the Conference. It shall also be made in a further belief in these five legal propositions: (1) The present domestic and world conditions reflect a different background from that out of which the separate-but-equal theory arose. (2) The theory cannot be satisfactorily adapted to these changed conditions. (3) Government has no constitutional power to segregate citizens for the purpose of education on the basis of race, color or religion. (4) Some types of discrimination (administrative, e.g.) in education cannot be readily affected, if at all, by resort to the courts. (5) Laws and judicial decisions requiring segregation should be subjected to direct legal attack as being unconstitutional per se.

Some confusion may be avoided if an analysis is here made of some specific aspects of our problem by setting forth three questions which occupied a major portion of the time of the Conference and its answer to them.

1. Does the role of the courts in achieving integration in education depend upon the type of racial disabilities imposed? The answer is *yes*.

If they are laws or judicial decisions,

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use the courts but legislative action may also be effective.

If they are administratively imposed, in some cases courts may give some relief but use all community aid available.

If they are results of concentrated racial residential areas, courts are of little avail. Here the whole field is left to social workers, legislators and others.

II. Is the legal theory to be utilized in litigation before courts a matter to be decided by lawyers rather than by sociologists, psychologists, social workers, or educators? The answer is *yes*.

In this area the legal theory upon which the lawyers base their cases is that government, state or Federal, has no constitutional power to exert its force in dealing with its citizens on the basis of race or color. We think the attempt of the government to do this violates the Federal Constitution, in that it violates the equal protection of the laws, denies due process, violates prohibition against Bills of Attainder, and is in violation of the Civil Rights Acts. The supplemental and implemental action to be taken will have to be decided upon by the social workers, psychologists, educators, politicians, economists, and the church people.

III. Where the courts *are* a vital factor what are the consequences of their use? The answer is that they are significant, but not sufficient.

Successful court action alone will not *ipso facto* achieve racial integration in education. However, the invalidation of laws authorizing racial segregation in education will be a significant and important contribution toward the achievement of integration in education. The primary accomplishment is that it

will remove the barrier of illegality from the pathway of integration. A favorable court decision removes the respectability which law gives to segregation and any fears of fines or imprisonment for associating with members of the different races. It creates a climate within which more effective use of other methods of eliminating segregation may be utilized freely, such as education, legislation, executive orders, voluntary activity, and normal political, economic and social development. As Mr. Roscoe Pound says: "Law makes habits, it does not wait for them to grow." As long as statutes or court decisions threaten persons with fines or imprisonment if racial segregation is attempted in education, they deter local experimentation and normal social development.

Aside from this obvious and fundamental merit of a resort to the courts in this field, seven other consequences flowing from court action may be indicated. (1) A favorable judicial decision instantly is operative over wide areas in the field of civil rights; over state-wide areas in graduate and professional education and over city-wide and country-wide or school-district-wide areas in elementary and secondary education.

(2) It serves as an educational device and aids in the crystallization of antisegregation sentiment.

(3) It has a psychological effect upon the entire community. It reveals in clarity and nakedness the obvious discriminations long glossed over in the segregated school system in the South. It shocks many of the non-concerned whites into a realization of the basic injustice being inflicted upon the Negro community. It reveals inner

strength and unity both within the Negro community and between the Negro and white community. It stirs to action that at-times dormant will to first-class citizenship within the Negro community. It is also true that a new conception of our system of courts may arise in the Negro community. In some areas of the country, Negroes view the courts as institutions of repression while in most sections of the South, courts are looked on by them with suspicion, to say the least.

(4) Again, an *ad hoc* appraisal of court action as a means of achieving racial integration in education would suggest it as a potent factor for economic reasons. Since 1940 under the impetus of litigation for equal salaries for teachers, for admission to white graduate and professional schools, and for admission to white public schools, as well as litigation for equal but separate schools, it would be safe to say that the educational plants for Negro schools have been doubled in value, salaries have been almost fully equalized; and curricula, whatever may be said of their quality, have been quantitatively increased significantly. The staggering cost of equalization in a separate system has for the first time been considered by the South as a decisive factor in the whole area of integration. The feverish activity in building elementary and high school buildings, some costing more than \$1,000,000 each, in the South has been a direct result of court action. The extent to which the South can continue this rate of expenditure in an attempt to satisfy the "separate but equal doctrine" has a very definite bearing on the question of achieving integration, even assuming that the courts hold that

equality in education may be achieved in separate racial facilities.

(5) Another effect of court action has been to incite threats, expressed by former Governor Darden of Virginia, now Chancellor of the University of Virginia, and by Governor Byrnes of South Carolina, to withdraw state support from elementary and secondary education and to turn over the plants and programs to private individuals. This threat of course has to run three hazards before becoming a reality. (a) It has to escape court denunciation based on the theory which barred South Carolina from turning over its primary to private citizens by withdrawing all state action with respect thereto. (b) It has to pass the political test. (c) It has to solve the problem of public education for poor whites in the South.

(6) Again court action in those areas where Negroes have been admitted to state universities has indicated the need for integration at the college and preparatory level if Negroes are to be able in significant numbers to compete at the University level. This again poses the whole question of how to deal with segregation: Will integration at these lower levels be achieved without job opportunities free from racial disabilities? Housing, health, cultural opportunities, freedom from fear, all have their bearing on the prospective student. Can we effectively attack segregation in education without at the same time assailing all forms of legal racial segregation? Again, the answer is *no*. Incentive is a prime factor in achievement. Is not segregation itself as a system or way of life antithetical to the democratic way of life?

Education must meet the needs of the

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human spirit. In a democracy it must provide the wisdom for minority and majority races to live together on a plane of equality; it must assist in the cultivation of individual and group values consonant with the democratic ideal; it must give each citizen an adequate understanding of the economic institutions, problems and issues in our industrial society; and must enable each person to attain the full development and use by him of his inherent potentiality. We cannot function creatively in an artificially divided society. Freedom of choice and association is a necessary factor in the freedom and dignity of the individual.

In my opinion, it is better for the races to be poorly taught together, in inadequate facilities than that they be taught separately in excellent facilities. The great equalitarian principle of democracy cannot even be taught, much less lived, in a segregated system.

(7) Finally, court action has resulted in some sharp conflicts among lawyers and among laymen as to the legal philosophy and procedure to be utilized in this area.

A very substantial question underlying this discussion is whether it is wise to attack segregation per se as unconstitutional or should a continued attempt be made to whittle away at it under the impetus of an insistence upon equality. In support of the equality approach, it is said that less antagonism is aroused in the community in most instances and that the community is given a choice of either deciding to equalize its schools, or to admit qualified Negroes. To the deep South this appears to be an important choice in the light of its seeming adherence to

the philosophy of the *Dred Scott Case*.

It has been stated in this Conference, "that we should turn over the problem of changing the attitude of the Southerner to the white church South." That proposition failed because of the weak moral position of the intended receptionists. The Conference certainly did not accept that statement.

It has also been said here, "that we should leave a window for the white South to get out of the corner which it is in." We are somewhat suspicious, historically, of whites in the South either coming in or going out of our windows. Hence, the Conference did not agree to that suggestion in any respect.

It has been said here that "we should ask for an end to segregation per se but at the same time we should leave a hole in the case through which the Supreme Court may escape from the necessity of deciding that question". Obviously, this was proposed either in jest or in unfamiliarity with how the Supreme Court works. "The Supreme Court", it is further said, "should be given a chance not to pass on segregation per se if it wishes to avoid doing so. Don't force the court to decide or it may decide that segregation is lawful. That would be disastrous it is said." Why? (1) Our gains are not so great as to require time out for consolidation. (2) Are we expecting a more liberal court in the future? (3) We lost *Corrigan v. Buckley*, after having won *Buchanan v. Warley*, yet we won the *Restrictive Covenant Cases*. We lost *Grove v. Townsend* after winning the *Nixon Cases* yet we won the *Primary Cases*. The greatest thing we have to fear is fear itself. The Conference did not adopt that proposal either.

Again it has been said here, "that we should not put the pupils into white schools until we solve their background differences, educational differentials, and until they can take their teachers with them". It is clear that integration is a much longer process than mere admission. They cannot be done simultaneously. The Conference did not adopt that procedure.

Some have said here that "Court decisions will not be followed if given in cases in certain areas of the South and that some consideration may well be given to concentration of legal action in more favorable sectors." They say, "Pick border states to attack rather than Mississippi or South Carolina." This is the same as saying: "White people in those states are so mean and treat Negroes so badly that they are accustomed to no rights, so let them suffer. The less you have the longer we will force you to accept less." The Conference repudiated that position.

"We have gained so much under the separate but equal doctrine that we ought to pause and consolidate our gains," has been argued here too. In Oklahoma, over 300 students were in the state university, when I was there last summer, all were studying education, and white professors were looking for Negroes to enroll in other schools (17 divisions of engineering for example) and asked us to find some for them in Oklahoma; but the poor public schools for Negroes in Oklahoma had not produced them. In some places, I won't say where publicly, where Negroes were admitted, they have flunked already, not because of race, but because of poor secondary and collegiate background. The Conference

also failed to adopt that proposition.

"That we must wait for ideal plaintiffs, Ph.D. caliber" is another statement made here. Sometimes that caliber of plaintiff may lack the intestinal fortitude or may disdain delay and anxiety and not have the stamina for years of fighting. We must remember that clients seek lawyers and lawyers take plaintiffs as they are. The Conference decided not to wait for such an ideal plaintiff.

Again, it has been said here "that there will be violence and blood will run in the streets". Suppose it does? Shall the Negro child be required to wait for his constitutional rights until the white South is educated, industrialized, and is ready to confer these rights on his childrens' children? The Conference likewise refused to adopt an attitude of fear.

Finally, it was said that "we do not know what motivates the white Southerner in insisting on a denial of equality or opportunity to the Negro." I suppose it makes a theoretical difference whether it is because he doesn't think we are ready for it, rather than that he believes in white supremacy, but to the Negro child it makes absolutely no difference. The Conference considered this question unimportant.

With respect to such a mass of inconsistencies, all I can say is *Nollo Contendere*.

Primarily, I personally disagree with these points of view because I believe that the Constitution gives the Negro the fundamental right to enjoy *now* all benefits offered by the state, without any limitations based on race. Since that is our right, why disguise our fight for it? Why try to sneak upon

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it? Why not make a bold assault for it?

I do not agree with any of the reasons given for avoiding a direct attack on segregation as unconstitutional per se nor for the selection of any particular area of the South in which to make the attack. Wherever, the Negro is laboring under unconstitutional disabilities in the South, there is the best place to attack. The attack should be waged with the most devastating forces at hand. Let those who would soften the attack justify the assumption that the people of the United States will support a complete disregard for the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court will have to worry over community attitudes. Let us worry over the problems of pressing for our civil rights. Let the Court decide the wisdom of declaring segregation per se unconstitutional. Instead of worrying over the effect of compelling the Court to decide, our real concern is, how we may best compel the Court to decide the question. Let the Supreme Court take the blame if it dares say to the entire world, "yes, democracy rests on a legalized caste system. Segregation of races is legal." Make the Court choose. Let the Court make a national and international record of this. Let the Court write this across the face of the Constitution: "All men are equal but white men are more equal than others." We are not isolated as in a vacuum. The imposition of segregation is a departure from the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and is inimical

to our international relations. In the attempt by the whites of the South to cling to *Dred Scott* and *Plessy*, the 20th century is against them; world politics is against them; the self interest of the United States is against them; and, the Constitution of the United States is against them. In the twenties and thirties the legal fight to remove disabilities affecting the Negro was waged in a much more hostile climate than exists today.

Chief Justice Vinson said in the Sipuel Case "Petitioner is entitled to the enjoyment of her constitutional rights now."

In conclusion, may I suggest to you that the sharp challenges that are now presented to the ideals of the revolution of 1776 by the "ideals" of another revolution of 1917 ever press us toward the necessity for the development of a "more perfect union" and a more perfect democracy. In that democracy, segregation cannot exist. Racial integration in education is one of the basic requirements. Slow and tortuous as are our courts, thus far, a resort to them has been invaluable. No one has yet suggested a better way to outlaw legalized racial segregation in education than by a resort to the courts. I propose that an all-out assault on legalized segregation in every field—wherever it exists in this country—be made without hesitation or fear. If the Court refuses to declare segregation per se unconstitutional, the equality approach with all its basic weaknesses still remains.

MR. THOMPSON: Dr. Nabrit, you almost made it (laughter).

When we were mapping out this program and got down as far as we

are now, we thought that the program would be complete. But some intuition kept recurring which made me feel that the program was not complete. I

asked several people what was wrong; I said, "I feel that there is something missing here which should be included."

About this time I had occasion to be in Chicago. I went out to the University of Chicago to see Louis Wirth. I discussed the problem with him. Finally, I said, "What is missing here, what suggestion do you have to make?"

He said, "You know that after you get a favorable court decision you do not necessarily get integration. We are working on just that very problem here in Illinois. We have a law which says that you cannot segregate and yet we have segregated schools. So we still

have the problem of developing the cooperative acceptance of racial integration in many communities in Illinois."

I pursued the matter further by asking him, "Who is the best available person in the country to present that subject at our Conference? He suggested several people but always came back to one man, and that man was Father LaFarge.

(Thereupon, Mr. Thompson introduced Reverend John LaFarge, S. J., *Associate Editor of America*—A National Catholic Weekly.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATIVE ACCEPTANCE OF RACIAL INTEGRATION

JOHN LAFARGE, S. J.

Associate Editor, America

Dr. Johnson, Chairman Thompson, ladies and gentlemen:

Coming from New York one feels a certain diffidence about speaking in Washington. You always feel when you come to Washington that you really ought to be listening rather than talking. But I understand that nothing that is said here is secret or classified, so I guess we are all right (laughter).

I appreciate very much Dean Thompson's flattering introduction, but I can get back at him again by saying that in the books he has mentioned, most of the material was taken from the *JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION* (laughter). Just poring over the *JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION* I came to the conclusion that one could take some facts out of there and maybe get away with it and he would know where one got it. But I do congratulate him upon both the success of this conference and his own publication. Magazines do not run of themselves and they do not

run by any automatic process, they only run by the good will of the public; and if *THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION* were to go, which I hope it never will, we would lose a terrific ally in the fight for justice and parity.

I want to say that I enjoyed immensely the wonderful summary made by Professor Jenkins. And I was very much intrigued by all the things that Dr. Nabrit said were not adopted (laughter).

Acceptance by the community, when racial integration has been achieved, is obviously a matter of the utmost concern. So much has already been indicated on this topic, of theory and of general experience, that I need not go over that familiar ground. My only function is to speak from personal experience.

There are, as I see it, two approaches to the subject: one direct, the other indirect.

We do need to assert directly cer-

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL DESEGREGATION, 1956:
A CRITICAL SUMMARY

PRESTON VALIEN

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In reviewing the status of educational desegregation in the year since the May 31, 1955, implementation decree of the U. S. Supreme Court, one is struck by the predominance of what appears to be two strongly contradictory developments. On the one hand, the period has been marked by a growth in organized opposition to the Supreme Court's decision which, in the Deep South, approaches anarchy in some instances and overt subversion of the national government in others. Yet, the period has been marked also by important legal victories for desegregation (even in the Deep South) and by significant progress in desegregation of activities outside of education. While these two developments may appear to be contradictory and unrelated, one can hardly escape the feeling that both the growth of organized opposition to the decision and the resort to the machinery of the courts for implementation of the decision are products of the same set of consequences: (1) the general failure of Southern political leadership to take a responsible position based upon moral convictions or upon respect for law and order and (2) the general inability or unwillingness of other white Southern leaders, especially the so-called moderates who profess either moral convictions against segregation or a respect for law and order, to take collectively a position counter to that of the political leadership in the arena of public opinion.¹ Given these

conditions, one should not be surprised at the growth and continuation of organized opposition to the application of the law of the land nor at the feeling on the part of supporters of the decision of the necessity to utilize the power of the courts to effect its implementation.

OFFICIAL OPPOSITION TO THE DECISION
IN THE SOUTH

The official opposition to the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision has tended to focus more upon legal inventions of various types, while extra-legal economic and social sanctions which were prominent at one time now appear to be receiving less emphasis. The legislatures of the strongly defiant states have established state agencies specifically directed to find means to circumvent the decision. Mississippi, for example, has established a State Sovereignty Committee with an appropriation of \$250,000 and with the authority to employ secret investigators and informants in combating desegregation. Georgia has The Georgia Education Commission for the same purpose, and Louisiana has the Joint Legislative Segregation Committee with an appropriation of \$100,000 to pay attorney fees to fight desegregation. South Carolina has a School Segregation Committee first appointed in 1951 by Governor James F. Byrnes and extended indefinitely by

or progressive imagination" in Southern politics, see Ralph McGill, "The Angry South," *The Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 31-34, April, 1956.

¹ For an explanation of the lack of "idealistic

the 1956 legislature to study ways and means of maintaining segregated schools. The committee has authorized a legal staff of a chief counsel and four or five assistants. North Carolina has its Advisory Committee on Education and Virginia has its Gray Commission.

The legal devices which these committees and others have developed aim either to permit the continuation of segregated public education by evasive techniques of various types or to abolish the public school system.² These legal devices have been generally confined to those states where no public school desegregation at all has taken place prior to or since the Supreme Court decision. Seven states (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia) have adopted resolutions of interposition or of nullification, and proposals for adoption of such resolutions have been made in other states, although these are widely admitted by many of their proponents to be designed chiefly to influence and stiffen public opposition against desegregation and the United States Supreme Court.

The legal proposals to circumvent educational desegregation include: (a) giving local authorities the power to assign each individual pupil to a specific school, (b) measures making it illegal for teachers, students or school officials to advocate or to implement desegregation, (c) state constitutional amendments and laws disclaiming public education as an individual right or as a state obligation, (d) laws to censor books which appear to support desegregation or racial equality, (e) laws

abolishing compulsory school attendance, (f) measures requiring teachers to sign segregation loyalty oaths and to refrain from joining the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), (g) regulations restricting teacher appointments to a year-to-year basis and (h) measures to provide for the abolition of state public school systems. The Georgia State Board of Education adopted two resolutions which would have revoked "forever" the Georgia teaching license of any teacher who approved of or agreed to teach racially mixed classes or held membership in the NAACP. While the president of the Georgia Education Association (which is composed of white teachers) supported the resolutions, strong opposition from the press, the Atlanta Council of United Church Women, the Georgia League of Women Voters and other groups caused the resolutions to be rescinded in a subsequent meeting of the State Board. Instead the board decided to require teachers to sign an oath to "uphold, support and defend the constitution and laws" of Georgia. Two new textbook committees appointed by the Georgia State Board of Education examined books and other reading materials in the Georgia school system for "anti-southern bias" and general merit. Charges were also made that certain books were "un-Georgian." In South Carolina a concurrent resolution requested the State Library Board to remove from circulation certain books "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions of South Carolina."

Of the various legal proposals designed to continue educational segregation, one of the most widely adopted or proposed has been the transfer of all authority over assignment and enroll-

² See the excellent discussion of these legal devices in James M. Nabrit, Jr., "Legal Inventions and the Desegregation Process," *The Annals*, 304: 35–43, March, 1956.

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ment of pupils to superintendents or local school boards, and in at least one instance, to the sheriff. Assignment bills have been proposed or adopted in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. These proposals usually state that pupil assignments will be made commensurate with the personality, welfare, happiness, and ability of the child or with public peace, safety, health and morals of the people of the district. They usually provide a long and expensive appeal procedure, but since the ultimate objective is racial segregation, even their proponents usually admit that the establishment of their legal invalidity is merely a matter of time. As a matter of fact, these proposals contain the self-defeating element that the more effective they are in achieving their objective of racial segregation, the easier it will be to establish the case for their legal invalidation.

THE RESISTANCE GROUP MOVEMENT

The extra-legal resistance movements to desegregation (White Citizen Councils, Federations for Constitutional Government, Ku Klux Klan, etc.) achieved their greatest growth in the "do nothing" and "wait and see" period following the Supreme Court's 1954 decision. They vary widely in composition, philosophy and effectiveness. One of the interesting reflections of the present low state of political integrity and legal ethics of some Southern political leaders is the fact that some of the Southern attorneys and political leaders in Arkansas, Florida and other states who are credited with influencing the U. S. Supreme Court to grant their states time for adjustment in its implementa-

tion decree are now among the leaders of the resistance movements in their states. While the resistance movements include such leaders, other segments of it include the educationally and economically underprivileged whites of the Ku Klux Klan type. The philosophy of the movements ranges from a single-minded concern over desegregation and "racial mongrelization" to opposition to Jews, Catholics, foreign-born, the mental health movement, fluoridation, and the United Nations. In some manner, through opposition to these diverse elements, the mystique of the maintenance of the racial purity of white blood is fused with a concern for states' rights which leads to influential political activity. Fleming³ has listed at least twenty pro-segregation groups in the South and points out that in at least four southern states political control is in the hands of politicians who are wholly sympathetic to the aims and methods of the resistance groups, while in four additional states the resistance groups exert strong political influence on the legislature and upon political office holders. It is more than coincidence that the political leaders within the resistance groups come from areas which deny or severely restrict the voting rights of Negroes. These restrictions have been extended to whites where it was necessary to do so in order to prevent Negroes from registering and voting.

The activities of the resistance groups have served to once more point the moral that freedom is indivisible, and the only way to preserve it for any one is to oppose attempts to deny it to others. The intimidations and

³ Harold C. Fleming, "Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation," *The Annals*, 304: 44-52, March, 1956.

reprisals which were first inflicted upon Negroes have quickly been extended to white citizens who have dared to express sentiments in favor of compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. Clergymen have been denounced and dismissed, teachers have been fired, students have been censured. Protestant churches have been attacked in Georgia for opposing segregation, while Catholic churches have been threatened with restrictive legislation in Louisiana to prevent desegregation of their church schools. Mississippi has passed a bill requiring all teachers, white and Negro, to submit affidavits listing memberships held in all types of organizations during the past five years. Reports indicate that only the Negro teachers opposed it. Religious Emphasis Week was cancelled at the University of Mississippi when the speakers who included several religious leaders would not consent to keep silent if questioned on segregation in their discussions.

The tragic element in this situation is the failure on the part of the white community to recognize the need for organized counter-resistance not to protect the Negro but to protect their own democratic rights. When a prominent editor of a leading weekly news magazine which apparently has decided to take a leading role in supporting racial segregation writes of conformity by coercion⁴ he interprets coercion as the use of the law to *prohibit* racial segregation in public facilities, but he fails to recognize as coercion the reverse instance of the use of the law to *enforce* racial segregation in public facilities. No coercion is seen, for example, in the laws and actions of state

officials and agencies in Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas which prohibit or attempt to prevent communities in these states which desire to comply with the law from doing so. In stating that prejudice cannot be legislated out of existence, he fails to see that it is not prejudice but behavior which is being regulated and seems unaware of the fact that supporters of racial segregation have long used the law to regulate the same behavior which they now say can not or should not be regulated by law. This editor and other supporters of racial segregation generally fail to see any element of coercion in the unanimity with which pro-segregation resolutions and laws are passed in southern state legislatures. They fail to see any coercion in the resignation under pressure of the young white editor of a daily paper in Florence, South Carolina, who had called for moderation on the desegregation issue. This young white editor said upon resigning, "Our Southland is becoming a place where non-concurrence with the established orthodoxy is cause for rejection and social ostracism."⁵ The region and the nation still await an organized collective expression of those in the South who believe that the Supreme Court decision was morally or legally justified or, who, while believing neither, still feel that law and order should prevail. To those who raise the oft-heard query as to expediency and safety, one can only say with Benjamin Franklin that "those who give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety," and one can further say that history establishes that they usually achieve neither.

⁴ *U. S. News and World Report*, p. 140, July 6, 1956.

⁵ *Time Magazine*, p. 50, July 30, 1956.

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SIGNIFICANT LEGAL VICTORIES FOR
DESEGREGATION

Despite the growth of the resistance groups and the fact that they often receive support by the executive and legislative branches of the state governments and even the state judiciary in some instances, several important legal victories have been won in the federal courts. In Alabama, a federal judge ordered the admission of Miss Arthurine Lucy to the University of Alabama. She was admitted for three days and subsequently expelled as the result of a series of developments after mob action forced her to leave the school. In Arkansas, the federal courts issued a permanent injunction restraining a resistance group from interfering with the Hoxie School Board in the implementation of its desegregation program. When this resistance group appealed the decision, the U. S. Department of Justice announced that it will enter the case on the side of the school board as a friend of the court. The significance of this is readily apparent. Another significant legal victory was won in Florida by Virgil Hawkins, a Negro, who had been seeking admission to the University of Florida Law School for more than six years. The United States Supreme Court has directed that Hawkins should be admitted not later than this fall, although Florida is still appealing the decision. In Louisiana, a federal judge invalidated all school segregation laws passed by the legislature in 1954. In Virginia, a federal judge has recently directed that Charlottesville begin desegregation of its schools this fall. While West Virginia has made significant progress in desegregation, in a case involving Greenbrier County, a federal judge followed a pattern

which is becoming standard procedure in school segregation cases:

1. He ruled that threats of violence regarding desegregation did not constitute reason for non-compliance.
2. The suit was judged as a class action and not one of individuals.
3. State segregation laws were declared voided by the United States Supreme Court decision.
4. He established a deadline for compliance by the school board.

One of the significant aspects of the cases relating to colleges and universities which have reached the U. S. Supreme Court has been the clear indication by the court that its policy of gradual implementation of educational desegregation at the elementary and secondary level did not apply to the higher education level where immediate admission of qualified Negro applicants is usually ordered.

In spite of the growth in strength of the resistance movements, desegregation in education made substantial progress during the preceding year. While no public elementary or secondary school desegregation has occurred in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, the federal courts have ordered local school districts in Tennessee and Virginia to begin desegregation by this fall. In addition, court orders directing the admission of Negroes to formerly all-white publicly supported colleges and universities were rendered in Alabama and Florida for the first time. In several other states new court decisions and administrative rulings widened already existing enrollment opportunities for

Negroes in publicly supported institutions. According to a survey made in 1956 by *Southern School News*, half of the 208 formerly all-white publicly supported colleges in the South were open to Negroes and 93 of the 104 were reported to have Negro students.⁶ Only Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina were found to have had no Negroes enrolled in their publicly supported all-white colleges. It should be noted also that many formerly all-white privately supported and church-related colleges in the South have been opened to Negroes.

A significant development has been the growing enrollment of white students in formerly all-Negro colleges where these colleges are strategically located and have good academic reputations. The outstanding example of this is West Virginia where there were 185 white students attending two colleges formerly for Negroes in the fall of 1954, and this number had increased to 513 by the second semester of 1955–56. Lincoln University in Missouri, formerly a state-supported institution for Negroes, reported approximately 200 white students during 1955–56 or approximately one-fifth of the total enrollment. Similar developments have been reported for other colleges, especially private colleges such as Fisk University in Tennessee and Talladega College in Alabama.

Eight southern and border states which at the time of the 1954 Supreme Court decision either required or permitted segregated public education have begun the desegregation process. Arkansas initiated desegregation in Charleston and Fayetteville in 1954–55 and in Bentonville and Hoxie in 1955–

56. The Hoxie situation has been previously mentioned as one of the significant developments in the desegregation picture during the year. Desegregation has also taken place in Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia. These areas can be divided roughly into two groups: one group is still trying to bring about pupil desegregation and has not gone beyond this level, while the second group has gone beyond this level and is facing in various ways the problems of teacher integration, pupil achievement, interscholastic athletics, and the general inadequacies of the school system. The problems of pupil achievement have usually centered around the fact that Negro students have been found to be from two to three years behind white students in achievement on standardized tests. While most people attribute the low scores of Negro children to the results of inferior segregated schools, it is interesting to note that others use this as a “vicious circle” argument for continued segregation, claiming that desegregation will reduce academic standards in formerly all-white schools. Such claims are usually not accompanied by any explanation as to how continued segregation will eliminate the conditions which past segregation is stated to have created.

Teacher Integration

The problem of teacher integration has been greatly conditioned by the fact that in general desegregation has been a unilateral process with Negro pupils transferring to formerly white schools, but with little of the reverse occurring. To a large extent this is merely a reflection of the inequality which characterized Negro educational

⁶ *Southern School News*, March, 1956.

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opportunities and facilities under the "separate but equal" philosophy. The result has been, however, to make the position of the Negro teacher more insecure than that of the white teacher, especially in rural areas where desegregation meant abandonment of the Negro school, or in states where teacher tenure laws are weak or non-existent.

A review of the situation as presented in the reports of this Yearbook indicate the following with respect to teacher integration:

Delaware—Wilmington represents the only instance of faculty integration, but previously all-white state and county teachers' associations are integrated except in Sussex County.

Kentucky—Dismissal notices have been received by 60 Negro teachers. Two Negro teachers are instructing mixed classes. There has been a continuation of the employment of white teachers with emergency certificates in areas where Negro teachers with permanent certificates are available. This has been done in spite of the fact that school boards in hiring teachers with emergency certificates must certify that no teachers with higher qualifications are available. The State Board of Education has requested school boards to give due consideration to all qualified applicants for teaching positions. Louisville and Fayette County superintendents have been quoted as saying that Negro teachers will probably be instructing white students in their systems at some future time. In Fayette County, several Negro teachers have been assigned non-

teaching positions for next year as librarians, remedial reading instructors and record keepers in integrated schools. White and Negro teacher organizations of the state have merged their records and finances, with Negroes accepted as full and equal members. The merged organization, the Kentucky Education Association, promised to work for the rights and welfare of *all* teachers.

Maryland—No teachers have lost their jobs as a result of desegregation. While Baltimore began cautiously in 1954 with the use of 7 Negro teachers in white secondary schools, these were increased in 1955 to 81 Negro teachers in formerly white secondary schools and 26 Negro teachers in formerly white elementary schools. The Maryland State Teachers Association deleted the word "white" from its constitution in 1952, thus admitting Negroes to full membership.

Missouri—The plight of the Negro teacher is difficult outside of the two large cities of St. Louis and Kansas City. No jobs were lost in St. Louis because of desegregation, and the situation there is better than in Kansas City where 59 Negro reserve teachers were not being used despite a need for teachers in mixed schools. Several cities and school districts have integrated Negro teachers or have announced plans to do so. These places include Independence, Jefferson City, Springfield, Carthage, Festus, Kirkwood, Parkway, St. Charles and St. Joseph. On the other hand, Negro teachers have

been discharged at Moberly, Slater, and Hannibal. Legal action has been instituted by the Negro teachers of Moberly. The state teachers' association has been integrated since 1949.

Oklahoma—Teacher integration has barely made a beginning. It is estimated that 165 Negro teachers have been dismissed because of desegregation, and the Governor and other state officials have evinced sympathetic concern. A Negro teacher has been hired in Cushing and one in Wellston to teach mixed classes. The Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers and the Oklahoma Congress of Negro Parents and Teachers voted to disband during 1955–56 and to affiliate with the formerly all-white organizations.

Texas—It is reported that 19 Negro teachers lost their jobs in Texas because of desegregation. No teacher integration was reported.

West Virginia—White teachers in integrated classrooms increased from 897 in 1954–55 to 1795 in 1955–56, while Negro teachers in integrated classrooms increased from 15 to 102 over the same period. It is estimated that 15 Negro teachers were not reemployed at the end of 1954–55, and 10 were not reemployed at the end of 1955–56. Most of the counties planning to desegregate will apparently retain their Negro teachers. On the other hand, in no West Virginia county was any new Negro teacher employed in an integrated school, although the need for teachers was so acute that many persons holding sub-stand-

ard certificates were employed. The state teachers' association is integrated.

It should be pointed out that wherever teacher integration has been attempted, there have been no serious incidents or complaints on the part of pupils or parents. In recent weeks, a new element has been injected into the teacher picture by the New York City school system's public announcement that it will recruit qualified teaching applicants from among those teachers dismissed in southern states.

Some Broader Perspectives

Reviewing developments in the desegregation picture from a perspective of two years since the United States Supreme Court's decision of 1954, the following observations may be offered:

1. There has been a general failure on the part of many of our regional and national leaders to perceive and to make clear that changes in race relations in the United States are intimately related to our national security and to our position of world leadership. John F. Melby, writing from a background of long service in the United States Foreign Service, states: "At the outset let it be clear: the evil part of the American record on racial policies, especially in the light of our profession, is a major blot on our escutcheon, and it does positive and serious damage to the whole cause of freedom and democracy in these days in which the United States has emerged into a position of world leadership. . . . Undoubtedly what Mississippi does about its school system worries New Delhi more than it does Chicago."⁷

⁷ John F. Melby, "Racial Policy and Interna-

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Ralph McGill underscores the need for an understanding from this perspective when he writes, "Many a sincere, average deep-South Southerner does not know, or refuses to admit, that world forces are at work in the American race problem as they are in Asia and Africa. Somehow, to him, his present harassments are all a sinister business brought on by an organization called the NAACP. He feels that a proper government would put it in jail or order it to go away, and then everything would again be as it was. One of the more unrewarding tasks of a responsible Southern journalist is to interpret local events, when he can, in terms of the world picture."⁸

2. The structure of legal racial segregation has been further weakened during the past two years by the extension of the principles of the school segregation decisions to other areas of activities. On November 7, 1955, the Supreme Court, in effect, applied to public parks, golf courses and beaches the principle that separate facilities are inherently unequal. During January, 1956, the Interstate Commerce Commission directed railroads and bus lines to discontinue the racial segregation of interstate passengers. On April 23, 1956, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review a case in which racial segregation on buses operated within the city of Columbia, S. C., had been held to be unconstitutional. While some confusion developed later as to the exact meaning of the decision, many southern communities moved immediately to desegregate their

bus lines and have done so without any reports of serious incidents. There is little question that the removal of segregation in one area of activity makes more difficult its justification and maintenance in other areas of activity.

3. The increasing urbanization and industrialization of the South contain within themselves forces designed to destroy the "southern way of life." All over the South the attraction of new industry and new businesses has become a major preoccupation, and reports that racial tensions are slowing up this expansion have occasioned a rash of denials that this is true and a series of warnings that caution should be exercised lest it happen. Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida stated, "Believe me when I say Florida cannot afford an orgy of race conflict and discord. I have talked to many here and in other regions of the United States now poised preparatory to making substantial investments in Florida. Nothing will turn these investors away quicker than the prospect of finding here communities hepped up by demagoguery and seething under the tension and turmoil of race hatred." A Boyd Campbell of Mississippi, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, has also expressed the belief that racial tension could result in a slow-down in the industrial development of the South. It is interesting to note that the southern entrepreneurs who desperately seek new industries and payrolls for their communities generally fail to recognize that they are accelerating the very social changes which they so strongly deplore.

tional Relations," *The Annals*, Vol. 304, pp. 132-136, March, 1956.

⁸ Ralph McGill, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

4. A final observation is warranted on the growing consciousness and utilization of the Negro of his economic power. The bus boycotts in Montgomery and Tallahassee and economic boycotts in Orangeburg and other places have demonstrated a remarkable effectiveness and unity of purpose. In some instances such as in South Carolina the legislatures themselves have given Negroes potent weapons. The repeal of the compulsory school attendance law enabled Negroes of Jasper County, South Carolina, to withhold their children from school to effect im-

provements without fear of legal reprisals. It is reported that the drop in average daily attendance figures threatened to curtail the budget of the white schools and brought quick promises of improvements. Accompanying their consciousness of their economic power, Negroes have invested their fight against segregation with a spiritual conviction and an amazing display of courage which in the long run may be the most significant determinant in the eventual successful accomplishment of the desegregation process in American society.

CHAPTER XI THE BUSING OF STUDENTS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

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THE PROBLEM — AND SOME EFFORTS TOWARD SOLUTION

The evolution of the concept of "busing" as a technique for increasing the probability of equal educational opportunity for black or other minority youth comes from two rather distinct sources. The first of these has lost some of its popularity in recent months and revolves about the role of the public school as a dynamic force in the acculturation process. It views the strength of the society as an outgrowth of its ability to absorb divergent, even conflicting, traditions and forge a "mainstream" which can be "owned" by all segments. With the repeated failure of the white educational establishment to demonstrate the viability of this concept (except on very paternalistic terms) and the growing sense of alienation between white and black traditions, this basic premise has been seriously questioned especially by the black community. This problem will receive more attention later.

The second source for interest in "busing" is a more empirical one. Public school research bureaus are filled with data (long zealously ignored) which underline the limited output (as measured in terms of achievement, mental ability or social adaptation) of the ghetto school. Even beyond this the cumulative, if not definitive, impact of efforts in the areas of enrichment and intensive compensatory programs has provided little basis for

hope that the relatively easy solutions such as smaller classes, better teachers, new facilities, revised curricula or combinations of these will correct the problem. In other words, "busing" is an intervention which faces up to the evidence about the overwhelming burden which faces the neighborhood school in the ghetto; that is, it faces all the facts except that of numbers. Once again this issue will be delayed until later.

Yet to write about "busing" even within this context is too general. For example, does this concept include those operations which transport Negro youngsters from a highly segregated school to a less segregated school only to place them into highly segregated classes because of the principle of homogeneous grouping? For the purposes of this paper "busing" will be limited to those programs which transport ghetto youth into essentially white schools and place them in classes where they are a clear-cut minority (less than 25% of the total class). This arbitrary definition is invoked because it seems essential to clarify the issues: busing is here viewed as an intervention designed to enhance the performance of ghetto youngsters along the dimensions of traditional school success. This in no way implies an unawareness of the philosophical or value issues involved, but it does involve an immediate, pragmatic orientation: within the present system ghetto youngsters have few, if any, alternatives

and the range of possibilities for subsequent movement is extremely constricted. In the long run it may be that the public school system will be dramatically changed and its relation to higher education and occupational structure much altered; in the meantime it exists and demands recognition.

At this point it may be well to set forth the rationale behind the intervention. Clearly, there is no magic in sitting next to a white child that suddenly transforms the non-white child into a better student. Rather, the assumptions have to do with styles of learning, reinforcement, level of expectations and modeling. In brief, the ghetto child enters school with a "style of learning" which does not generally facilitate school success. Because of the homogeneity of the ghetto school this style or pattern is reinforced by the general population and eventually the expectation is that this pattern will persist and dominate. In contrast, when the ghetto child is placed in a suburban school, his crystallized pattern is confronted with new situations and reactions. There is a tendency for the pattern to become less stable because of different response sets and different expectations. Theoretically, the change will be in the direction of the other models present — particularly if supportive assistance is provided in the initial explorations. In other words, it is felt that the characteristics of the majority of the pupils in a classroom are a powerful determinant of individual pupil behavior and of teacher interaction, including teacher expectation. Viewed in this light busing constitutes a frontal attack upon two highly-valued educational myths: the neighborhood school and homogeneous grouping.

The present paper is an early survey of four attempts to introduce quality education by way of busing. The choice of case studies is primarily a function of availability of data although the major emphasis has been placed on urban-suburban plans because these most dramatically illustrate the problems and promises of this intervention. The urban communities involved are Boston, Hartford, and Rochester, New York, all of which have ghetto youth now attending schools in white suburbs and White Plains, New York, which has introduced an extensive intra-city program. Table I summarizes some of the information about these communities and their plans.

Clearly, the size of the programs is limited and each of the urban-suburban efforts has been characterized as a "pilot" endeavor. Within this context it appears that there are some beginning signs of breakthrough. Boston's METCO program continues to expand and will reach a figure of 800 pupils in 22 towns by September, 1968; in similar fashion Hartford's Project Concern is now assured of a program of 1000 pupils in 11 communities — a figure which is approximately 13 per cent of the total nonwhite population in grades K — 6. These figures, however, take on much more meaning in the light of the difficult road to existence.

THE QUEST FOR A DREAM: A BRIEF HISTORY

The American dream of equal rights and equal opportunity has been shattered in the ghetto schools of our major cities for years and yet it has continued to persist. This dream has been part of the motivation which has led to busing, but it has had to overcome a series of impressive obstacles. In each of the com-

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TABLE I
DESCRIPTIVE DATA ON FOUR COMMUNITIES

Program Title	Year Initiated	Nonwhite School Population	No. of Children	No. of Towns
Boston METCO	1966	24%	220 (1966) 425 (1967)	7 15
Hartford Project Concern	1966	56%	266 (1966) 284 (1967)	5
Rochester	1965	28%	64	1
White Plains	1964	18%	750 (est.)	N.A.

munities which are mentioned above there has been active, vigorous objections to the concept of busing. The form of the objection has followed a rather consistent pattern with voiced objections taking the following lines: (a) it is the city's problem and let them solve it, (b) if "they" want to move out there, let "them" work their way up as we did, (c) busing will dilute the quality of our suburban schools, (d) the disparity of experience will be psychologically traumatic, (e) "they" will be happier in their neighborhood schools, and (f) it would be better to spend the money for improvement in the ghetto school.

Beneath these objections as they were voiced in crowded and often tumultuous public hearings was an intensity of feeling which appeared to bring serious disharmony into the community. It seemed obvious in most suburban towns that a popular plebescite would result in rejection of the plan. Consequently, the cry for a referendum was frequent and loud: "let

the people decide," was the plea. In each of the three states involved (Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York) the statutes clearly placed the responsibility for such decisions in the hands of the boards of education or school committees. In Connecticut, a number of towns requested rulings from their legal officers as to the legality of an "advisory referendum" which would have no binding force but would give the board of education the benefit of the town's opinion. In four towns the legal authorities declared that such an action would not be legal; in two others the decision stated that, if no expense was involved (i.e., if the question were placed on an already scheduled ballot), it would be legal, but not binding. As a result, two such "popular votes" have been held with results given in Table II. This illustrates the fact that even in a town which has had two years of successful experience in the program and where the local school authorities have gone on record as enthusiastically supportive, there

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF "POPULAR VOTES" IN TWO TOWNS ON THE ISSUE OF Busing

Town	Question	% Voting	% Favor	% Opposed	Final Decision
Bolton	To Join	38	40	60	Joined
Manchester	To Continue	35	49	51	Continued

remains much divergence of feeling within the town.

Yet in some ways these figures are misleading. The natural history of events seems to follow a rather determined sequence. There is the excited, turbulent period charged with emotion and attack; the predictions of dire results (and perhaps reprisals in the form of opposition to bond issues, etc.) may accompany the courageous decision of the school authorities to move ahead. Then comes a period of watchful waiting coupled with a sense of surprise when the largest problems turn out to be logistical (how to get the buses to be at the different places at the same time, for example). When the question is again formally before the board of education to decide upon continuation, it now evokes limited interest. Where in the beginning, 2,000 taxpayers may have turned out for a meeting only 25 to 50 come, and statements are simple, to the point, and without vindictiveness.

This simplified and generalized account in no way conveys the tremendous pressures which are exerted in the midst of the controversy nor the remarkable sources

of support which are sometimes rallied. These will probably vary from town to town, but it seems safe to infer that at least some elements of the "power structure" must encourage participation if there is to be substance to the proposal. The alignment of the liberal "civil rights" groups or those commonly dismissed as "do-gooders" is essential, but not sufficient in itself.

OPERATIONAL DESIGN: AN OVERVIEW

Each of the four places considered by this paper has a basic similarity in that nonwhite youngsters (mostly black, but including Puerto Rican) are placed in predominantly white schools where there is room. In White Plains where the program is contained within the city limits, the plan called for the closing down of a core city school and dispersion of these youngsters into the other ten elementary schools with certain guidelines as to ethnic percentages. This procedure is most directly contrasted with Hartford where there are eight elementary schools containing 12,000 youngsters that are 90 per cent or more nonwhite. Under such conditions, where the total school population

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is 56 per cent nonwhite, the closing of schools and redrawing district lines will not work. For Hartford, time had made that approach obsolete. Yet, in a sense, the suggested solution was the same except that it called for a redefinition of the geographic limits of the community. Perceived in this way each of the plans is similar with the following exceptions:

- A. Only in White Plains has the action solved the segregation problem; in the other three communities only the possibility of a solution has been demonstrated.
- B. The youngsters involved differ
 - 1. White Plains — all the pupils of one inner-city school and 20 per cent of other elementary schools have been reassigned to create reasonable uniformity in ethnic balance.
 - 2. Boston — volunteers were solicited through various media and applicants selected by interview.
 - 3. Hartford — random selection from all segregated schools.
 - 4. Rochester — selection by school authorities.
- C. The grade levels involved differ in that Hartford and Rochester bus only elementary school youngsters (although in 1968-69 Hartford will include secondary school youngsters who have completed two elementary school years in the project), White Plains reassigned only elementary school youngsters since its secondary schools were already integrated and Boston buses youngsters through senior high school.
- D. The research implications differ in that Hartford's Project Concern was

initiated as a research study of the effectiveness, and a design involving a comparison group of controls within the inner city has been carefully implemented; in the other three plans evaluation procedures have been continually developed but a research design has been lacking.

- E. Hartford has operated an experiment within an experiment in that it has provided a supportive team (teacher and paraprofessional aide) to supplement the suburban school's resources in some instances and not in others in the hope of being able to determine whether suburban placement or supportive assistance or both is the "treatment of choice."

Still, within these program differences, the operation has been similar. Black youth are "bused" to white schools and are given the encouragement and opportunity to partake in all school related activities. In other words, an effort is made to re-create the advantages of the neighborhood school (after-school activities, parent involvement, school-community programs such as scouting or religious instruction) in a school which is not within walking distance.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BUSING: SOME TANTALIZING RESULTS

An effort to report on the four programs is exceedingly difficult because of the differences mentioned above. However, each program does provide at least some beginning data from which to assess its effectiveness and these data will be presented here within a framework of areas of concern. However, before setting these forth it might be well to sketch the characteristics of youngsters and fam-

ilies in *Project Concern* since this program will provide a larger proportion of the evidence available. Since the Hartford children were randomly selected, they provide a good base from which to make inferences for future efforts. The following figures were given by the parents to interviewers:

Living Situation

Mother & Father, 56%
 Mother only, 37%
 Step parent(s), 4%
 Other than parent, 2%
 Father only, 1%

Parental Birthplace

Connecticut, 18%
 Other North, 6%
 South, 65%
 Puerto Rico, 17%

Number of Siblings

1-3, 23.5%
 4-6, 44.5%
 7 or more, 32%

Income Source

Both Parents, 23%
 Father only, 36%
 Mother only, 12%
 Welfare, 36%

In addition to the data given above, it is relevant to note that 94 per cent of the families live in multi-family rental situations and that only two parents report themselves as above the unskilled or semi-skilled occupational scale.

What Is the Reaction of the Black Community?

A major question in the development of busing programs continues to be the conflict over the desires of the Black community. In the light of their increased sense of separation and the continuing

gulf between white opportunity and black opportunity, many Negro leaders have stated a preference for separatism and local (i.e. Black) control of schools. Yet, with this cry much in the news media, the burden of the evidence suggests that most Negro parents see the white school as providing increased educational opportunity for their children. Some of the indicators of this feeling are:

(a) In an anonymous questionnaire in White Plains 66 per cent of the respondents from the predominantly Negro school indicated that they saw only positive effects from the plan, 28 per cent saw "no difference" and the remainder reported both positive and negative effects.

(b) In Rochester a visiting team of professionals from the New York State Department of Education interviewed parents of children being bused to West Irondequoit and reported that all parents interviewed wholeheartedly supported the program.

(c) In Hartford where the original selection was random it was also necessary to obtain parental permission. Ninety-six per cent of the parents of the children selected agreed to participate and presently there is an extensive waiting list.

(d) No program has reported any difficulty in obtaining youngsters to fill spaces available.

In other words, the basic response of the Negro parent has been favorable. Even among those youngsters who have been lost from the Hartford program for various reasons most of the parents would like to have them readmitted. This desire is found even in the face of feeling that the white school is prejudiced. This may be, as some claim, one more instance

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of the Negro's ingrained sense of inferiority and subservience — or it may be his assertion of his ability to prove himself even on white middle-class America's grounds.

The most striking data to support this latter hypothesis come from the bused children themselves. In a structured interview directed by a Negro *not* associated with the project, a random sample of 50 youth bused from Hartford expressed very directly their desire to continue to attend suburban schools. They expressed themselves in a manner which the interviewer saw as indicative of much greater self-esteem and self-confidence than was true of the inner city control child, were able to be more specific, felt strongly that they were receiving a better education (frequently referring to siblings or friends in the inner city schools as illustrative examples), and were aware of both subtle and direct prejudices against them.

What Will Happen to the Academic Standards of the White Schools?

In two of the four programs (Hartford and White Plains) this has been carefully surveyed by using each child as his own control and comparing children who have been in class with Negro youngsters with those who have not. In both studies the results underline the fact that there is *no* evidence of a drop in achievement among white youngsters when black children are placed in a previously all white class; in fact, what evidence exists suggests that the opposite may be true.

What Are the Attitudes of White Parents?

Again, Hartford and White Plains present direct evidence in this question based on an anonymous questionnaire. The rate of return was 31 per cent in White Plains

and 40 per cent in Hartford. The general design of the questionnaire was considerably different with the Hartford one requesting reaction to the program while the White Plains questionnaire directed attention to the impact of the program on that parent's child. Yet the results have interesting similarities: 50 per cent of the White Plains respondents saw the plan as positive while 54 per cent of the suburban Hartford respondents endorsed continuation without condition; 14 per cent of White Plains parents saw the program as negative while 15 per cent in the Hartford groups wanted it discontinued. Although there may be no clear mandate in these data, it appears that white parents with contact with the program tend to see it favorably.

How Will the Black Child Adjust Socially?

This is a complex question and the data reported here refers only to elementary grade children. Preliminary reports from White Plains indicate that Negro youngsters are making "satisfactory peer adjustments." In Hartford the following indices are available:

(a) Sixty-eight per cent of *Project* youngsters take part in after school activities in the suburb on a regular basis;

(b) On sociometric measures *Project* children are selected by suburban children in a proportion which is slightly greater than their numerical proportion in the room; (many of the choices were mutual choices);

(c) Suburban teachers report 70 per cent of the bused pupils as making a superior social adjustment and only 12 per cent of making a poor adjustment (on a three point scale).

What Is the Impact of Placement in a White or Racially Balanced School on the Academic Performance of Negro Youth?

Again, the differences in the characteristics of the pupils in the various programs pose real difficulty for comparisons. For example, the mean I.Q. of the Boston pupils on a group administered instrument is 102 while Hartford youth in an individually administered instrument where their reading disability would not penalize them had a mean I.Q. of 89. However, both groups are reported as considerably depressed on measures of achievement according to national norms. Still, a consistent pattern arises from the tentative results reported in these two projects (results are based upon one year of operation and must be viewed with caution until replicated in a second year). Both show project participants as reversing the trend toward greater deviation from national norms; in fact, they show growth rates in excess of normative expectations in both verbal and numerical achievement tests. In addition, Hartford youngsters show a growth of I.Q. which, though far from miraculous, is statistically significant (6.5 points).

Perhaps most important is the finding, again tentative, that the Hartford youth bused to suburbs show a growth pattern in achievement and mental ability that is clearly and significantly superior to their controls in the inner city *including those controls who are receiving intensive compensatory assistance*.

Can Busing Solve the Problem of Inequality of Educational Opportunity?

This question has geographic, economic and political aspects, but it does seem safe to state that there is no intrinsic reason for busing programs to operate at a

token level. Many communities (including the three involved in this paper) are ringed by essentially, all-white suburbs where there exists a large pool of potential classrooms for participation. For example, within the present busing radius of *Project Concern* there are over 2000 classrooms (K-6) exclusive of Hartford schools.

The economics of the program are somewhat demanding. The major expenses are the per pupil tuition charge which is paid to the suburban town and the cost of transportation (\$250-\$270 per child). At the same time these costs are not excessive when compared with the cost of educating the child in the inner city school with the additional expense of compensatory program. Also, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts under legislation passed in 1966 (Chapter 506) and the State of Connecticut under Public Act 611 have both given some state subsidizing as well as legal sanction to cooperative programs between communities designed to provide quality education for ghetto youth.

In other words, for most cities (and this obviously does *not* include cities like Washington, D. C., or New York) the problem which inhibits large-scale busing is not lack of suburban classrooms or lack of funds, but rather it is the political obstacle. The issue is not often "can it be done"; rather it is usually "do we really want to do it!"

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Any inferences or conclusions must be made within the limitations of the available information, but at the same time the available information demands serious study. Perhaps the most striking element is the consistently favorable response from

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all who have been associated with these projects: educators, pupils, Negro parents, research personnel, and, to a large extent, white parents. Opposition tends to come from sources, varied as they be (from white conservative newspaper columnists to black militant leaders), who have had little, if any, direct contact with the programs. At the least, it can be said that busing has created a climate of hope for the families and has resulted in greater self-esteem for the pupils selected. In addition, the evidence of greater motivation for educational development can be interpreted from such items as attendance records, dropout rates, and teacher ratings. Under such circumstances the following conclusions appear justified:

(a) Busing is a logistically and economically feasible intervention for many cities.

(b) There is no evidence to support claims of psychological trauma among the participants nor is there evidence that they become alienated from their own community. In fact, the evidence available is in contradiction to both of these fears.

(c) There is no evidence that the quality of academic achievement among white pupils is depressed by placing educationally disadvantaged black children in their class. Again, the existing evidence points in the opposite direction.

(d) Black pupils bused into white elementary schools are quickly assimilated socially and appear to hold their own in the area of peer group relationships. This finding holds in spite of the fact that the children are alert to signs of prejudice among some students and staff members.

(e) Teachers in white schools experience no particular problem in coping with

the educational disadvantages of inner city nonwhites when these youngsters constitute less than 25 per cent of the classroom membership.

(f) Pupils transported to white schools show significant gains in achievement and mental ability scores when compared with their own prior performance (Boston and Hartford) or when compared with a comparable control group (Hartford).

(g) Again evidence is found which indicates the relatively slight impact of intensified services and programs when these are initiated in the ghetto school (Hartford); in fact, there appears to be no difference between these ghetto youngsters and those in the typical ghetto school situation.

(h) Observer ratings and film illustrate a consistent difference in the classroom climate and teacher-child interaction between inner city and suburban classrooms. It appears that this difference is not easily modified by introducing changes into the ghetto school.

(i) There are signs which suggest that the busing is a more effective intervention in the primary grades than is the case later on.

These conclusions, based as they are on interim materials, make a strong case for the effectiveness of busing as a means for moving toward equal educational opportunity. They raise serious questions about the concepts of the neighborhood school and homogeneous grouping, both of which appear to be bulwarks for the maintenance of the status quo. Yet these conclusions fail to convey the dramatic reality of the human experience which is expressed in a child's discovery that he is somebody because *he* can do things or

a parent's feeling that things can be better for her child. Put very simply it seems that the white school, with all its weaknesses, is more attuned to Yeats' words when he wrote:

But I, being poor, have only my
dreams;
I have spread them under your feet;
Tread softly because you tread on my
dreams.

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*Ironies of School Desegregation**

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PART I: HOW WE GOT HERE

Desegregation? It seems strange that the focus of this paper, in mid-1977, is concerned with the issue of public school desegregation. The fact that it is stands out in sharp contrast to the assurances and declarations of the nation—that all men are created equal, and that all citizens shall have equal protection of the laws. But here we are, with societal controversy still centered around the question of desegregation (including public school desegregation) twenty-three years after the *Brown* decision¹ mandated that imposed segregation be ended, and that equal educational opportunity be provided for Black youth.

What is desegregation? As a process, it is a reversal, or undoing, of segregation. The public policy of mandatory segregation had imposed on America the separation of the races (including separation in schools), and discriminatory practices against Blacks and other nonwhites had imposed on them grossly unequal conditions related to education, occupation, income, housing, and life chances. Thus, desegregation as public policy is designed to abolish forced racial segregation; end discriminatory practices related to education, occupation, income, housing, and life chances; and to remedy grossly unequal conditions. Desegregation is necessary, though not sufficient, to full and open access to all parts of the society, with the means to participate fully in that society.

With respect to schooling, it was expected that desegregation as policy and process would provide equal educational opportunity for Black youth. Equal educational opportunity is conceived as being a primary means of equipping the young with the mental and attitudinal tools, as well as the body of knowledge, necessary to later gain full access to all parts of the society, especially in occupation and income. In practice, it is ironic that school desegregation is, and has been, a “mixed blessing,” since it has both positive and negative overtones for Blacks and whites. As a result of these

*Editor's note: Due to the comprehensive nature of this article, it has been split into two parts.

¹*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

crosscurrents, the term “desegregation” has acquired an emotional loading which often colors and skews its real meaning in a negative direction for Blacks and whites alike. This emotionality must always be kept in mind in the discussion of school desegregation.

Roots of the Problem: 1619-1954²

The roots of the desegregation controversy lie deep in American history. Starting in 1619 and continuing into the nineteenth century, most Blacks were brought forcibly to these shores to be slaves in the plantation sector of the American economic and social system. Built into the maintenance of the slave system was the idea that Blacks were inferior as human beings; and, it is this continued idea of inferiority which is part of today’s desegregation controversies. In fact, once the idea of inferiority took hold, it perpetuated itself through a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. Blacks were not included in the Constitution as full persons (3/5 Compromise), and their lowly status was made explicitly clear by the Dred Scott decision of 1857 which stated that Blacks had no rights which whites were bound to respect. Blacks were property, not people, under these circumstances.

Education was forbidden to slaves in the South, where nearly all the slaves and about half of the free Blacks in the country lived. The regulation of education for free Blacks in the South came from state laws and public administrative actions. These free Blacks did gain some education, primarily through apprenticeships, Sunday schools, and secret or private schools.

Free Blacks in the North sought education eagerly. They faced varying circumstances in different states, from relative equality in Massachusetts (outside Boston), to inhospitality in Connecticut, to exclusion from the public schools in Pennsylvania. Nowhere in the North was systematic, widespread, universal schooling available to Blacks, and discrimination dominated the kind of education available to Black youth.³

After the Civil War, 1865–1877, Blacks experienced a brief period when the Federal Government took a leadership role in formulating positive new policies. During this period, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were added to the

²Portions of this background information have been excerpted from the author’s book, *The Changing Mood in America: Eroding Commitment?* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1977), ch. 3.

³The most complete account of this pre-Civil War period is to be found in Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (2nd ed.; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968). A very good abbreviated source is Chapter 1 of Meyer Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 11-39.

U.S. Constitution, freeing Blacks, granting them citizenship, and bestowing upon them the right to vote. The Freedmen's Bureau was established; it made meaningful differences in the lives of Blacks and poor whites, especially in providing educational opportunity. Blacks temporarily exercised their newly awarded civil rights, including the right to vote and some access to elected public offices. Federal efforts to help Blacks reached a zenith in the passage of the Civil Rights bill of 1875.

But only eight years later (1883), the Supreme Court declared this bill unconstitutional. The Court's decision let the nation know that the Federal Government would no longer insist upon equal rights for the Black population. In 1896, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (163 U.S. 537) institutionalized the separate and unequal conditions which were to prevail as public policy (including public *educational* policy) until 1954. "Jim Crow" laws were passed by southern states to enforce a pattern of discrimination and segregation of Blacks. As a result, they were prevented from voting, holding office, and securing most remunerative work outside the Black community.

Equal educational opportunity was systematically denied Blacks. The effect of the Court's decision and the laws which followed it was to keep Blacks as a group in a servile state, a caste-like condition of societally imposed inferiority. But discrimination and segregation were not restricted to the South. Customs and practices in all areas of the country restricted Blacks to designated neighborhoods, particular kinds and levels of jobs, and specified schools. Sectional differences were differences in degree, not in kind.

The system of "compulsory ignorance"⁴ which had prevailed up to 1865 was replaced by a system of "separate and unequal" education which was to endure until 1954. Although *Plessy* mandated public policy of "separate but equal" the "equal" provision was conveniently and uniformly ignored by educational and public officials, with no sanctions or punitive measures forthcoming against them for so doing.

What were the characteristics of the "separate and unequal" educational pattern provided for Blacks in the South as long as the *Plessy* mandate of segregation prevailed? Shorter school terms were provided for Blacks than for whites, and in rural areas these

⁴Weinberg uses this term (*op. cit.*, p. 11) and traces its origin to James Simpson of the Society of Friends in England, who used it in 1865 after visiting Richmond, Va. Weinberg explains also that W.E.B. Du Bois also used this term about 1905, apparently independently of Simpson's usage (*op. cit.*, p. 368). Horace Mann Bond used the term in *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

were often split-term arrangements where children went to school only between planting and harvesting periods. School buildings were grossly unequal, with white schools ranging from adequate to luxurious in quality, while Black schools were merely adequate at best, more often quite shabby.

With respect to allocation of tax dollars, expenditures for Black schools were kept as low as possible, while all monies procurable were diverted to white schools. Black teachers and principals were paid lower salaries than white teachers with comparable experience until the early 1940s when some of those underpaid Blacks began to file and win equalization-of-salary suits against local school districts. Equipment for schools was sorely lacking, as were books and supplies. Transportation often was provided for white pupils, but not for Blacks. Poor pupil attendance was characteristic of rural areas; sickness was responsible for much of this absence. Deprivation accompanies segregation and second-class citizenship.⁵

It is clear, then, that inequality was created and perpetuated within the separatist concept which prevailed as public policy. However, that inequality was “justified” by powerful whites in high political positions as well as by influential white intellectuals of the period on the grounds that Blacks were inferior, and incapable of learning. The irony in all this is, as Weinberg points out, that “the claim of whites that Negroes were intellectually incapable of learning was refuted by the desperate attempt of whites to deny them schooling. Whites seemed to fear not that Negroes could not learn but that they would.”⁶

Another irony of the segregated southern system was that over time there developed, in spite of the system, a number of all-Black high schools in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s with reputations for academic excellence and outstanding graduates. Further, the segregated system guaranteed continuous, lifelong employment to a large number of Negro teachers and principals throughout the South.

In the North, there were cities which sought to provide equal separate systems for Blacks and whites—Gary and Indianapolis, Indiana; Dayton, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois. In mixed northern schools Black children often suffered from social isolation and from the lack of adequate and informed educational and vocational guidance.

At the level of higher education, private Black colleges began in

⁵For a fully documented account of these circumstances, see Bond, *op. cit.*

⁶Weinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

the 1800s with the assistance of religious philanthropists, or under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau in the post-Civil War period. Most of these were in the South or in border states. Southern states provided public Black colleges after 1890, assisted by the second Morrill Act. In private and public black colleges, finances were limited. Since funds control the ability to employ faculty, the building and maintenance of structures, the quantity and quality of curricular offerings, etc., Black colleges were more limited than white colleges. However, these schools sought to maintain instruction at a standard level, and strict discipline among the student bodies.

Graduate and professional training were not provided in the Black colleges, although they were provided in white schools. Some southern states, such as Louisiana, Missouri, West Virginia, and Arkansas, paid tuition fees in northern institutions for Black graduate students who were barred by state laws from access to their own tax-supported state universities.

This obvious inequality at the level of higher education became the basis for the NAACP's concerted attack on segregation in education. The first suits were to remedy inequality, not to challenge segregation *per se* as unconstitutional.⁷ Finally the NAACP made its frontal attack on school segregation as an unconstitutional practice in the consolidated case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. The well-known decision of the Supreme Court in that 1954 case was that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. *Brown II*⁸ (1955) mandated that desegregation be accomplished "with all deliberate speed." *Brown I* and *II* are the landmark decisions from which developments in the law of school desegregation have flowed since 1955.⁹

The Past: 1955-1969

Blacks were pleased at the change of concept, even though they knew there never had been any systematic attempt to make their education "separate but equal." They were hopeful about the possibilities expressed by the *Brown* decision but also very reality oriented, based on a long history of negative experiences, realizing that *Brown* did not signal the end of the struggle for equality, justice, and liberty for Blacks in America. W. E. B. Du Bois put it this way:

⁷*University of Maryland v. Murray*, 169 Md. 478 (1936); *Missouri, Gaines v. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950); *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

⁸*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 349 U.S. 294, at 300 (1955).

⁹The full story of events leading up to *Brown* and of the people involved in the case is beautifully told by Richard Kluger in *Simple Justice* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1976).

... Unfortunately in the United States there is a long habit of ignoring and breaking the law.

.....
During the 25 or 50 years while the southern South refuses to obey the law, what will happen to Negro children? Widespread effort for their protection and education should be undertaken by the Negroes themselves in inner co-operative effort. We must not make the error of the German Jews. They assumed that if the German nation received some of them as intellectual and social equals, the whole group would be safer. It only took a psychopathic criminal like Hitler to show them their tragic mistake. American Negroes may yet face similar tragedy. They should prepare for such eventuality.¹⁰

His words were prophetic, for the response to *Brown* from southern governors and state legislatures was "massive resistance." Clearly remembered is Governor George Wallace, who stood in the "schoolhouse door" at the University of Alabama to prevent Vivian Malone and James Hood from entering. An equally dramatic event occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas, when Governor Orval Faubus sought to stop nine Black youths from entering Central High School, causing President Eisenhower to abandon his "hands-off" stance and send Federal troops to that city in 1957. In some cities such as Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Yazoo City, Mississippi, Black parents who petitioned school boards to desegregate schools had their petitions rejected, and were subjected to such severe economic pressures as job loss and denial of credit. In 1959, Prince Edward County, Virginia, closed its public schools to avoid desegregating them.¹¹

The question of public school desegregation stayed in the courts; enforcement of the *Brown* decision was by default left to them since neither Congress nor the President helped implement it during Eisenhower's administration. In fact, in the Congress southern senators and representatives with their accumulated seniority blocked all efforts at assistance. Thus, progress toward school desegregation was extremely slow; there was only three per cent desegregation during the decade ending in 1964.¹²

Southern state legislatures proceeded to enact new laws to thwart desegregation. These included repeal or amendment of compulsory school attendance laws, financial assistance to white-segregated academies, and permission to close or cut off state aid to court-ordered desegregated schools. The NAACP was outlawed

¹⁰Julius Lester (ed.), *The Seventh Son: The Thought and Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), pp. 132-133.

¹¹For the complete story of this action and its aftermath, see Bob Smith, *They Closed Their Schools: Prince Edward County, Va. 1951-1964* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).

¹²*Understanding School Desegregation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971), p. 7.

in some southern states. But the pupil placement laws were the most effective legislation passed in the 1954–64 decade. These laws made it necessary for Blacks to bring individual suits in each school district so that no single decision ordering desegregation could be used against the entire state school system.¹³ Very few Black children succeeded in hurdling the obstacle course of application forms, tests, and appeals in order to be assigned to a school other than their traditional one. Coupled with economic and social sanctions against Black adults, pupil placement laws and freedom of choice attendance plans resulted in only token desegregation of students from 1954 to 1964.

In a number of southern states, building programs for Black schools were instituted quickly after *Brown II*. School officials and politicians seemed to feel that if Blacks had their own new buildings, they would not press for admission to white schools. This extensive building program from 1955–64 explains why James S. Coleman failed to find the substantial differences he expected to see between black and white school structures when he embarked on his now-famous 1966 study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*.¹⁴

The irony of these evasive tactics is that these were the same “law-abiding” public and school officials who had so closely adhered to the separate mandate of *Plessy* when it was the law of the land. That decision *protected* their vested interests. But they suddenly changed their “law-abiding” posture when *Brown* became the law of the land because it *threatened* their vested interests, and those of their peers. Yet these same officials would be the first to argue that Americans cannot be permitted to obey only those laws which suit their individual purposes, not acknowledging the contradiction between this expressed belief and their daily behaviors. No doubt many of them voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1968 as he campaigned on a platform of “law and order,” again without the acknowledgement that their own behaviors had not been lawful or orderly in seeking means of evading *Brown*, the law of the land. It is ironic that Nixon and his vice-president, Spiro Agnew, after campaigning so vigorously for “law and order,” violated the concept so thoroughly, with both leaving their high offices in public disgrace.

Looking at the schools themselves, from 1954–64 southern educators in desegregated schools resorted to, or expanded, homogeneous ability grouping and track systems to classify students.

¹³Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–95.

¹⁴James S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

The general pattern which emerged was that the college preparatory track was almost all white, while the basic track was almost all black. There was almost no possibility of reclassification once a student had been placed in the track deemed appropriate for him. School officials said this grouping pattern was the best mechanism to cope with unequal achievement on the part of black and white students. The practical effect of the track system was segregation of students in individual classes within a building ostensibly desegregated because of the physical presence of youth of both races in it.

With the change in national leadership from Eisenhower to Kennedy to L. B. Johnson, and with organized, overt self-help protest efforts of Blacks and their allies, the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964. Title VI of that Act provided that school districts which refused to desegregate were subject to a cutoff of Federal education monies as well as subject to additional judicial decrees. "Money" was the magic word; progress in school desegregation accelerated because of the threat of the denial of funds. There was 30–40 per cent desegregation from 1964–69, a tenfold increase in five years over what *Brown* alone had produced in ten.¹⁵

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 brought about an expansion of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). From 1964–69, HEW and the Justice Department were responsible for school desegregation efforts. This meant an expansion of the role of the Federal Government in education, constitutionally the province of state and local governments. This expansion was strongly contested by powerful southern senators and congressmen, and HEW found itself subjected to political attacks. Desegregation was a primary issue in the 1968 presidential election, and when Nixon became president in 1969 he reversed the trend toward strict enforcement of HEW's guidelines.

Federal desegregation efforts focused on the South during this period. Many Americans also felt, really, that segregation was primarily a southern problem. So from 1955–1969 untouched school segregation problems grew in the North and West. Black citizen protests and boycotts against school segregation began in the North—New York City (1954–55), Chicago (1960), Boston (1962), Cleveland, Ohio, Gary, Indiana and Chester, Pa. (1964). Despite these and other efforts to attack the problem in the North, the isolation of Black from white children continued in schools. *De facto*

¹⁵For a full account of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964 and its effects on school desegregation, see Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–126; *Understanding School Desegregation*, *op. cit.*, p. 7; *The Desegregation Literature: A Critical Appraisal* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1976), pp. 10–11, 16–18.

versus *de jure* distinctions were heard more often. In this period northern and western school systems did not receive the full impact of Brown or post-Brown decisions.

How did the pace of desegregation, and the quantity/quality of desegregation efforts affect large numbers of citizens? Opposition to pro-desegregation Court decisions was expressed openly by some white groups. A particularly graphic expression of this opposition appeared in the form of billboard advertisements across the nation urging the people to “impeach Earl Warren,” who, as chief justice, was helmsman of the Court. There was a rapid increase in the number of white private schools, especially in the South; white parents took their offsprings out of the public schools.¹⁶ In most major cities, Washington, D.C. being a prime example, white flight to the suburbs escalated.¹⁷ The practical effect of this exodus was to resegregate the public schools of the cities thus vacated. In other communities local resistance to desegregation resulted in demonstrations and violent acts against desegregators and potential desegregators. White intellectual efforts to study, analyze and define the problem resulted in James S. Coleman’s massive 1966 report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, hailed as a landmark effort to document the lack of equal educational opportunity. On the other side of the coin, genetic intellectual inferiority doctrines were revived by Shuey¹⁸ in *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* (1966), and by Jensen,¹⁹ in the winter 1969 issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*. The literature on deprivation, cultural and social, escalated. *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*,²⁰ a second massive report, focused on illegal segregation.

National polls and surveys indicated a massive shift in the racial attitudes of white Americans since World War II. There had been a movement away from the traditional belief in white superiority and its concomitant patterns of segregation and discrimination toward a more equalitarian view of the races and race-associated relationships, such as those in work situations. Persistence forecasting predicted that this trend would continue, but crosscurrents existed which created uncertainty for the future. Further,

¹⁶*The Desegregation Literature . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁷*Ibid.*; see also Robert C. Weaver, “The Suburbanization of America” in *School Desegregation: The Courts and Suburban Migration*, a report on a consultation sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. on December 8, 1975, pp. 24-59.

¹⁸Audrey Mary Shuey, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* (New York: Social Science Press, 1966).

¹⁹Arthur Jensen, “How Much Can We Boost IQ and School Achievement,” *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXIX (Winter, 1969), 1-123.

²⁰*Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967).

whites wanted change to occur gradually and were repelled by violent aspects of Black rhetoric and action.²¹ The Kerner Commission's *Report* in 1968²² was far more bleak, saying that the nation was divided and moving toward two societies, separate and unequal. The *Report* identified white racism as the root cause of civil disorders in the '60s.

But what of the Black population? Blacks entered this period with a hopeful optimism that ideals of equality and justice could soon be reached. They felt that whites would change and begin treating Blacks better. But, by 1963, a massive *Newsweek* poll conducted by Louis Harris revealed that Blacks were losing patience with gradualism. Subsequent polls in 1965 and in 1969 confirmed this trend.

In education, Blacks began to press for community control of schools because they had become very frustrated with the slow pace of desegregation and with the declining quality of educational achievement of their offspring. The heated controversy around I.S. 201 in New York was probably the most publicized of the efforts of Blacks to gain community control of the schools attended by their children.²³ In other communities, such as Gary, Indiana, massive boycotts were directed against school boards making educational plans perceived to be inimical to Black people—such decisions as vague integration plans, busing the most intelligent Black children to white schools, questionable assignment of principals and teachers, gerrymandered school district boundary lines, etc. Many Blacks came to the conclusion that school systems were fundamentally racist, and therefore determined to protect the status quo.

In the South, large numbers of Black teachers lost their jobs, especially in small towns and rural areas where the probability was great that they would teach white children. In 1965, Samuel B. Ethridge, spokesman for the National Education Association (NEA), pointed out that 5,000 Black teachers would be displaced in 17 southern states as a result of school desegregation, and the nation was shocked. But in a press release issued May 19, 1972, by NEA, Ethridge and Donald R. Shire reported that discrimination had resulted in a projected loss of 31,584 Black teachers in the South between 1954 and 1970, and might be costing black educa-

²¹Angus Campbell, *White Attitudes Toward Black People* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, 1971), pp. 159-162.

²²Otto Kerner (Chairman), *Report of the National Advisory Commission on the Cause of Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C., March 1, 1968).

²³Dorothy S. Jones, "The Issues at I.S. 201: A View From the Parents Committee," and "Response by the School Board" in Meyer Weinberg (ed.), *Integrated Education* (Beverly Hills: Integrated Education Associates, The Glencoe Press, 1968), p. 154-167.

tors a quarter of a billion dollars annually.²⁴ Actually dismissed were 6,000 Black teachers; the additional 25,584 displacement came from failure to hire, or a slowdown in hiring Black teachers.

Ethridge said many districts no longer employ Black teachers; in one state 25 counties that hired one or more Black teachers in 1954 had none in 1970. Black principals fared worse than did teachers; they were discharged or demoted to the point where in the fall of 1970 *The New Republic* carried an article describing the situation in its title as "The Black Principal: Another Vanishing American."²⁵ As schools were desegregated, Black principals were eliminated. The effect of this policy affected not only these individuals and their families, but removed a valuable image for Black youth and a valuable knowledge resource from the community. The article concluded, "...the deliberate destruction of this valuable resource is one of the tragedies of our time."

Black students suffered, as well. Early in May, 1972 the NEA reported,

...thousands of black students were being pushed out of school, suspended, harassed, arrested, and in a few instances, killed or maimed. Fragmented data from 238 districts in 11 Southern states (only 10 per cent of the region's districts) indicate that 19,441 students have been involved in school walkouts, 11,146 have been suspended and sometimes expelled, and over 2,000 arrested.²⁶

In addition, the Southern Regional Council reported in November 1973 that Black students had been excluded from extracurricular activities, tracked into segregated classes, and confronted with condescension or hostility.²⁷

What were the schools as educational institutions doing in this period to facilitate desegregation? In the early sixties open enrollment and freedom of choice were methods of desegregation. However, the courts did not judge the results of these methods to be sufficient. There is general agreement in the literature, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is particularly clear in this matter, that open enrollment and freedom of choice plans do not work. Rezoning via pairing (the Princeton Plan) was tried in some cities, using elementary school children. "Central schools" were established in Teaneck, New Jersey.²⁸ "Educational parks" were recommended for the secondary level; most of these failed to materialize. "Mag-

²⁴N.E.A. News: *Press, Radio, and Television Relations*, a National Education Association press release (Washington, D.C.: May 19, 1972).

²⁵J. C. James, "The Black Principal: Another Vanishing American," *The New Republic*, September 26, 1970, 17–20.

²⁶Quoted in Weinberg (ed.), *Integrated Education*, op. cit.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸Teaneck's story is told in Reginald G. Damerell, *Triumph in a White Suburb* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1968).

net schools'' were proposed also, and some were implemented.

But where residential segregation was extreme, as in large cities, none of the above methods would provide school desegregation of any moment. Thus busing has been used as a method to transport children to schools outside of their neighborhoods in order to achieve desegregation. Busing is, without a doubt, the most controversial of the methods cited above, and it has become an emotional and political symbol/issue for political leaders, school leaders, Blacks and whites.

A final method which has been recommended, but rarely implemented, is multi-district desegregation—desegregation across school district lines of discrete cities and suburbs in metropolitan areas. Citizen support for multi-district desegregation is weak.

What was the situation at the end of this period? Weinberg sums it up this way:

....In 1968, two-thirds of black children in eleven southern states were in all-black schools; in 1970 about one-sixth; and in 1971–72, about one eleventh. A far smaller proportion of children attended segregated schools in the South than had done so in 1954. On the other hand, in the years after 1960, segregation rose to new heights in most northern cities. In those northern cities that were ordered to desegregate, however, segregation rates fell very sharply.²⁹

PART II: WHAT NOW?

The Decade of the Seventies

Most of the decade (1970–January 1977), came under the political leadership of Nixon and Ford, both of whom did not assume positive leadership roles or seek to inspire the American people to live up to the best in themselves or their ideals. Instead, these men assumed a public posture of playing to the fears and negative mind-sets of many Americans. These presidents and the Congress succeeded in limiting the roles of the Justice Department and of HEW in enforcing civil rights. In fact, it was in 1969 and 1970 that the Justice Department's resources were, for the first time, placed at the disposal of anti-desegregation forces, as its lawyers requested a delay of the Supreme Court's desegregation order in *Alexander v. Holmes*.³⁰ Verbal pronouncements against "forced busing," coupled with other negative attitudes and behaviors on the part of national leaders, have meant that the momentum for school desegregation has been greatly slowed in the 1970s.

This negative posture has been aided, abetted, and reinforced by a rapidly growing body of social science literature on Blacks

²⁹Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 137.

³⁰*Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

and other minorities. Much of this research, writing, and interpretation is being done by influential white intellectuals who have assumed the role of “philosophical ideologues of the second post-reconstruction.”³¹ Social science research has proliferated also in assessing causes of inequality and poor academic achievement, evaluating educational programs, and assessing effects on children, Black and white. Federal monies have supported much of this desegregation research, most of which is done by prestigious white scholars in prominent institutions, not by Black scholars.

From the accumulated research, the emerging view is extremely negative for Blacks. Much of it holds that schooling makes little or no difference in the lives of individuals and minority groups, or that the rate of return from long years of formal study is increasingly low and therefore, especially in higher education, not worth the price. Failures of schools are attributed to deficiencies in Black children, their families, and/or their low socio-economic status.

There is an assault on policies and programs, including those in education, that are designed to help Blacks, other minorities, and the poor. The assault can also be seen as an attack on the concepts of equality and justice. The influence of prominent white social scientists, and their attacks as cited above, are perceived negatively by Blacks and interpreted as part of an eroding commitment by the dominant society, its policy makers, and its influential white intellectuals. Much of the elitist social science literature since 1966 has been undercutting the major means by which Blacks, other minorities, and women have sought to gain equality and justice in America. Thus this literature, in a period of increasing conservatism, has assisted in skewing public policy in a negative direction, into a downward spiral. In fact, in many quarters today formal public-supported schooling is itself under siege.

It is ironic that many of these prestigious intellectuals are former liberals who assisted Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in formulating egalitarian social and educational legislation and programs in the 1960s. Those social/educational programs did not, and could not, show massive positive results immediately—given the long history of negative laws/policies/programs which had to be overcome. It seems that when these intellectuals lost their mentors and witnessed the complexity and difficulty of resolving long-standing domestic social/educational problems, while encountering the rigidities of entrenched bureaucracies most interested in main-

³¹This description is credited to Professor Arthur Miller of George Washington University Law School in Washington, D.C. The term means that these men are the architects of a design to return public policies and the national mood to the *status quo ante* period, reversing the positive policies and national mood which prevailed *circa* 1961–1966.

taining themselves, they lost the nerve, interest, and willingness to continue their efforts to effect social, political, and educational change.

Further, they had come under attack by George Wallace and Spiro Agnew, as well as other public officials, for their efforts. Under attack, and finding no easy answers to complex racial, social, and educational problems these prestigious intellectuals retreated. They felt threatened also by affirmative action legislation and programs designed to assist Blacks, women, and other groups which still have attained less than parity with white males. Now they speak and write in a neoconservative vein, compared with the former liberal style. They have retreated into secure positions and are now concerned with the maintenance and stability of an order which has rewarded them.

In this decade, most of the post-Brown legal decisions have remained in the spirit of *Brown*. In the South, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education* (1971) is very important. Since the school system in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, N.C. is a city/county *consolidated* system, the Court ruled that in order to desegregate it, students could be bused from the city into the county schools, and vice-versa. Thus the Court approved busing as “a normal and accepted tool of educational policy,” with qualifications of recognition of the health of the children, possible impingement on the educational process, and the age of the students.³² This *Swann* decision had been preceded by *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* (1969), a Mississippi case in which the Court’s ruling was that “the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools.”³³ HEW remained inactive in enforcing these decrees, despite the mandate provided.³⁴

Turning to the North, in the decade of the seventies two post-Brown cases stand out. The first is *Keyes v. School District No. 1* in Denver (1973). The documentation of intentional actions by the Denver school board which had culminated in segregation resulted in a Court decision that the effect of those actions was a dual segregated school system. Thus the Court ruled that district-wide remedies were appropriate because segregation in one part of the district had a direct relationship to other parts of the district.

In the second case, *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), metropolitan

³²*Twenty Years After Brown: Equality of Educational Opportunity*, a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March, 1975), pp. 23-27.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 26-28

area desegregation was addressed (Detroit and its adjacent suburbs). Here the Supreme Court honored city/suburban dividing lines for their separate school districts, and refused to demand an interdistrict remedy for segregated schools. Many consider the Milliken case a setback in efforts to desegregate separate school districts in nonconsolidated metropolitan areas, North and South. Although the Court reaffirmed in principle the constitutional standards since *Brown*, it placed more stringent requirements on evidence needed to substantiate arguments for urban desegregation methods. "The Court indicated that the remedy must be appropriate to the violation and that evidence of discrimination must be clear for all districts affected."³⁵

That thinking was extended by the Court on June 27, 1977 when it ruled 8–0 in the Dayton (Ohio) case that "judges in school desegregation cases must tailor remedies to fit the constitutional violations."³⁶ In the Court's opinion, Justice William H. Rehnquist said:

Mandatory segregation by law of the races in the schools has long since ceased. . . The duty of federal trial and appellate judges in such cases is to determine if a school board intended to or did discriminate against minority pupils, teachers or staff. . . Then, they should measure the "incremental segregation effect" the violations had on the racial distribution of the school population against what that distribution would have been had there been no violations. . . . The remedy must be designed to redress that difference and only if there has been a systemwide impact may there be a systemwide remedy.³⁷

The Dayton case is interesting because the city is a northern one where state law did not mandate a dual school system. Yet actions of the Board of Education there resulted in segregated schools. But the Supreme Court overruled the desegregation plan previously approved by the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, stating that it was true that the school had committed constitutional violations, but that these did not "suffice to justify the remedy imposed."

Thus the Dayton case seems to follow the pattern being established by the Burger Court in the area of civil rights—the application of strict procedural limits to rights implicitly endorsed in earlier decisions. The Burger Court's "judicial restraint" in civil rights decisions is characterized by a reaffirmation of the traditional values and principles in the law, and a disinclination to expand the

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 41

³⁶*The Washington Post* June 28, 1977, p. A1. The ninth justice, Thurgood Marshall, did not participate in the case. (Case title: *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman*.)

³⁷*Ibid.*

law in civil and individual rights, criminal procedures or education.

It remains to be seen exactly what the Carter administration's educational policies, including those on school desegregation, will be. Two positive efforts with respect to school desegregation have been exerted. The first occurred in April, 1977 when the Dayton case was under review by the Supreme Court. The Carter administration, via Attorney General Griffin B. Bell and several of his top aides, submitted a "friend-of-the-court" brief which supported the desegregation order of the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. This order had approved a desegregation plan which would have required busing of some 15,000 students, along with other desegregation techniques. It appeared that the support of the Justice Department for the concept of desegregation was designed to head off a major retreat from school desegregation on the part of northern school officials and the highest Court. Although the June decision negated these April efforts on the part of the Carter administration, the efforts were supportive of desegregation.

Secondly, the Carter administration has advocated school pairing and clustering plans involving busing as a mechanism of school desegregation. However, on June 28, 1977, the Senate voted 51–42 to "block the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from forcing school systems to bus students for desegregation purposes, including 'pairing' and 'clustering' plans."³⁸

With respect to Congress, busing controversies continue within its halls, and emotionality regarding the issue grows. What is important to note is the support of antibusing legislation in Congress. Some senators who previously voted against anti-busing legislation now vote for it. The HEW funding bill has, since 1975, carried an anti-busing rider sponsored by Senator Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.). This rider bars HEW from forcing the busing of pupils beyond the school nearest their homes for desegregation purposes.³⁹ The House joined the Senate in banning pairing plans when they involve busing. Blacks were surprised to find that Senator Thomas Eagleton (D., Mo.) opposed the pairing plan, arguing that it would contribute to further white flight from predominantly Black areas.

During the summer of 1977 when the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill was under consideration and debate in the Congress, Senator Eagleton "sponsored an administration-backed amendment to cut \$615 million from Title I educa-

³⁸*The Washington Post*, June 29, 1977, pp. A1, A8.

³⁹*Ibid.*

tional funds for communities with low income children.”⁴⁰ Opposition to his amendment came from Senators Edward Brooke (R., Mass.) and Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.). Senator Warren Magnuson (D., Wash.) proposed a compromise cut to \$100 million; his compromise lost. Brooke and Eagleton suggested a \$65 million dollar cut which was accepted. Fund-cutting efforts often greatly reduce programs designed to help those groups and individuals who still have less than parity with the majority group.

Current behaviors of congressmen suggest that in the future stronger anti-busing legislation may be forthcoming, and/or a constitutional amendment against busing may be proposed. With attachments to HEW funding bills to restrict busing, and with the new guidelines of the Dayton decision,⁴¹ the pace of busing to achieve desegregation is likely to slow perceptibly in the future. Congress and the Supreme Court seem to be reinforcing each other in busing/desegregation matters in a conservative direction.

In higher education today, two issues related to desegregation are paramount. One is the whole question of affirmative action policies, procedures, guidelines, and enforcement. The other comes from the Adams rulings aimed at ending dual state college systems established during the era of legal segregation.

With respect to affirmative action, HEW won an important victory when on June 28, 1977, the Senate refused, 64-31, to strip the department of its enforcement power to enforce “affirmative action hiring and admissions policies at institutions getting government financial aid.”⁴² The move against affirmative action had been sponsored by S. I. Hayakawa (R., Calif.) and Jesse Helms (R., N.C.). While affirmative action policies and programs are usually thought of as directly related to equality of opportunity, their practical effect also is to desegregate.

Affirmative action is one of the hottest societal issues today. Most Blacks want the concept retained, with operative policies and programs for at least one educational generation. Many white males, including very prominent intellectuals, want the concept, policies and programs eliminated. They regard the long history of black/female/minority exclusion as irrelevant.

With respect to the Adams rulings, aimed at ending segregated state college systems, most Blacks fear that desegregation of the state college systems affected by the Adams cases will wipe out

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹In brief form these are: (1) determining the incremental segregative effort of constitutional violations on the distribution of students, (2) comparing that distribution with what it would have been without violations, (3) redressing that difference, and (4) providing a system-wide remedy only if there has been a system-wide impact.

⁴²*The Washington Post*, June 29, 1977, p. A1.

historically Black public colleges. Yet, there are no guarantees that numbers of Blacks will in the future be able to enter and graduate from predominantly white colleges, universities, and graduate schools. In fact, the opposite is predictable from current decisions being made.

But what of desegregation practices in school systems at the present time? Is desegregation working? In *Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools*, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission said, in August, 1976, that desegregation is working in most communities although the problem remains, especially in large cities. It called constructive local leadership the most important ingredient in determining the success of desegregation efforts. Those local leaders are

... dependent on the tone set by leaders at the national level. This tone is determined not only by the statements officials make about the desirability of desegregation, but also by the support they give, or fail to give, to court decisions designed to implement the constitutional rights of children and young people.⁴³

Chicago is an interesting representative of still-segregated cities. The long-time mayor, Richard J. Daley, and his appointed Board of Education, engaged for more than a decade in successfully delaying school integration. When Federal pressures to desegregate were exerted, via withholding of funds in the 1960s, Mayor Daley was said to have used his personal power in Washington, D.C. to remove that pressure. Whether that is true or false we are not sure, but it is a fact that the funds were restored to Chicago's schools, without desegregation of students or teachers occurring. Racial hostilities are prevalent in Chicago, and the city is thought to be leaderless in the integration effort. Local religious leaders and the local news media have failed to promote racial understanding. Ethnic enclaves endure, and these groups exhibit fierce ethnic pride. It is felt by most people that peaceful desegregation will be difficult in Chicago, where the public schools are about 59 per cent Black, 25 per cent white, and 16 per cent Hispanic.

The nation's capital, Washington, D.C., may well lay claim to the most segregated urban school system in the nation. It is about 97 per cent Black, with no immediate possibility of desegregating across Maryland or Virginia state lines. Additionally, private schools in the area are growing and prospering with enrollment of middle-class white and Black students.

In the seventies some school systems have demonstrated increased willingness to comply with the law (desegregation rulings).

⁴³*Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools*, a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C., August, 1976), p. 300.

The school boards and superintendents of these systems made a decision to live up to their legal and moral responsibilities, and to plan for their school systems accordingly. The Montgomery County, Maryland, public school system is one such example where educational planning for desegregation began voluntarily, without coercion from the Federal Government. School officials, cooperatively with parent/citizen advisory groups, took the initiative in planning for the desegregation of some lower county schools where racial and ethnic group minority children were enrolled in growing numbers and proportions. It was ironic that a small group of citizens tried to use this voluntary aspect of planning *against* school officials by saying that Montgomery County ought to wait until it was under a Federal court order to desegregate. This group's will did not prevail among fellow citizens or in the courts; it was overruled in both arenas.

Montgomery County developed magnet schools, pairing plans, and clusters. Some pupil transfers were mandatory, but others were voluntary. Only 21 transfer requests of a total of 222 were refused, because they would have increased racial imbalance.⁴⁴

What benefits have resulted for students from school desegregation? Opinions are mixed. The Civil Rights Commission reported that "school districts which have experienced desegregation for several years generally report that minority student achievement rises and that these students often exhibit greater motivation that ultimately leads to pursuit of higher education. Majority group students hold their own academically and they commonly report that experiences with minority students have dispelled long-held stereotypes."⁴⁵

Nancy H. St. John focused on the consequences of school desegregation for children. She points out that twenty years of study of the effect of school racial composition on children has netted inconclusive results, and explains:

... I have come slowly to the conclusion that the overall inconclusiveness of the findings is due not so much to these limitations as to the fallacious assumption that desegregation is a unitary phenomenon, that racial balance is *the* important variable, and that how it is implemented is of secondary importance.

... School desegregation is a many-sided phenomenon, whose effects may be simultaneously beneficial to children in some respects and detrimental in other respects. Whether the potential benefit outweighs the potential harm depends not only on characteristics of individual pupils involved but above all on how well schools adapt to meet the challenge of a biracial population.

⁴⁴"Learning: Annual Report and School Community Newsletter," Montgomery County Public Schools, June/July, 1977, p. 3.

⁴⁵*Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 294.

For too long courts, legislatures, schoolmen, and social scientists have been obsessed with questions of quantity quotas, and balance, rather than with the educational process itself. The real task—to translate desegregation into integration—still remains.⁴⁶

The fact that this task still remains, years after *Brown*, has alienated many Black parents and citizens. As a result of that alienation they have turned toward seeking community control of the schools⁴ in which their children are enrolled, or larger numbers of Black teachers, principals, and/or higher-level administrators in desegregating systems. They have turned to street academies, schools without walls, the use of adult night schools, and/or the G.E.D. test in efforts to find suitable educative arrangements.

Still other Black adults have turned toward the past, reexamining in retrospect selected segregated Black high schools' successful educational practices. They are trying to ascertain what conditions, attitudes and behaviors existed in segregated Black high schools in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s to contribute to the excellence of many of the graduates. Dunbar High School in Washington, D.C. was one such segregated public high school which graduated far more people who became highly successful adults than could have been expected by chance, particularly in view of the inequalities imposed by the segregated system. There is no unanimity today in the Black population regarding the question of public school desegregation, beyond the most basic consensus that forced segregation must not be reimposed. Most parents simply want their children to be well-educated wherever they are.

As far as the general public is concerned, opinion polls show that most Americans support the concept of desegregation, at least in the abstract. An atmosphere of tolerance has, in most communities, replaced the atmosphere of hostility and violence. In a few schools, principals say "Our kids have actually started to understand and relate to each other on the human level—instead of on the color level."⁴⁷ This is positive as far as it goes. However, white flight from desegregating cities and close-in suburbs continues. The fight against busing as a mechanism for desegregation has become ever more heated. There is continued resistance to the employment of Black teachers, principals, and high-level school administrators—except in token numbers. The feeling still seems to remain that educated Blacks are "different" from the majority of Blacks, but still qualitatively beneath their white counterparts in ability to perform professionally.

⁴⁶Nancy H. St. John, *School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), p. 88.

⁴⁷*The Washington Star*, August 2, 1977, A1, D12. The *Star* ran a series of four articles on desegregation July 31–August 3, 1977. It was authored by Lorenzo Middleton, a staff writer.

With respect to educational policy, the general public is asking the question, "Should the courts be shaping educational policies and practices by virtue of their decisions?" This suggests that the courts are not the appropriate societal agent or institution to be making policy decisions, and that the decisions being made are undesirable. Yet neither the executive nor legislative branches of government at the Federal level, nor any state, has taken a leadership role in education which could be depended upon to promote equal educational opportunity for minorities or the poor. It is easy to criticize the judicial branch for what it has done, but where is the criticism of the other branches, and of states and cities, for what they have not done in the way of enhancing equality in education? Where is the criticism of the educational establishment *itself* for what it has *not* done in this respect?

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES ON DESEGREGATION

It is ironic that society placed the major burden for desegregation on its public schools. Schools are not America's most powerful institutions, so to put them in the position of pace-setters in this controversial matter and to give them no sustained, consistent moral, financial, and psychological support to achieve the goal was to build in tension, conflict, and some failure. Had America's major institutions—big business, the government at all levels, and the military—supported the concept of desegregation in all sectors, the obstacles and tasks faced by the school in this respect would have been minimized. For although the *Brown* case challenged unequal school policies and practices, it was and is very clear that educational inequities are part and parcel of a general system of inequities imposed on Blacks through public policies supported by the private sector.

It is clear that when presidents take a strong positive leadership stance working for social reform, they provide an image and set a tone for moving America toward its expressed ideals. Thus if the incumbent president, Jimmy Carter, can be influenced now to follow the vigorous tradition of Kennedy and Johnson, his actions will be good for future desegregation efforts. It is in the public interest that he pursue America's highest ideals through concrete policies and programs, and not simply give lip service to those standards. His current caution is disappointing and potentially estranging, as Vernon Jordan pointed out in his speech at the Urban League's national convention in Washington, D.C. in July, 1977.

Citizens must not accept conciliatory words in lieu of forward-looking domestic programs. History reminds us that Woodrow

Wilson accepted an overwhelming Black vote in his behalf, and proceeded to support policies and programs which were grossly inimical to the welfare of Blacks. We must not allow history to repeat itself in this respect.

The current tendency of Congress and the Supreme Court to reinforce each other in conservative ways must be broken in the near future. Blacks and their allies must maintain eternal vigilance over their representatives' voting patterns. It will take sustained political efforts of coalitions across racial/ethnic lines to change legislative behaviors, but it can be done.

If and when vacancies occur on the Supreme Court, it is incumbent upon President Carter to recommend the kinds of people who have the strength to create new standards of honor and morality with respect to race/ethnic/male-female relations and advancing equality of opportunity. What is important here is that when any two branches of the Federal Government reinforce each other positively, desirable social change occurs. When they reinforce each other negatively, the reverse occurs. Therefore, Blacks and other concerned people must work eternally against retrogression. There can be no rest for the weary in the future, or what small gains have occurred toward equality will be lost.

Black elected officials at state and local levels must form coalitions with other concerned people to activate the passage and enforcement of laws to assist those individuals and groups which have not yet attained parity with the majority. While the numbers and proportions of these officials still are small, there are more of them than ever before, and groups must use what they have, not what they wish they had in numbers. Since public education is primarily and fundamentally a state and local affair, more challenges to inequality must in the future occur at the state and local levels.

Blacks and other concerned people must re-learn the lessons of history. It is through organized efforts via legitimate, organized groups that most social gains occur. Social change has to be forced upon grass-roots American public opinion; almost nothing happens out of the goodness of peoples' hearts. Entrenched beliefs and practices do not die easily. Thus, groups which have less than parity need to be organizing and planning new strategies to deal with ongoing economic, social, political, and educational issues.

School boards and educators must find courage enough to plan, experiment and make desegregation work where possible. Examples cited by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in *Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law* show that educational planning coupled with assistance from local leaders works positively.

In most large cities, however, desegregation of schools is not likely to occur. It certainly will not occur in the near future unless segregated housing patterns change. It is segregated housing patterns, coupled with economic insufficiency, that insure that large-city school desegregation is unlikely because schooling arrangements still are based largely on residential location. In fact, unless a major change is forthcoming very soon in public policy concerning housing, segregated housing and schooling patterns will *increase*. Old-fashioned *de jure* segregation is no longer needed when rapidly escalating prices rule most people, Black and white, out of the current housing market. Discrimination becomes more subtle, and it is harder to prove discriminatory intent.

Revised, creative housing policies and financial incentives need to be forthcoming in the immediate future from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for middle-income and low-income people. An expansion of the urban homesteading concept will help families and the schools their children will populate. Black, white, and other families will be attracted by the fiscal arrangements and the innovative possibilities of taking the initiative to restore their own subcommunities and schools. Schools in those areas will then be occupied by children of people who cross social class and racial lines, joined in common efforts to be human and to live, grow, and contribute well in their habitats.

Unemployment and insufficient income plague many minority families; large numbers of majority group families are affected as well. Even with revised, creative housing policies and fiscal incentives many of these families could not take advantage of them because of inadequate income. Unless broad, long-range and short-range public policies are developed for employment and housing, my feeling is that public school desegregation has gone about as far as it will go. The future will see stabilizing of what exists, or regression.

With respect to employment in public schools, there are continuing problems for minorities and women. Employment problems will escalate for them in the future as competition becomes keener for slots. Some schools are closing because of insufficient enrollments due to the declining birth rates. Other school systems face fiscal problems and are not retaining non-tenure teachers. Widespread discrimination is alleged in the New York City school system's policies of hiring, assigning, and promoting minorities and women.⁴⁸ In Chicago it is alleged that transfer practices continue to move excellent Black teachers out of Black schools to

⁴⁸"New York City Reflected in Its Schools," *New York Times*, November 14, 1976.

white schools, thus taking them out of the Black communities' schools in which they are providing models of excellence for the young, along with expert teaching. Such practices need to be stopped in the future, unless those teachers are replaced by others of equal stature.

Further, we can see a reinstitution of policies of passing standardized tests for employment as teachers and principals. Review boards and oral examinations for job placement are being revived. Thus, in the future, Black teachers and principals will have to pass these tests in order to be employed. It will be up to them as individuals and to their preparatory institutions to see that they possess the knowledge to pass these hurdles. Review boards must be monitored with respect to their decisions and the criteria for those decisions. Otherwise review boards become very discriminatory, a hurdle of the last resort which cannot be overcome.

With respect to students, today many of the brightest, most highly-motivated Black youth are in private schools or parochial schools, not in public schools. Parents who have placed their young in private or parochial schools are not likely to re-enroll them in public schools as long as severe discipline problems prevail and low aspirations and achievement are the norm.

Black elementary and secondary students must decide, with the assistance of their parents and teachers, that they will achieve in school. Their mass underachievement is supportive in the public mind of inferiority, and many people do not believe there are educational merits in desegregation because of the low achievement of Black youth. They *can* learn; they *must* do so in the future for their own survival in a complex, technological world.

Historically, minorities usually have failed at attempts to gain and retain community control over the public schools their children attend. They will need to work harder to attain this goal in the future. While I have very mixed feelings about alternative school proposals (some of them are positive, but others are destructive of the concept of public education), there is hope in some of them for a community school approach within the community development concept.

At the level of higher education, Black enrollment has grown markedly in the last decade. This gain can mean that the occupational status and income levels of more Blacks can be enhanced in the near future. But the gains are not likely to continue if the present dropout rates remain large at the secondary and junior college levels. Also, decreasing financial aid and increasing college costs mean that more Blacks will be eliminated from higher education in the future, except perhaps at lower-cost community col-

leges. Policies and programs need to be addressed to the dropout problem, the distribution problem (too many Blacks are in public two-year or community colleges or trade schools), and the financial problem.

Public Black colleges are in jeopardy, I think, because of decisions being made based on the *Adams* rulings. Blacks must fight now and in the near future for the retention of Black public colleges as viable educative institutions which will not exclude whites, but which will meet the unique needs of Blacks and other minorities. Also, many private Black colleges are in jeopardy because of financial insufficiencies and/or shortages of enrolling students. Black citizens *must* establish a tradition of giving to support private Black colleges in the future. It is only with the financial and moral support of these private Black colleges that "Black higher education" can be guaranteed for the future.

There is no doubt that conservative elements of American society would like to see *Brown reversed*; that must be prevented in the future. We have lived through 23 years of subversion of the intent of *Brown*; there has been more deliberation than speed in desegregation. Support is needed throughout American society for affirmative action policies, at least for one full educational generation. These policies provide for a reversal of the discrimination which Blacks, other minorities, and women suffered for so long as a result of public policies. Surely it is not too much to ask total support for policies of recompense up to 1990.

In the future the National Institute of Education should be made the real equivalent of the National Institute of Health, a national center where educational problems are carefully and systematically defined, examined, and from which results of research are disseminated to make education a more workable and successful experience. In addition, as I said in *The Crisis*,⁴⁹ educational goal setting in the future should include the planning for, study, and evaluation of:

1. Providing communities with educational alternatives in its learning environments supported by tax monies, e.g., open schools, structured schools, schools without walls, etc., based on the theory that in this complex society no single school plan is best for all the children of all the people.

2. Matching teachers, learners, and learning environments by means of stated preference and of judgments as to which children learn best with what kind of teacher and methodology in what kind of school.

⁴⁹Faustine C. Jones, "Educational Goal Setting," *The Crisis*, LXXXIV (January, 1977), 11.

3. Choosing teachers and principals, very carefully selecting people who have both a personal and professional commitment to public educational success, and to the enhancement of all children, regardless of race, sex, social class, or other factors resulting from accident of birth.

4. Providing special training for teachers of children who have identifiable special needs, e.g., out of the ordinary, as the mentally retarded, deaf, mute, emotionally disturbed. Establish a much lower teacher/pupil ratio for these classes, and special physical facilities.

5. Experiments to find suitable measurements for non-academic variables.

6. Developing research methods suitable to action programs which are constantly changing directions.

7. Providing continuous staff development training for teachers and administrators based on the principles of life-long learning, reinforcement, and personal/professional growth.

8. Providing for student, parent and community inputs and cooperation into the entire educational process. Advice, cooperation, assistance, and evaluation are the key ingredients to reduction of student/school/parent/community conflict.

9. Devising fair and equitable ways of releasing teachers and administrators who refuse to grow, change, develop, and contribute to the enhancement of schools and children.

10. Improving materials and methods of traditional instruction.

11. Increased and improved use of new technology—hardware and software.

12. Incentives to increase the numbers of students who complete high school and go on to higher education.

Finally, future planning must find a way to eliminate glaring inequities in per pupil expenditures in the states where they exist today. While expenditures alone will not guarantee educational equity, the present glaring inequities do guarantee a continuation of inequality.

Some of the above-stated goals are being met in particular buildings or particular communities, but this is limited and short-term in light of human needs. There is today no nationwide effort on a long-term basis on which the people of this nation can depend. In fact, some Americans are suggesting that the whole concept of public schools be abandoned. It will be disastrous to Blacks and other minorities if that should happen. It is, instead, a prolonged, deep-seated commitment to public-supported educational success that the people of America need today and in the future.

School Desegregation in Retrospect and Prospect

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Desegregation in education remains among the foremost issues confronting the public school systems of the United States today. Progress in this area has been minimal at best. A critical analysis of the school desegregation issue presents a bleak picture, for "desegregation did not mean integration,"¹ and, today more Black children attend segregated schools than at any time since the historic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision which declared segregated schools unconstitutional.²

At the time of *Brown*, two concerns prevailed: (1) for the segregationist—that federally enforced public school integration would lead to the comingling of white and Negro public school pupils; (2) for the supporters of desegregation—that many meaningful Federal court decisions supportive of desegregation were soon forthcoming. These concerns, Carter states, proved to be myths.³

In the months and weeks leading up to the *Brown* decision, many southern communities floated generous school bonds to build new Negro facilities and to remodel old ones in an effort to blunt the momentum favoring desegregation. The need for new and better school facilities had reached grave proportions by this time. As late as 1930, there were approximately a million Black youths of high school age out of school. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist for the Higher Education of Negroes, U.S. Office of Education, and his colleague, J. H. Douglas, reported that at least half of those Black students had no high schools available to them in the 230 counties in which they represented one-eighth or more of the population.⁴ It is understandable how no schools were available for hundreds of thousands of Blacks at the time of the

¹H. Carter, "Desegregation Does Not Mean Integration," *New York Times Magazine*, February 11, 1962.

²*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas et al.*, 349 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954). Hereafter referred to as *Brown v. Board of Education*.

³Carter, *op. cit.*

⁴Ambrose Caliver and J. H. Douglas, "Education of Negroes: Some Factors Relating to Its Quality," *School Life*, XXXVI (1954), 142-143.

Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896 which established the “separate but equal” doctrine.⁵ In 1896, the conditions of public education did not approximate the existing conditions at the time of the *Brown* decision, even in the North—the school term was a mere three months a year in many states. However, the matter of no schools for hundreds of thousands of Blacks as recently as 1954 invites serious questions about the profound ill-effects of segregation on Black Americans.

Shortly after the *Brown* decision, U.S. Navy Admiral H. G. Rickover was very critical of the educational standards of the nation’s schools.⁶ He pointed out that in recent years our schools had done an efficient job of making Americans out of motley groups of foreigners from all corners of the globe. Perhaps, some hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees now represent a high priority in this regard. But Rickover was critical of what our schools were doing for Americans.

A legislative program for the Federal guarantee of racial equality began to take form after the Civil War. This program, initiated by northern, and modified by southern, ideals and politics has often been thwarted and occasionally supported by the U.S. Supreme Court. The program first produced the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865 which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude. Three years later (1868), the Fourteenth Amendment, which offers individuals equal protection under the law, was adopted.

The Fourteenth Amendment served as an important precedent for arguments in both the *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the *Brown v. Topeka* cases. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down the *Plessy* decision dealing with racial segregation on railroad trains, but the Court also endorsed school segregation. In so doing, it cited an 1849 decision by the Massachusetts Supreme Court upholding school segregation in Boston. The Court went on to deny the argument that compulsory segregation of the races was so detrimental to the Negro that it actually stamped him with a badge of inferiority. This conclusion was overruled in the unanimous decision of 1954, when U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren approvingly quoted the lower court’s findings in the *Brown* case: “. . . to separate them [Negro students] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as (sic) their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.”⁷

⁵*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537, 16 S. Ct. 1138 (1896).

⁶H. G. Rickover, *Education for Freedom* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1958).

⁷See *Brown v. Board of Education* . . . , *op. cit.*

THE IMPACT OF THE BROWN DECISION ON THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By its nature, Congress is greatly influenced by the national and international mood. Therefore, it came as no surprise that the congressional passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 followed the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, a friend to the Civil Rights Movement. It has been argued that the U.S. Supreme Court was influenced by the national and international mood in its *Brown* decision. In any case, the effects and legal implications of this decision were particularly significant for the South.

De jure segregation practices in the 17 southern states and the District of Columbia were affected by the Brown decision, which might explain the differences between the initial effects of the decision in the border states and the Deep South. The District of Columbia and such border states as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia received early praise in their implementation of the Brown decision. The city of Baltimore was hailed for its successful efforts in 1954; Washington, D.C., was credited as setting an example for the nation that same year; and St. Louis received an "A" rating from a leading magazine in 1955 for its desegregation achievements. Political and socio-economic factors and the proximity of the northern tradition to these cities placed the implementation of the *Brown* decision under different and more favorable conditions than those of the Deep South.

In addition to the geographical conditions, the sociological frame of mind and psychological attitude of influential people differed markedly in each region. For example, the Maryland Standing Commission on Interracial Problems (1954) indicated that compulsory racial segregation in the Baltimore Public Schools System was abolished at the start of the fall semester immediately following the Supreme Court decision in May, 1954. Officials in Washington, D.C. pondered the issue as *Newsweek* magazine asked: "If Washington, D.C. could not carry out the school desegregation ruling gracefully, then how could the southern states be expected to do so?"⁸ Integration in the St. Louis Public Schools went smoothly and almost without incident.⁹ With the exception of technical high schools and the adult education program, all high schools under the School Board's control were integrated by the beginning of the second semester on January 31, 1955.

A cursory review of the activities at selected sites throughout

⁸"Desegregation: Can Washington Be the Showcase?" *Newsweek*, XLIV (September 13, 1954), 39–40.

⁹"The St. Louis Story, the Integration of a Public School System," St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis, Missouri, February, 1955. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service ED001929.)

the South reveals contrasting results during the first few years after *Brown*. In 1954, Georgia Governor Herman Talmadge voiced the general mood of the South when he said: "The Supreme Court has reduced our Constitution to a mere scrap of paper."¹⁰ Many predicted that the South would not respond to the Supreme Court's demand. In fact, a group of southerners appealed to the Court for delays. Critics spoke of the relief on the part of many southern educators that the Court did not fix a date for racial integration in all schools—a form of victory for the South.

On May 31, 1955, just a year after the desegregation decision, the Supreme Court gave local authorities the initiative to implement that ruling. School officials were ordered to work out their own desegregation plans "with all deliberate speed."¹¹ Early results of the local authorities' initiative were desegregation patterns ranging from the commitment by Maryland to "do its best" to Georgia's "under no circumstance."¹² By late 1955, Virginia had worked out a school program which became widely regarded as the South's answer to the Supreme Court's decree. Its covert aim was to preserve segregation while avoiding conflict with the Court. However, this program ultimately led to the closing of its schools to Blacks in Prince Edward County in 1959.

For the most part, from the southerner's point of view, the *Brown* decision was morally wrong. Stiff resistance to the implementation of *Brown* ran rampant during the ensuing years. In discussing the southern case against integration, Waring,¹³ a journalist for *Harper's Magazine*, considered health, home environment, marital habits, crime, and intellectual development as major elements contributing to the southerner's negative views about racial integration. Waring concluded that much of the South felt that if pressure were placed on southerners to desegregate, reactions might be unfavorable to the entire community. Sporadic outbreaks of Ku Klux Klan activity, the formation of the Citizen's Councils and other "protective" organizations not only discouraged southern desegregation, but also resulted in violence and intimidation.

In 1955, *Time* magazine reviewed the status of desegregation

¹⁰"Talmadge and Segregation: He Makes His Stand," *Newsweek*, XLIV (May 31, 1954), 31-32.

¹¹*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas et al.*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955). Hereafter referred to as *Brown II*.

¹²"Courts Direct States to Effect Own Desegregation Pattern: Maryland to Do Its Best, Georgia Under No Circumstances," *The School Executive*, LXXIV (1955), 72-73.

¹³T. Waring, "The Southern Case Against Desegregation," *Harper's Magazine*, CCXII (January, 1956), 39.

efforts in the 17 southern and border states,¹⁴ grading them from "A" to "F" as follows: "A"—Missouri; "A-minus"—West Virginia; "B-plus"—Kentucky, Oklahoma; "B-minus"—Maryland; "C-plus"—Arkansas, Texas; "C"—Delaware, Tennessee; "C-minus"—North Carolina; "D-plus"—Virginia; "D"—Florida; "F"—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina. Thus, a full year after *Brown*, only one state, according to *Time*, had moved enough toward desegregation of public schools to warrant a grade of "A."

Following the Supreme Court's deliberate speed ruling, the implementation of the *Brown* decision rested largely with the Federal and lower courts. At the beginning of the '60s (February 1, 1960), the school desegregation efforts gained the support of the Civil Rights Movement. This marks the beginning of the "freedom rides" which were followed by widespread "sit-in" demonstrations.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided the impetus for renewed hope regarding the implementation of *Brown*. It paved the way for the emergence of a new thrust in this struggle, the racial imbalance issue. Elements of this issue were put in force as early as 1965 in the form of busing Black pupils to reduce *de facto* segregation. The compulsory busing of white pupils in an effort to insure racially balanced schools followed, thus giving rise to the present controversial form of the busing issue.

OUTCOMES OF DESEGREGATION EFFORTS

In a 1967 report on school desegregation in the South,¹⁵ the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded that the vast majority of Blacks who finished high school in the spring of 1967 had never attended one class with a single white student. The results of the study came at the time when the desegregation impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was beginning to facilitate desegregation in the southern states. It indicated that we had educated a whole generation of children in inferior schools since *Brown*. In fact, as late as the end of the 1972-73 school year, 63 per cent of the nation's Black children attended predominantly Black schools.¹⁶ In the 11 states of the Deep South, 46 per cent of the Black students were attending schools that were 80 per cent or more Black, compared to 28 per cent in the northern and western states.¹⁷

¹⁴"Report Card: Progress of the States Toward School Desegregation," *Time*, LXVI (September 19, 1955), 25.

¹⁵U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Southern School Desegregation, 1966-67* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 147.

¹⁶Leroy Aarons, "Decades of Rights Milestones," Editorial Research Report, *The Washington Post*, August 26, 1973, p. A14.

¹⁷B. Barnes, "School Integration Highest in South," *The Washington Post*, July 16, 1974, p. A7.

Differences in the quality of education available to Black and white students attending separate schools have been known for decades. In 1967, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reiterated that schools attended by white children often have more library volumes per student, advanced courses, and fewer pupils per teacher than schools attended by Black children. Black students were more likely than whites to have teachers with lower verbal achievement levels, substitute teachers, and teachers dissatisfied with their assignment. The Commission contended that teachers and students in such schools recognize the stigma of inferiority attached to their schools, which has a negative effect on their attitudes and achievement.¹⁸

As intimated earlier, only two and one-half million Blacks attended segregated schools at the time of the *Brown* decision of 1954, whereas this number had increased to four and one-quarter million by 1973.¹⁹ This represents a 70 per cent increase in the number of Blacks attending segregated schools after nearly 20 years of desegregation efforts. The “white flight” to suburbia, white student increases in private school enrollment, as well as desegregation delay tactics all contributed to this increase.

The consequences of desegregation efforts in the South have differed markedly from those of *de facto* practices in the North. In the South, Black students have been subjected to more unwarranted disciplinary action and far more suspensions, to be sure, than their white counterparts.²⁰ It has been estimated that as many as a half million white pupils have been enrolled in all-white private “academies” in the South. Desegregation also meant that thousands of Black teachers and educators in the South lost their jobs, were demoted, or were denied promotion. At the time of the *Brown* decision, Black students in the southern states accounted for 23 per cent of the school population, and Black teachers for 21 per cent. By 1972, the Black student population had increased to 26 per cent, but Black teachers had been reduced to 17 per cent.

The escape mechanism of white students enrolling in private academies is not peculiar to the South. In 1966, Dilworth,²¹ a Philadelphia school superintendent, claimed that approximately 40 per cent of the total school population of Philadelphia was in parochial and private schools. So, while only 30 per cent of the city’s

¹⁸U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 4.

¹⁹U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States* (95th ed.; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974).

²⁰Children’s Defense Fund, *School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children?* (Washington, D.C.: Washington Research Projects, Inc., 1975), Foreword.

²¹R. Dilworth, “Needed: Integrated Schools,” *School Board Journal*, CLII (1966), 17–18.

population was non-white, the public schools were 57 per cent non-white and there were more white children in the parochial and private school systems than in the city's entire public school system. Dilworth predicted that, if this trend continued, public school systems in our big cities would be almost entirely non-white in 10 or 15 years.

Seemingly unwarranted disciplinary action and the ease with which suspensions are issued to Blacks appear to be far more prevalent in the newly desegregated South than in the North. In 1973, the Southern Regional Council entitled its fall report: "Blacks Target of 'Pushouts.'" ²² This examined part of a pattern of continuing large and disproportionate numbers of minority students that had been suspended, expelled, and induced to drop out of many desegregated school systems. Unfortunately, desegregation often puts Black students into schools dominated by white culture and tradition. The report says that school confrontations are provoked through discrimination in disciplining Black students, use of Confederate symbols, and the displacement of Black principals, teachers, and coaches. This leaves Black students without Black role models. Dress codes and school regulations are too easily manipulated in an unfair and arbitrary manner to restrict contemporary life styles often first introduced by Blacks. The curriculum remains oriented around white middle-class college-bound students.

Black parents have had a profound impact on *de facto* segregation of the non-South regions of the United States. The legal suits initiated by Black parents whose children were victims of racially isolated schools ²³ precipitated a trend in court cases against *de facto* segregation in these parts of the country. Black parents in various northern cities began filing lawsuits similar to those in the South to move their children from inferior racially isolated schools into the better desegregated schools.

Among the earliest significant setbacks was *Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana* ²⁴ in 1963, in which the argument failed that racial isolation in the public schools, whether or not caused directly by school officials, unconstitutionally deprived Black children of equal opportunity. In more recent cases, the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund and others have set out to show that the existing school segregation resulting from state and local

²²Austin Scott, "Blacks Target of Pushouts," *The Washington Post*, November 29, 1973, p. A3.

²³In its report *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (see footnote #18), the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights set forth a differentiation between the terms "racial isolation" and "segregation." Even though these terms are sometimes used interchangeably, the latter is a legal description and the former is more prevalent in the social sciences.

²⁴*Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana*, Civil No. 3346, 1963.

action by school authorities has a similar effect and intent as the *de jure* segregation of the South.

It seems unlikely that the Supreme Court will review northern decisions ambitiously. The issue of crossing school district boundary lines to desegregate was considered by the Court for the first time in *Milliken v. Bradley*.²⁵ Previously established constitutional principles were reaffirmed, including the use of transportation to overcome segregation. Nevertheless, the decision represented a setback in efforts to desegregate urban school districts, particularly in the North, but apparently in the South as well.

Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, desegregation efforts were on the increase. A corollary to increased desegregation was the assumption that stepped-up busing must accompany stepped-up desegregation plans. This assumption and the verbalization of "busing" as a means of accomplishing racial balance within the schools paved the way for the busing controversy. This controversy, augmented by the Coleman Report²⁶ of 1966, soon reached a crisis level. Ironically, as early as 1972, a study by the Secretary of the United States Department of Transportation revealed that less than one per cent of the annual increase in busing could be attributed to desegregation.²⁷

According to *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*,²⁸ a Black parent in North Carolina said, "I contend that busing for one year will upgrade all our schools quicker than anything the President or Congress can do." It affirmed that, "(w)ithin one month, the parents of white children who were bused managed to get the Black school painted, repairs made, new electric typewriters and sewing machines, and the shelves filled with books."

Attitude and achievement factors have important future implications in the desegregation struggle; they have maintained a predominant role throughout. If by attitude we think in terms of the way one feels, acts, and behaves regarding desegregation efforts, then attitudinal factors cut across the political, educational, sociological, psychological, clerical, business, lay, and parental strata. Moreover, upon considering the pervasiveness of the attitudinal aspects of some desegregation proposals, it seems reasonable that attitude might continue to play an important role in any future desegregation efforts.

A principal motivating factor in efforts toward integration has

²⁵*Milliken et al. v. Bradley et al.*, 418 U.S. 717, (1974).

²⁶James S. Coleman *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966).

²⁷John Volpe, Former U.S. Secretary of Transportation, Letter of Transmittal, Report to the National Traffic Safety Administration, March 24, 1972.

²⁸U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

been the assumption that Black children's achievement and motivation improves in an integrated school environment. The Coleman Report,²⁹ a study of the state of desegregation in the public schools and the impact of the Civil Rights Act on desegregated public education, was praised by some and damned by others. It contended that educational achievement is unrelated to educational financing and that social integration is an important factor in improving the educational achievement of Black students. This was the first report to demonstrate that Black students achieve better in integrated schools simply because their classmates are white. This finding prompted the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in 1967, to state unequivocally that "Negro children suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation may be. Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools do not achieve as well as other children, Negro and white."³⁰ However, it should be noted that Nancy St. John, a social scientist whose study of segregation dates back to 1948, posits that adequate data have not been gathered to determine a causal relation between school racial composition and academic achievement.³¹ She claims that more than a decade of considerable research efforts have produced no definite positive findings.

At the end of 1965, a year after the Civil Rights Bill became law, only two per cent of the Black students in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia (the Deep South) were attending schools with white students. In some cases this two per cent level of desegregation was precipitated by the small number of Blacks and was accomplished by busing. However, even such a low percentage represented a measure of progress for the Deep South. On the other hand, the North and West have now embarked on their own era of political and legal strife over school desegregation.

NIXON'S IMPACT ON DESEGREGATION EFFORTS

The momentum of the Civil Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Act spearheaded a successful drive for integration which manifested itself during Richard Nixon's first term in office. Prior to that term, however, Nixon made his anti-busing stand a campaign issue. Indeed, as President he provided the impetus for much

²⁹Coleman, *op. cit.*

³⁰U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

³¹Nancy St. John, *School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975).

of the busing controversy which reached the crisis level in the early 1970s. Therefore, it seems fitting to devote special attention to former President Nixon and his impact on desegregation efforts and the public schools.

Desegregation today appears to be as incomplete in the North as it is the South. Fourteen of the nation's largest cities accommodate one-third of all the Black students enrolled in the public schools. These students attend predominantly Black, i.e., *de facto* segregated, schools. It is no wonder that, in 1975, NAACP attorney Norman Chachkin remarked: "If the Court wants to review the northern decisions around the country as carefully as it did those from the South, then be assured that there will be a great deal of desegregation coming up."³²

As the impact of the anti-desegregation strategies of the Nixon administration began to have their adverse effects on desegregation efforts in the early 1970s, court-ordered desegregation activity slowed considerably. On March 16, 1973, President Nixon told the nation that lower courts have gone beyond what the Supreme Court said was necessary in requiring busing.³³ The catalytic effect of this presidential move represented a measure of victory to opponents of desegregation by encouraging the courts to slow down the pace of desegregation activity in the public schools.

The negative impact of Nixon's stand on desegregation efforts transcended the courts. About the same time that he spoke to the courts, it was reported that "(t)he Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Justice, mandated by the Constitution and Federal law to be the guarantors of equal educational opportunity, had largely relinquished their legal and moral functions under the Nixon administration" merely by turning "deaf ears" and "blind eyes" to persistent denials of equal protection of the laws.³⁴ Apparently, these "deaf ears" and "blind eyes" have not yet returned to normalcy.

In a *New York Times* interview³⁵ the assistant attorney general for civil rights, J. Stanley Pottinger, denied that the administration had turned its back on integration, but he acknowledged that there was little political pressure for it. Others shared Pottinger's view. The Black militants considered desegregation efforts a lost

³²Norman Chachkin, "Dual Schools Still a Problem but Now It Is in the North," *New York Times*, April 21, 1974, p. E5.

³³Aarons, *op. cit.*

³⁴Scott, *op. cit.*

³⁵R. Reinhold, "School Integration Order of '54 Did Much, But Much Is Undone," *New York Times*, May 12, 1974, p. 1.

cause prior to the end of the sixties and they lost patience with faltering desegregation efforts.³⁶

The Nixon administration took advantage of the newly coined “unitary schools” concept which resulted from the *Alexander v. Holmes* case in which the Supreme Court held that it was the obligation of every school district to terminate dual school systems “at once” and to operate only unitary schools.³⁷ In 1970, the officials of the Department of Justice and the Department of HEW claimed that over 90 per cent of southern Black children were attending school in “unitary” systems. In fact, on December 7, 1970, Elliot Richardson, then Secretary of HEW, said that there were only 76 school systems among the 2700 in the entire South that had not carried out desegregation plans.³⁸ In fact, the Secretary asserted that in 1970, “90.5 per cent of all black children in the South were attending desegregated systems.”³⁹ These figures would indicate that the job of desegregating southern schools was largely done by 1970; but nothing could be more misleading. Before 1970–71, HEW measured desegregation progress by the percentage of Black children attending desegregated schools. Beginning with the 1970–71 school year, the Government arrived at a success figure by measuring the number of Black children attending desegregated or unitary school systems. But under the Nixon administration’s view a school system could be “unitary” and yet consist of segregated schools—one desegregated or unitary school per system was sufficient to qualify the entire system as “unitary.” Unfortunately, many Black students continue to attend predominantly Black schools.

The Supreme Court’s *Milliken v. Bradley* decision of 1974, rejecting desegregation across school district lines, was denounced by one of the dissenting justices as a “giant step” backwards for the highest court in the land. Four of the five justices supporting this ruling were appointed to the bench by former President Nixon.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Because the courts and the Federal Government have been ambivalent in their implementation of the *Brown* decision, educational planners and policy makers of the future must rise above the history of failures and marginal successes of desegregation efforts resulting in the steady increase of the number of Black children at-

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Alexander v. Holmes County (Mississippi) Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19, (1969).

³⁸Elliott Richardson, “Introduction,” in *The Status of School Desegregation in the South, 1970* (New York: American Friends Service Committee et al., 1970).

³⁹*Ibid.*

tending segregated schools. It is not enough for them to identify or to define a new desegregation strategy. It would appear that educational planners should abandon the entire concept of "desegregation" and all of its attendant ramifications at *greater than* "deliberate speed." What is sorely needed in public education today is a genuine, concentrated emphasis on *school integration*. The successful implementation of the *Brown* decision rests not on *new* strategies, but on *old* ones.

Original efforts to implement the *Brown* decision invoked the notion of integration of the schools. The idea of integrated schooling was embedded in the uniform-education-for-all spiel which played a significant role in shaping the psychology of the American public in the years following the landmark *Brown* decision. Since integrated schooling has never really been tried on a large scale and since desegregated schooling has failed miserably and, indeed, it has been reduced to *de facto* segregated schooling, then it seems that integrated schooling as an operational concept deserves the utmost attention of future education planners.

Time for the Teachers: Putting Educators Back Into the Brown Remedy

Derrick Bell, *Dean, University of Oregon Law School*

If I had to prepare *Brown* today, instead of looking principally to the social scientists to demonstrate the adverse consequences of segregation, I would seek to recruit educators to formulate a concrete definition of the meaning of equality in education, and I would base my argument on that definition and seek to persuade the Court that equal education in its constitutional dimensions must, at the very least, conform to the contours of equal education as defined by the educators.

Judge Robert L. Carter
former NAACP General Counsel¹

A TARDY RETROSPECTIVE

In trying to think through the factors that brought us to the current deteriorated state of school desegregation, I remembered the unorthodox approach to marriage suggested to me years ago by a quite determined young, black woman. Her name was Ellen Jean. Years before the advent of the Women's Liberation Movement, she told me with great certainty, "Derrick, I intend to search for the right man with my head, and when I find him, I will insert my heart."

At the time, I was young, viewed marriage as a continuation of the romantic adventure that preceded it, and thought my friend quite the hard-hearted Hannah. I don't know whether Ellen Jean was successful with her formula, but given the divorce-strewn marital landscape in the country today, hers was at least as sensible an approach to choosing a spouse as the "lifetime romance" vision of marriage that remains so tempting even when we know it is a rose-colored mirage.

¹Robert L. Carter, "A Reassessment of *Brown v. Board*," in Derrick A. Bell, ed., *Shades of Brown: New Perspectives on School Desegregation* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1980), pp. 21-27.

Similarly, looking back on my more than twenty-five years of involvement with school desegregation (the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*² was decided the spring before I entered law school), I fear that too many of us embraced school integration with our hearts and ignored the pragmatic considerations that might have become apparent had we approached the whole matter with our heads.

As with romance, experience taught us little, and that learning we ignored. The Emancipation Proclamation was supposed to free the slaves. By its very terms, limiting coverage to those slaves resident in states still under Confederate rule and thus beyond Union authority, we learned that it did not. The Civil War Amendments were promoted as the answer to efforts to return the former slaves to a new, more vicious servitude, but when the interests of the nation turned elsewhere, the laws based on those Amendments were not enforced or, when enforced, were declared unconstitutional.

In approving the "separate but equal" doctrine, the Supreme Court mandated that segregated facilities for blacks must be equal.³ As we learned and, by that time, should have expected, only the "separate" part of segregation policy was taken seriously and rigorously enforced. The equality portion of the social formula was applied by courts only when the disparities shocked the white conscience, which on this issue was a well-insulated measuring device indeed.⁴ Out of these experiences, we concluded that black children would never get an equal education unless public schools were desegregated.

W.E.B. Du Bois did not disagree, but he recognized that good schooling could take place if parents supported the school. As early as 1935, he admonished blacks who "fight frenziedly" to desegregate a school only to lose interest if their efforts fail, thereby insuring that their last argument, that nothing of educational value could come from a segregated school, would become a self-fulfilling prophecy.⁵ In short, he urged blacks not to forget the message of

²347 U.S. 483 (1954).

³*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

⁴Prior to *Brown*, state courts sometimes ordered black children admitted to white schools when no provision was made by school boards for their schooling. See, e.g., *Ottawa v. Tinnon*, 26 Kan. 1 (1881). The cases are gathered and discussed in Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *Race, Racism and American Law*, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1980), pp. 368–371.

In the decade before *Brown*, the Supreme Court followed this philosophy in ordering blacks admitted to graduate training provided by the state for whites where no similar provision was made for blacks. See, e.g., *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938); *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

⁵W. E. B. Du Bois, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" *Journal of Negro Education*, 4 (1935), 328–332.

his article: “*The Negro needs neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What he needs is Education.*”⁶ Dr. Du Bois would not have been surprised when blacks at last became entitled to desegregated schools that we would literally lust for racially balanced schools and promptly suppress all memory of the wondrous teachers and principals who, despite the restraints of “separate but equal” policies, somehow enabled generations of black children to learn enough to both survive and fight successfully for school desegregation.

Dr. Du Bois warned that the South would not comply with the decision for many years, “long enough to ruin the education of millions of black and white children.”⁷ And, he predicted, accurately as proved by later events, that the desegregation process would result in the dismissal of thousands of black teachers and the loss of black history and culture.⁸

Our poor judgment was perhaps understandable. It had taken two decades of dedicated legal work by civil rights lawyers and their black clients to convince the Court that the societal subordination of a whole people by requiring their restriction to separate areas of every imaginable public facility did not equate with any serious interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection of the laws mandate.

And even our best arguments might not have been sufficient to convince the Court of the obvious had not at least the formal abandonment of racial segregation been needed to enable the country to compete with Communist powers for the political alliance of millions of third-world people who were emerging from Colonialism after World War II.

But having acknowledged what every black parent knew about schools segregated by law, the Court did little more for the next decade than warn those involved in massive resistance movements that orders of the Federal court must be obeyed. Having conveyed that message, the courts issued very few orders that furthered rather than delayed the school desegregation process.

Then, in response to the myriad schemes effected by school boards intended to evade compliance with *Brown’s* desegregation mandate, civil rights lawyers and their supporting organizations came to condemn every school whose population was black, viewing all-black as synonymous with segregated. Such schools, we argued, were both educationally bad and morally evil.

⁶Ibid, p. 335.

⁷W. DuBois, *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois*, ed. by Herbert Aptheker (New York: International Publishing Co., 1968), p. 333.

⁸Du Bois, “Two Hundred Years of Segregated Schools,” in Philip S. Foner, ed., *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses 1920–63*, (New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1977), pp. 278–284.

The goal, to racially balance every school in every school system, was deemed the only decent definition of desegregation, and we equated such a school with both educational effectiveness and moral right. Civil rights lawyers went so far as to argue that racially balanced schools were preferable even if the black children were doing less well academically than they had in segregated facilities.⁹

When, usually after long years of effort, a school system was desegregated, we characterized the continuing discrimination in the school as “second-generation” segregation problems. Closer examination revealed these difficulties as simply new means of continuing the old priority of distributing educational resources: whites get what they need, and blacks get whatever is left.

Even when gross jim-crowlike schemes, which included maintaining segregated classes within “integrated schools”¹⁰ and assigning students by “ability groupings,”¹¹ were ordered abandoned by the courts, we were slow to recognize how effectively black children could be denied the “equal education opportunity” promised by *Brown* despite compliance with court orders prohibiting the maintenance of all-black schools.

The fact is that in most urban areas of any size, the segregation of residential areas along racial and economic lines translates into most black children attending public schools that are mainly black. When in 1974,¹² the Supreme Court set extremely hard to meet standards for consolidating mainly white suburban school systems with their inner-city counterparts, the necessary proof could be found in only a few formerly *de jure* segregated districts,¹³ and the current patterns of school assignment became inevitable and irreversible.

As of the 1980–81 school year, millions of black students in the South were attending desegregated schools. Most of this desegregation occurred over a decade ago, and in more recent years, southern school systems have become more segregated. But almost half of the black students in the Northeast experienced little desegregation in schools that were from 90 to 100 percent minority. All told, 63 percent of the black students around the country attended

⁹For a full discussion of civil rights lawyers’ rigidity on the means of enforcing *Brown*, see, Derrick Bell, “Serving Two Masters: Integration Ideals and Client Interests in School Desegregation Litigation,” *Yale Law Journal*, 85 (1976), 472, 479–482.

¹⁰*Jackson v. Marvell School Dist. No. 22*, 425 F.2d 211 (8th Cir. 1970).

¹¹*Moses v. Washington Parish School Board*, 330 F.Supp. 1340 (E.D.La. 1971).

¹²*Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717 (1974).

¹³See, *Pennsylvania v. Hoots*, 672 F.2d 1107 (3d Cir. 1982), *cert. denied* 103 S.Ct. 55 (October 4, 1982); *Evans v. Buchanan*, 555 F.2d 373 (3d Cir. 1977); 435 F.Supp. 832 (D. Del. 1977); 447 F.Supp. 982 (D. Del. 1978) (Wilmington, Del.); *Cunningham v. Grayson*, 541 F.2d 538 (6th Cir. 1976) (Louisville, Ky.).

racially isolated schools.¹⁴

School desegregation litigation continues; and over strident dissents, the Supreme Court has generally been content to deny review to traditional desegregation orders, including those requiring what lower courts deem reasonable amounts of busing to achieve desegregation.¹⁵

When mandatory busing orders are not supported by Federal standards requiring proof of intentional discrimination, the Court has refused to approve them.¹⁶ But successful litigation outcomes will no longer disguise the fact that equal educational opportunity will not be gained for scores of poor minority children through traditional desegregation orders calling for remedies that rely on racial balance in school assignments. In the current phases of the continuing effort to obtain an effective education for black children, lawyers and lawsuits will play a role, but it will be now what, perhaps, it should have been all along: a supporting role to the lead of black educators.

RELiance ON THE TEACHERS

Of all the lawyers who labored on the school cases that led to the victory in *Brown v. Board of Education*, few have published their thoughts on the outcomes of that momentous decision, and none have been more thoughtful and honest in their reappraisal than the former NAACP general counsel, and now a Federal district court judge, Robert L. Carter.¹⁷

Objectivity about an accomplishment of this magnitude is not easy, and many persons have spent the balance of their lives relishing the memory of achievements far less significant than participation in the litigation that led to *Brown*. To put it mildly, most lawyers who took part in the *Brown* case are neither tolerant of criticism nor willing to consider that the legal strategies intended to bring about equal educational opportunity through the mechanism of school integration should be reappraised in the light of contemporary demographic and political realities.

Judge Carter's statements are thus of special value and entitled to far more attention than they have received from those who set policy for civil rights organizations. While he is now a Federal

¹⁴Gary Orfield, "Desegregation in the Public Schools, 1968–1980," *Focus*: a publication of the Joint Center for Political Studies, October 1982, pp. 4–5.

¹⁵See, e.g., *Kelley v. Metropolitan Co. Bd. of Educ. of Nashville and Davidson County, Tenn.*, 687 F.2d 814 (6th Cir. 1982), *Cert. denied*, 103 S.Ct. 834 (1983); *Washington v. Seattle School Dist. No. 1*, 102 S.Ct. 3187 (1982); *Cleveland Bd. of Educ. v. Reed*, 607 F.2d 714 (6th Cir. 1979), *cert. denied*, 445 U.S. 935 (1980).

¹⁶*Crawford v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles*, 102 S.Ct. 3211 (1982).

¹⁷Robert Carter, "The Warren Court and Desegregation," *Michigan Law Review*, 67 (1968), 237.

district judge in the Southern District of New York, he served as a chief legal strategist under now Justice Thurgood Marshall in the decade-long court battles that presaged the *Brown* decision. The major role he played in organizing and presenting the social scientist testimony that served as important support for vital aspects of the *Brown* opinion is recorded in detail in Richard Kluger's history of the school desegregation campaign, *Simple Justice*.¹⁸

In preparing the attack on the "separate but equal" standard, Carter urged the use of social scientists because until the *Brown* decision was handed down, "we had neither sought nor received any guidance from professional educators as to what equal education might connote to them in terms of their educational responsibilities." He admits that he felt no need for such guidance "because of our conviction that equal education meant integrated education. . . ." ¹⁹

The conviction was soundly based on bitter experience. White school officials had concocted every conceivable way to manifest contempt for their "separate but equal" obligations, and the sad evidence of that contempt, from deteriorating school buildings and raggedy school buses, to dog-eared, obsolete texts handed down by the white schools, to too large classes taught by underpaid teaching staffs, all left bitter memories that for many blacks could be erased only by the enrollment of black students in previously all-white schools.

For many blacks, school desegregation became as much a penalty to be inflicted on white parents as a remedy to further the educational needs of black children. And, whatever the motivation, as Judge Carter writes, "Northern and Southern white liberals and blacks looked upon racial segregation by law as *the primary* race relations evil in this country."²⁰ And Carter adds in language that I have quoted many times because, in my view, it represents the penultimate lesson provided by the school desegregation decisions: "It was not until *Brown I* was decided that blacks were able to understand that the fundamental vice was not legally enforced *racial segregation* itself; that this was a mere by-product, a symptom of the greater and more pernicious disease—white supremacy."²¹

Judge Carter's statement which he has expressed in one form or another for a decade and a half,²² should have marked the long-

¹⁸R. Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), pp. 396–424.

¹⁹Carter, "A Reassessment of *Brown v. Board*," p. 23.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Carter, "The Warren Court and Desegregation," pp. 237–247.

overdue loss of civil rights innocence. It did not. The romantic notion that integration is the means to as well as the greatly sought end to the long struggle with racism continues to find favor with middle-class liberals of both races.

Happily, there are black educators who, though not invited to participate in school desegregation strategizing, have made impressive strides in evolving techniques to increase, sometimes dramatically, the level of learning in the black schools. It is significant that their success with black children in all-black school settings has generally received more attention from the white media than from civil rights policymakers still committed to the school integration ideal.

Marva Collins, the black teacher in Chicago who resigned from the public schools and opened her own school with her retirement funds, is likely the best known teacher in the country because of her success in teaching ghetto children to read the classics. Periodic excitement is also generated by media reports about the academic exploits of black students in schools like Holy Angel Catholic School in Chicago or Vernum Dei in Los Angeles.²³

In Philadelphia, the all-black Ivy Leaf school is attracting so many students to its academically-oriented program that it has expanded from its elementary and middle-school origins to include a high school.²⁴ And in Los Angeles, the Marcus Garvey School is building a new school that will occupy an entire city block.²⁵ The stories indicate that the schools are responding to black parental disenchantment with the quality of schooling provided by the public schools.

There has been cause for academic excitement in some public schools as well. A few years ago, the *New York Times* in its annual Winter Survey of Education, reported improved reading scores in several predominantly black school districts, among which were Newark, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Detroit.²⁶ More recently, a national magazine hailed "Washington's Elite School" in a complimentary story about the District of Columbia's Banneker Senior High and its college preparatory program for highly motivated students.²⁷

²³Relevant media stories are collected and discussed in Bell, *Race, Racism and American Law*, p. 428, n. 11–12.

²⁴Marcia A. Slacum, "Interest in Black Schools Grows with Their Programs," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 19, 1982, p. C1.

²⁵Pamela Douglas, "The Marcus Garvey School: A Successful Alternative," *The National Leader*, December 23, 1982, p. 10.

²⁶Gene I. Maeroff, "Inner-City Schools Show Signs of Progress," *New York Times*, January 6, 1980, Sec. 13, p. 1.

²⁷*Newsweek*, September 21, 1981, p. 80.

In-depth studies of how black inner-city schools achieve success with children who were almost guaranteed scholastic failure have been few. Until recently both educators and their funding sources have given most of their attention to schools desegregated on the racial balance model. Ron Edmond's work indicates that dozens of inner-city public schools are performing well, indicating that the periodic news stories about effective, black schools are more than exotic but nonreplicable phenomena.²⁸

As the instances of successful black schools begin to erode, the generally held view that a black school is, by definition, a poor school, the needed studies should proliferate. Dr. Barbara Sizemore, the former superintendent of the District of Columbia school system, and now on the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh's black studies program, was the principal investigator for a year-long, in-depth study of three Pittsburgh public schools where the majority of pupils met or exceeded national and local norms in reading and math. The schools were 91 percent black and 51 percent or more were poor.²⁹

As in other examinations of successful black schools, the common component was a strong principal willing to give priority to his or her vision of education even over policy directions coming from the central administration. To buck the system, the principal must have the strong support of the parents and the community, and this support can be obtained only if the school makes measurable progress with the students. As one principal told the Sizemore study group:

What you must do is what you have to do within the school setting to improve the education of kids—even if you have to stretch guidelines, alter regulations, even if you have to be a militant or vociferous in your demands, you have to do it. If it means being non-cooperative, then you have to do that, too. If you have to be a rebel, you can be that.³⁰

Teachers at the effective schools were also mavericks. Like the principals to whom they were quite loyal, they have won the support of parents, and they don't worry about personal promotion. They agreed with the principals that their top priority is high achievement. To bring this about, they risked violating union contracts to spend non-class time tutoring pupils, and they worked before and after school to reinforce skills for students who needed extra help. They also made important decisions about instruction,

²⁸Ron Edmonds, "Effective Education for Minority Pupils: *Brown* Confounded or Confirmed," in Bell, *Shades of Brown*, p. 108.

²⁹"How Some Black Schools Succeed—A Pittsburgh Study," in *PITT* (the University's alumni publication), 20 (February 1983).

³⁰*Ibid.*

materials, and student placement and programs.

While teaching techniques varied from school to school, the Sizemore study found that principals and teachers shared the belief and communicated it to students: black and poor children can learn. The schools' low socio-economic status was not a barrier to achievement. And, there are evidently no magic formulas. The school routines identified by Dr. Sizemore in her Pittsburgh study track quite closely the recommendations I had gleaned from earlier studies and included in "A Model Alternative Desegregation Plan."³¹

The effective school policies include: publication of and prompt enforcement of school rules and penalties; daily principal visits to classrooms and rigorous supervision of staff; meaningful parent participation in the school program; close monitoring of students' progress; criterion-referenced tests to determine reading groups; teaching assignments determined on the basis of expertise, not preference; highly structured, self-contained classrooms modified by some teaching and tempered with affection and consideration; using effective teaching materials not approved by the board, especially phonics, mathematics word problems, and black history, culture, and literature.³²

EFFECTING THE RECONCILIATION

In an old rhythm and blues song, the lyric chides a less than faithful lover with the message: "I may not be the one you want, but I sure am the one you need." In our romantic infatuation with racial balance-type remedies, we have over the years not sought suggestions from black teachers regarding school desegregation for fear it might take the form of self-serving testimony designed to protect their jobs rather than advance the schooling needs of our children.

It turns out that black teachers might have been interested in doing both. As Dr. Du Bois warned, the desegregation process did destroy the careers of uncounted thousands of black teachers and principals. Only the pursuit of school integration as something akin to a romantic object could have blinded us to the fact that court decisions do not of their own effect equal educational opportunity. School desegregation processes carried out so as to permit school boards to discharge black teachers and humble black administrators who were invariably reduced to assistant status, often with no real duties, represented no achievement for either we who "won" such cases, nor for the black children we were trying to serve.

³¹Bell, *Shades of Brown*, p. 124.

³²*Ibid.*

But in the early days, we were distrustful of black teachers who did not wholeheartedly endorse school integration. That distrust remains today as is evident by the fact that both the media and the courts have seemed more ready than civil rights agencies to recognize the potential educational value of all-black schools when these schools are freed of the fiscal and psychological burdens of enforced segregation.

The Supreme Court has given its blessing to school desegregation plans that emphasize policies intended to improve the quality of education even when those policies reduce the potential racial balancing of the schools. In the Detroit school case, the plaintiffs, after failing to obtain an interdistrict metropolitan remedy in the 70 percent black school system,³³ urged that the city's schools be fully integrated. The district court approved instead a plan giving priority to educational reform.³⁴

In approving the Detroit plan that had the support of much of the black community as well as the predominantly black Detroit school board, Chief Justice Burger rejected contentions that the constitutional violation was the unlawful segregation of students on the basis of race, and therefore the Court's decree must be limited to remedying unlawful pupil assignments. He explained that the specific educational remedies, normally the province of the school board, were necessary "to restore the victims of discriminatory conduct to the position they would have enjoyed in terms of education had these four components been provided in a nondiscriminatory manner in a school system free from pervasive de jure racial segregation."³⁵

Earlier, lower courts had given indications that they were willing to approve desegregation plans giving priority to educational improvement over racial balance. In the early 1970s, local black attorneys in Atlanta worked out a settlement of the school desegregation case that called for full faculty and employee desegregation but only limited pupil desegregation. In exchange the school board promised to hire a number of blacks in top administrative positions, including a black superintendent of schools.³⁶ National civil rights groups opposed the settlement, but in approving the plan the court of appeals noted that blacks occupied a majority of school board posts, two-thirds of the school administration and staff posts, and over 60 percent of the faculty positions. In addition, "the numerous

³³*Milliken v. Bradley I*, 418 U.S. 717 (1974).

³⁴*Bradley v. Milliken*, 402 F.Supp. 1096 (E.D. Mich. 1975); *affd.* 540 F.2d 229 (6th Cir. 1976).

³⁵*Milliken v. Bradley II*, 433 U.S. 267, 282 (1977).

³⁶*Calhoun v. Cook*, 362 F.Supp. 1249 (N.D. Ga. 1973).

nonappealing black plaintiffs who agree and support the present plan attest the district's lack of discrimination against black students as well as its freedom from the effects of past race-based practices."³⁷

A potentially valuable legal precedent that has received far less attention than it deserves is *Tasby v. Wright*, a 1981 district court decision in the Dallas school desegregation litigation.³⁸ Despite litigation stretching back to 1955, the court found "vestiges of state-imposed racial segregation remain. . . . (adding) that additional systemwide transportation is not a feasible remedy for the existing constitutional violation."³⁹

Under earlier desegregation plans, the large and increasingly Mexican-American and black school system was divided into six sub-districts, two of which were predominantly minority. Demographic conditions tended to support the school board contentions that the two minority districts, one 82 percent Mexican-American and the other 98 percent black, could not be desegregated on the racial balance model. In refusing to alter the sub-district arrangement, the court noted that the opposition of many black parents to any transportation out of the black district was based on their fear that it would adversely affect the quality of schooling and result in a loss of parental involvement and community support for the schools.⁴⁰

The court also noted that the educational program in the all-black district based on the assumption that minority children can learn, even in a primarily minority setting, had been praised and emulated by leading educational authorities around the country. The sub-district, under the leadership of Dr. Yvonne Ewell, a noted black educator, has experienced a steady rise in student achievement levels. Indeed, the court found it had increased as much or more than minority achievement in the sub-districts of the system that had been racially balanced.⁴¹

Without litigation, local black groups in Portland, Oregon and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, have successfully opposed racial balance plans in favor of policies intended to improve the quality of schooling in black communities. And in Philadelphia, a new, black school superintendent, Constance Clayton, has sought a delay in a court-ordered desegregation plan in order to revise its provisions and place the thrust of the plan on education rather than transporta-

³⁷*Calhoun v. Cook*, 487 F.2d 680, 719 (5th Cir. 1973). The court held to this view on subsequent appeals. See, 522 F.2d 717 (5th Cir. 1975); 525 F.2d 1203 (5th Cir. 1975).

³⁸520 F.Supp. 683 (N.D. Tex. 1981).

³⁹*Ibid.* at 686.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* at 744 (103).

⁴¹*Ibid.* at 741–742 (98–100).

tion.⁴² She hopes to implement programs to increase the achievement of students at predominantly black schools which would eliminate the need to pair those schools with predominantly white schools for desegregation purposes.⁴³

Educators and social scientists are now involved in compiling the instances of success and analyzing the growing number of studies of effective schools in ghetto areas.⁴⁴ Much of this literature has grown out of the disenchantment with racial balance remedies as the definitive means of desegregating schools, particularly in large urban areas that are all-black. Additionally, the new studies are a response to the widely-held view that education cannot compensate for social status or family background.⁴⁵

Whatever was the situation in 1955, when civil rights lawyers and courts began the long road toward compliance with the *Brown* decision, there is now plenty of evidence that all-black schools can effectively educate those who attend them. There are millions of minority children attending all-minority schools in urban areas so dense that desegregation by the racial balance model is both a political and demographic impossibility. And, as indicated here, courts are more than willing to consider alternative means of providing "equal education opportunity."

In short, the time is ripe for the successors to Robert L. Carter to adopt the educationally-oriented school desegregation strategy now that in hindsight he wishes he had placed in effect in 1955.

⁴²Marcia A. Slacum, "Clayton Preparing Plan to Improve Desegregation," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, March 8, 1983.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴See generally, Margarite Ross Barnett et al., "Hope for Urban Schools Project," mimeographed (Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York).

⁴⁵See, e.g., C. Jencks et al., *Inequality* (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

The Implementation of Desegregation Plans Since Brown

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INTRODUCTION

When the Supreme Court overturned the doctrine of "separate but equal" in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (Brown I)* (1954) as a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, it fashioned a decision with no immediate relief. The question of relief was set for reargument, and an invitation to submit briefs to aid in the formulation of relief was extended to the attorneys general of the United States and the states where de jure school segregation was imposed. Although the reargument was held a year later in *Brown II* (1955), the Court still failed to provide clear guidelines to end de jure segregation in public schools. Instead, it required only "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" (p. 300). Thus, whether a Black student could be admitted to a formerly all-White school or vice versa constituted desegregation was left unanswered. The Court provided no definitions of desegregation and no guidance regarding how it was to be accomplished.

The issue was further confounded by the Court's now-famous admonishment to the states to use "all deliberate speed" in implementing the mandates of *Brown II* (p. 301). This phrase soon took on the mantle of black humor: Blacks, it was noted, wanted "speed," while Whites wanted to be "deliberate." *Brown II*, with its high-sounding phrases founded on the notion that school systems would make good-faith efforts to comply with the mandates of *Brown I*, became more a symbol of victory than a definitive statement or direction for remedy.

Following *Brown II*, the White community, with few guidelines from the courts, moved deliberately. As would be expected, little desegregation happened. Still, even though little was happening and even less planning was being done, some progress was made. Amidst a flurry of state laws obstructing desegregation, political posturing by elected officials, retaliation against civil rights lawyers, and open defiance by local citizen groups, most of the southern states previously operating under de jure segregation took some affirmative actions.

One of the early tests of *Brown* arose in Little Rock, Arkansas, where a desegregation plan formulated by local school authorities was opposed by the state legislature and by the governor, who called in the National Guard to prevent Black students from attending a formerly all-White high school. The governor's actions were enjoined by the federal district court. Subsequently, in *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958), the Supreme Court unanimously

held that the desegregation in Little Rock was to proceed and that *Brown* could not be overcome by state legislative actions. However, like *Brown*, *Cooper* provided no guidelines as to what constituted a desegregated school. Hence, many districts proceeded with the notion that accepting a few assigned or voluntary Black student transfers into formerly all-White schools satisfied the requirements of *Brown*.

As the years following *Brown* passed with little appreciable change in the racial makeup of the former de jure school systems, the Court became impatient. In *McNeese v. Board of Education for Community Unit School District 187, Chaokia, Illinois* (1963), the Court held that it was not necessary to exhaust administrative remedies in school desegregation cases before relief could be sought in a federal court. *McNeese* was quickly followed by *Griffin v. Prince Edward County Board of Education* (1964), in which the Court held that “the time for mere ‘deliberate speed’ had run out” (p. 234). Despite these stern words, however, little significant desegregation occurred.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Little was accomplished in the initial desegregation efforts following *Brown* because no clear judicial guidelines were set forth. While a few districts attempted to desegregate by “allowing” a handful of Blacks to attend formerly all-White schools on a voluntary basis, no efforts were made to assign or entice White children to attend formerly all-Black schools.

Among the earliest desegregation strategies were the so-called freedom of choice plans. Basically, these plans involved expanding attendance zones to include both Black and White schools. Each child was provided with the opportunity to select the school of his or her choice within the expanded zone. Freedom of choice plans had a ring of democracy because they allegedly gave families a choice of schools for their children. Generally, however, there were several caveats. First, in most instances the children living closest to a school had first choice to attend it. Second, children were assigned to their second or third choices as schools reached some arbitrarily determined building capacity. Third, and most important, school guidance personnel exercised substantial influence over the selection process. Thus, with freedom of choice, school authorities continued to control most, if not all, pupil assignments, and, in most cases, made little pretext that it was their desire to have the schools remain unchanged. As a result, former Black schools remained all-Black and former White schools gained a few selected Black students.

The first real test of freedom of choice involving a contest between “desegregation experts” and school authorities occurred in a Virginia case, *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968). In *Green*, the school board had set up a freedom of choice plan that allowed students in the county to select between two racially segregated K–12 schools. However, after the plan was implemented, no White children attended the formerly all-Black school, and only 15% of Black children were enrolled in the formerly all-White school. Testimony in the case revealed that the

county's Black students were "counseled" out of choosing the White school, while school and community pressures guaranteed that no White families would send their children to the Black school.

In *Green*, the Supreme Court laid down important guidelines that had significant influence upon desegregation plans. It stated that it was no longer satisfied with state neutrality and, quoting from *Griffin*, once again stated that "the time for 'deliberate speed' has run out" (p. 438). Additionally, the Court charged state school officials "with the affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary school system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated, root and branch" (p. 438). This meant that local authorities were held accountable not only for their affirmative acts but also for their acts of omission. The Court also noted its dissatisfaction with freedom of choice plans that had not eliminated racially identifiable schools. Finally, it held that freedom of choice may be allowed to prove itself, but maintained that "if there are reasonably available other ways, promising speedier and more effective conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system, freedom of choice plans must be held unacceptable" (p. 441).

Following *Green*, plaintiff groups were able to present more clearly their demands, and the courts were better able to establish guidelines. Along with the implementation of the legal principals established in *Green*, the use of mathematical formulas in plan development and analysis began. As directed by the district court and affirmed by the circuit court, a mathematical definition of plus or minus 15% for racial identifiability was developed. That is, henceforth, a school would be judged to be desegregated if the racial ratio of its student body was within 15% of the overall student population of the district. This standard yielded a definitive measure for desegregation planners and the courts as various plans to satisfy *Brown* were advanced by school systems and plaintiffs alike.

Green's progeny addressed the refinements of freedom of choice. For example, in *Bradley v. Board of Public Instruction of Pinellas County, Florida* (1970), the Fifth Circuit disallowed a plan based upon majority-to-minority transfer, in which the voluntary transfer of the student improves the racial balance of both the sending and receiving school. The court did not rule the plan out, but held that it could not be used if it did not work. In a Michigan case, *Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac* (1971), the Sixth Circuit ruled that when the only alternative to freedom of choice proposed by the school board was no more than the reaffirmation of existing policy, the adoption of a compromise plan by the District Court was not an abuse of its discretion.

Since *Green*, the courts have been very clear regarding the place of freedom of choice in school desegregation. They have noted that this approach has previously served White parents in their efforts to avoid sending their children to desegregated or formerly Black schools, and have maintained that freedom of choice plans are acceptable only if they are effective in promoting desegregation. Prior to the development of magnet schools there was little educational excuse for freedom of choice, and where such justification was manufactured, it was easily defeated in the courts. Thus, the only component of freedom of choice that remains in use today is majority-to-minority transfer.

STUDENT ASSIGNMENT PLANS

Following *Green*, the science of student assignment evolved through the efforts of desegregation consultants. Plans based on assignments utilizing attendance area redistricting, pairing and clustering attendance zones, and restructuring grade configurations within buildings were developed in several southern states. Almost overnight, by state law, most of Florida's large, countywide school districts were involved in designing desegregation plans. Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi—which were divided into the more traditional city, town, and rural school units that called for less extreme reassignment plans—simply assigned White students to formerly all-Black schools, and vice versa, within these smaller geographic areas. These areas were so compact that in a substantial number of instances, student assignments were from the same neighborhoods and there were many instances where the former Black and White schools actually shared common playgrounds. Additionally, small district plans in these states provided value beyond desegregation because they eliminated the expense of program, equipment, and course duplication found separately in the former White and Black schools.

The desegregation plans used in larger, formerly *de jure* southern school systems, communities, although involving more students, were not complicated. Attendance areas were redrawn or separate zones were paired or clustered and students were assigned to them by race. Where distances were too great for students to walk to school conveniently, the provision of transportation, generally busing, to facilitate school desegregation was ordered.

Even though transportation involved less than 10% of the nation's school children, a hue and cry of resistance to it developed. The political institutionalization of the term "busing" came about in *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District* (1970). When the school board and White parents in this Texas community put forth their case by describing the dire effects that would result from the transportation of students to achieve desegregation, a federal trial court judge rejected their arguments, drawing the following conclusion:

... the children who are being bused now make no such claims, nor have I seen showing of any harmful effects on the individual children that will outweigh the harmful effects on the Negro or Mexican-American child who is in a segregated dual system. ... The physical and social inconveniences that some children might suffer will not be so severe or so prolonged when compared to the psychological and emotional trauma, and scarring, and crippling that minority children suffer when they feel that they are rejected and not accepted. (pp. 623–624).

This decision did not go unnoticed. In a televised speech following the decision in the Corpus Christi case, then-President Richard Nixon cited that district's busing plan as an example of unconscionable social engineering. Thus, *Cisneros* spawned an era in which busing became synonymous with school desegregation.

The showdown on busing occurred in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971). In *Swann*, the Supreme Court held:

... we find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school. (p. 30)

The Court also established the caveat that the distance of travel could not be so great as to risk the health and safety of children. Thus stated, it let stand the busing of 23,600 pupils in this North Carolina community an average of 15 miles one way requiring over an hour of busing.

In a case originating in Mississippi, *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District* (1969), the Fifth Circuit provided a laundry list of desegregation dictates while addressing specifically the desegregation of school staff and faculty. The court reviewed the demotions and dismissals of Black educators in the newly desegregated Jackson School District, holding that a desegregated faculty must be assigned, promoted, paid, and demoted without regard to race. Further, it maintained that any reduction in professional staff must be based on objective and reasonable nondiscriminatory standards, and that no staff vacancies could be filled through recruitment of any person of a race, color, or national origin different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted.

The school board in *Singleton* was directed to develop nonracial, objective criteria when identifying staff members who were to be dismissed or demoted. Regarding students, the Fifth Circuit addressed and permitted a majority-to-minority transfer in the Jackson school district, but only after racially desegregated pupil assignments had occurred. It also directed that schools and classrooms had to be desegregated and reorganized the district's busing plan to offer nondiscriminatory transportation to all qualified students. Finally, all school construction, site selection, and location of temporary classrooms had to meet with the approval of the court in order to prevent the recurrence of a dual school system.

Most importantly, the mandate of immediate desegregation and the creation of unitary systems formulated in *Green* was effectively restated in *Singleton*. The court allowed the district no time to waste on the development of complex, exotic programs or ploys so that business as usual could continue. The plan was ordered in January 1970 and ordered implemented by September 1970.

Following closely on the heels of *Singleton* was *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education* (1970), wherein a federal court in California held that school authorities were obligated under the provisions of the 14th Amendment to make an equitable distribution of teachers and administrators according to experience and advanced training. The system was found to have violated the Equal Protection Clause when it assigned teachers with less experience and training to schools with predominantly Black enrollments. The court further ruled that requiring students from two Black residential areas to be transported to White schools in order to achieve desegregation while not simultaneously requiring White children to be bused into Black areas placed an undue share of the burden on the Black children. *Spangler* is significant because, for the first time, a court addressed the need to balance teachers' experience and credentials in addition to race. It also established the notion of equity so that the burden of the desegregation would not fall upon one race.

The next round of cases gave greater definition to these standards. In *Davis v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County* (1971), the Supreme Court held that the proposed division of an Alabama school district into two parts, each with different desegregation ratios, was unlawful. The

Court reached this conclusion even though the community was naturally divided by a north–south highway. In *Johnson v. San Francisco Unified School District* (1971), a district court held that desegregation was to provide maximum benefits that could not be achieved by the mere meeting of arithmetical percentages on racial balance; the experience and qualifications of teachers as well as the size of classes were also important considerations. The following year, *Wright v. Council of the City of Emporia* (1972) was decided. In this case, the Supreme Court held that a city could not withdraw from a county school system. The test in permitting withdrawal would be to determine whether withdrawal hindered or furthered the process of school desegregation.

DE FACTO SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEMS

The Supreme Court did not address de facto segregation until it was presented with *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado* (1973). In that case, it found that Denver school authorities had intentionally maintained a segregated system in which a pocket of schools in an area populated mostly by Blacks and Hispanics was educationally inferior to the predominantly White schools in other parts of the city. Accordingly, the Court allowed for the effectuation of a systemwide remedy with a showing of intentional segregation in only a substantial portion of the district. Many legal scholars and attorneys have questioned this “allness” premise of *Keyes* on the doctrinal basis that the scope of the remedy should not exceed the scope of the violation—that is, if only a portion of the district is segregated, only this portion need be desegregated. Following *Keyes*, the first real attempt to confine a remedy to a portion of a school system was made in an Ohio case, *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman* (*Dayton I*) (1977). In its ruling, the Supreme Court stated the following: “Once a constitutional violation is found, a Federal Court is required to tailor ‘the scope of the remedy’ to fit the nature and extent of the constitutional violation” (p. 420). It then added: “. . . only if there has been a systemwide impact may there be a systemwide remedy” (p. 420). On remand, the trial court in *Dayton I* was given time to come to grips with the meaning of the terms “cumulative violation” and “incremental segregative effect,” which had been used by the Supreme Court in its opinion. The district court was to leave the plan it had ordered in effect until a new plan could be fashioned that complied with *Dayton I*.

With the plan temporarily in effect in the city of Dayton and with the district court slightly bewildered by the directions given it by the Supreme Court, school authorities appealed once again. In 1979, the Court heard two Ohio cases simultaneously, *Dayton II* and *Columbus Board of Education v. Pennick*. In both instances, the district courts had held that the segregative effect was districtwide, and therefore a districtwide plan was appropriate. Although the Court did not overrule *Dayton I*, Justice White’s remarkably logical opinion certainly rewrote it and reaffirmed the acceptability of a systemwide remedy in instances where segregative intent had been established. Chief Justice William Rehnquist, the author of *Dayton I*, dissented strongly in both *Pennick* and *Dayton II*. Writing in his dissenting opinion in *Pennick*, he stated:

I could not subscribe to the affirmative duty, the foreseeability test, the cavalier treatment of causality, and the false hope of *Keyes* and *Swann* rebuttal in Columbus, I cannot subscribe to them here. Little would be gained by another 'blow-by-blow' recitation in dissent of how the Court's cascade of presumptions in this case sweeps away the distinction between de facto and de jure segregation. (p. 542).

However, as White pointed out, the district court had repeatedly emphasized that it had found purposeful segregative practices with current systemwide impact. These practices satisfied *Keyes* while blunting the incremental effect requirements of *Dayton I*. White noted that *Pennick* was:

... not a misuse of *Keyes*, where we held that purposeful discrimination in a substantial part of a school system furnishes a sufficient basis for an inferential finding of a systemwide discriminatory intent ... and that given the purpose to operate a dual school system one can infer a connection between such a purpose and racial segregation in other parts of the school system. ... The Court of Appeals was also quite justified in utilizing the Board's total failure to fulfill its affirmative duty—and indeed its conduct resulting in increased segregation—to trace the current, systemwide segregation back to the purposefully dual system of the 1950's and to the subsequent acts of intentional discrimination. (p. 541)

Thus, whereas *Brown* eliminated de jure segregation, *Keyes* addressed de facto segregation and established the availability of a systemwide remedy. *Keyes* closed the ring in terms of a basis for liability in school desegregation. Following *Keyes* but prior to *Dayton II* and *Pennick*, it became clear to most Americans that school desegregation was going to occur both in the North and the South as well as in urban, suburban, and rural districts. This realization spawned a series of lawsuits built upon creative interpretations of the Supreme Court's mandates.

For example, in *Morgan v. Hennigan* (1974), District Court Judge Arthur Garrity came to the forefront in the first of a series of decisions involving the Boston public schools. In this case, Garrity found the school authorities had knowingly and intentionally maintained a dual system that affected all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities. Additionally, he found that while the Boston school board and its commissioner were not responsible for the maintenance of the dual system, they would be retained as parties for the purpose of remedial relief. In a subsequent case, *Morgan v. Kerrigan* (1975), Garrity ordered a desegregation plan involving the creation of community districts and citywide magnet schools in addition to the normal redistricting, pairing, and clustering of schools. In response to a vocal and at times violent reactions to his orders, he stated that the presence of racial hostility is not the applicable standard in determining whether the maintenance of a dual school system is unconstitutional. Identifiably one-race schools inflicted two sorts of injury upon minority students, Garrity noted. The first injury was the effrontery likely to be felt from racial or ethnic isolation; the second was the effect on minority-group students of being cut off from the majority culture upon which success in society is determined.

Garrity's plan met with significant resistance that eventually turned into violence. South Boston High School suffered several fires and was the site of numerous fights, intimidations, and acts of vandalism. Significant disruptions occurred at other schools and throughout the community. The Boston School Committee, absolving itself from any connection with the desegregation plan, blamed Judge Garrity for the violence. The school district quickly deteriorated and its administration became chaotic. Conse-

quently, Garrity took over the school system, appointing his own administration and enjoining the Committee from actively directing the system. The conflict was eventually resolved, but strong feelings of racial animosity were generated throughout Boston as a result.

A similar set of circumstances occurred in Cleveland, Ohio. In *Reed v. Rhodes* (1976), District Court Judge Battisti found that the Cleveland school district was segregated. He further held that the construction of quality neighborhood schools in response to the overcrowded conditions that plagued many of the city's identifiably Black schools could not be viewed as a defense for the operation of a dual system because the new schools exacerbated the isolation and identification of facilities by race. When, as in Boston, the desegregation order was met with violence, the court took over the operation of the schools, removing some school officials, enjoining the board, and appointing its own administrators.

Not all school systems reacted violently to desegregation orders, even though there was a significant amount of litigation after *Keyes*. For example, there was a noticeable absence of violence in the aftermath of *Higgins v. Board of Education of the City of Grand Rapids, Michigan* (1973). In this case, the trial court ordered an end to that city school board's practice of consistently assigning Black administrators and teachers to predominantly Black schools, which it determined were the product of a contrived set of neighborhoods whose boundaries were determined in large part by the racially defined housing patterns.

In a case addressing the segregation of Hispanic students, the Fifth Circuit found in *Morales v. Shannon* (1975) that the San Antonio, Texas, school district had established and maintained since 1907 a facility known as "the Mexican School." Subsequently, two similar elementary schools had been established, and the district had implemented a freedom of choice plan superimposed over a "proximity to school" assignment system in which nearness of residence took precedence. The court ordered an end to this system because it effectively "froze" Mexican American students into the three identifiably segregated schools. In a second Texas case, *United States v. Texas Education Agency* (1976), the Austin Independent School District was found to be operating a school system that discriminated against Blacks and Hispanics. The same court applied a tort theory, maintaining that individuals intend the natural and foreseeable consequences of their actions. Thus, it held that the assignment of students to schools closest to their homes in a city with clearly defined segregated housing patterns established a prima facie case of de facto segregation.

In *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People v. Lansing Board of Education* (1977), the Sixth Circuit reaffirmed a test for purposeful segregation by public officials and held that a finding of de facto segregation would be upheld when it was apparent that authorities carried out a systematic program of school segregation. The court further ruled that segregative intent can be inferred when, as was done in this Michigan city, school authorities implement and command special transfer policies and one-way busing so that Black children are transported out of their neighborhoods into White schools without a reciprocal transfer of White students.

The effect of these decisions was a flurry of litigation. As the ensuing decisions came down, White parents in the nation's cities moved to the

safe havens of the suburbs, thereby removing their children from the increasingly integrated urban public schools. Whites remaining in urban areas found themselves in districts in which they were the minority. The loss of the White population, and its accompanying leadership and economic base, led to concerns that the urban schools would become dumping grounds for poor and disenfranchised students. Conversely, the emerging suburban communities were viewed as profiting unfairly and as having been allowed to remain above the realities of the deprivation that, if not a direct result of the suburban development, was certainly an outgrowth of it. With this in mind, plaintiff groups began to look toward the greater metropolitan areas as sources for relief from the vestiges of segregation.

METROPOLITAN REMEDIES

As early as 1970, it became apparent that segregated urban districts would lose a portion of their White populations to suburban areas and private schools when desegregation plans were implemented. Where these occurrences appeared to be a real possibility, plaintiff groups sought metropolitan or interdistrict relief. This meant that plaintiffs asked the courts to go beyond the boundaries of the districts and incorporate those students who resided in separate, contiguous school systems into metropolitan desegregation plans. Previously, most school officials had drawn attendance areas following municipal or racial boundaries. However, when court-ordered school desegregation plans were implemented, attendance zones were no longer coterminous with municipal boundaries; instead, they involved entire counties as a single unit. This minimized the impact of population movement and sent the message that there was nowhere to go to escape desegregation.

Two cases are illustrative: *Spangler and Hobson v. Hanson* (1971) addressed problems associated with desegregating large metropolitan school districts in California and Washington, D.C., respectively. Both cases involved areas in which a large Black urban population was surrounded by a large White suburban community, yet the courts refused to go beyond municipal boundaries to include the suburban areas in the remedy plans. The real push for metropolitan remedies occurred in two later suits occurring at about the same time: *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974) and *Newburg Area Council v. Board of Education of Jefferson County, Kentucky* (1974).

Milliken and *Newburg* followed uniquely different courses; one eventually led to an interdistrict remedy. In the more famous of the two, the Detroit, Michigan *Milliken* case, the Supreme Court denied interdistrict relief even though most of the suburban schools had not been parties to the lawsuit and no claim had been made that they had committed any constitutional violations. The Court held in *Milliken* that an interdistrict remedy cannot be imposed absent unconstitutional, racially discriminatory acts by individual districts causing interdistrict segregation or the deliberate drawing of district lines on the basis of race. It maintained that an interdistrict remedy might seriously disrupt the structure of public education in Michigan and give rise to problems associated with large-scale busing as well as school finance and administration.

The *Newburg* litigation became an issue between the school districts of the city of Louisville, Kentucky, and surrounding Jefferson County. The Louisville school board supported consolidation of the districts for several reasons, one being desegregation. Jefferson County school officials, on the other hand, opposed such a move. Louisville had the vast majority of the Black population; Jefferson County contained almost two-thirds of the area's White population. By 1971, almost three-fourths of Louisville's schools were racially identifiable, with enrollments of almost 50% Black. The Black enrollment was increasing each year, primarily because the White enrollment was falling rapidly as Whites fled the city for the suburbs. In distinguishing *Milliken* from *Newburg*, the lower court found that "school district lines in Kentucky have been ignored in the past for the purposes of aiding and implementing continued segregation" and ordered the districts to combine (p. 1360). Instead of following the usual appeal procedures when the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal, the Louisville district, operating under state law, voted itself out of existence. This automatically transferred responsibility for the city's schools to the county system, and the need for a metropolitan remedy became a reality.

Following *Milliken* and *Newburg*, the courts were disinclined to consider additional metropolitan remedies. In *Tasby v. Estes* (1975), the Fifth Circuit refused to even address a metropolitan remedy for the Dallas, Texas, schools. The same was true when the issue was raised in Boston, Dayton, Columbus, and Birmingham.

A significant omission in the early decisions involving interdistrict segregation was the failure to find intent on the part of the state or the school district to cause interdistrict segregation. In *United States v. Board of School Commissioners of the City of Indianapolis, Indiana* (1976), the lower courts refused to issue an order consolidating the Marion County school districts because intent was not found. However, the Supreme Court vacated and remanded Indianapolis in light of the decisions in *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation* (1977) and *Mayor of Washington, D.C. v. Davis* (1976), in which the decisions had been based upon the requirement of a racially discriminatory intent or purpose in order to establish a constitutional violation.

Prior to the *Indianapolis* case, the significant element in the metropolitan remedies had not been intent. Rather, it had been the need to establish prior de jure segregation. In these earlier decisions, the Court had emphasized that the state and local officials had an affirmative duty to bar further discrimination and to remove all vestiges of past discrimination. Thus, in *Indianapolis*, *Arlington Heights*, and *Mayor of Washington, D.C. v. Davis*, the courts appeared to be saying that past de jure segregation provided sufficient intent to commit an interdistrict violation where segregative effects were found.

The key in all metropolitan remedies remained *Milliken*, which stood for the proposition that where no interdistrict segregative intent resulting from a constitutional violation could be found, an interdistrict remedy was impermissible. Some significant cause-effect relationship, either previous or ongoing, had to exist between the school districts in order to warrant an interdistrict relief. However, where school systems exchanged

or allowed cross-district student enrollments for segregative purposes or with segregative results, an interdistrict remedy was warranted. For example, in *Evans v. Buchanan* (1976), a federal trial court found that after 1954—that is, post-*Brown*—the Wilmington, Delaware school board had allowed White students optional attendance zones outside of their residential areas. Additionally, it found that the state had promoted segregation since 1973 by subsidizing interdistrict transportation of its public school students, 94% of whom were White, to private and parochial schools. These practices met the standard of intent and an interdistrict remedy was ordered.

The deliberate drawing of district lines to conform to racial residential patterns was also sufficient to infer intent and purposeful discrimination. Not all courts were willing to acknowledge residential patterns as a basis for interdistrict relief, however. For example, in *School District of Kansas City, Missouri v. State* (1978), the Court held that although there were segregative conditions throughout the entire metropolitan area of Kansas City, the intentional acts or omissions of the city and state as well as the districts could not justify a claim for interdistrict relief. Later, in a surprising decision in *Taylor v. Ouachita Parish School Board* (1981), the trial court held that although more than 2,000 White students residing in Monroe, Louisiana, attended schools outside the city in Ouachita Parish, there was no demonstration of segregative intent under *Milliken*. The court subsequently refused to mandate interdistrict relief, but it did order the parish's students reassigned to the Monroe City schools and ordered a building owned and operated by the Ouachita Parish School Board transferred to the Monroe City School District. In addition, it ordered the overlapping attendance zones and interdistrict options for activities to be discontinued.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of desegregation remedies has had an inconsistent history. For many years, the nation's courts operated without a reliable definition of what constituted a desegregated school or district. Once the Supreme Court went beyond de jure segregation and included districts with de facto segregation, the issue became the proper extent of the remedy. The incremental effect standard of *Dayton I* confused the planning in metropolitan areas by requiring the almost impossible task of showing liability for each individual school in a district. This standard was significantly restructured with *Dayton II* and *Pennick*.

Throughout the history of desegregation planning, the courts have supported the redrawing of attendance boundaries, the pairing and clustering of attendance areas, and the provision of transportation to ameliorate school segregation, where necessary. Ironically, the political sloganeering that has accompanied the latter remedy and partisan cries for "quality education" and "neighborhood schools" have historically occurred within communities only after desegregation became an issue, not before.

Prior to the 1980s, U.S. courts had a tendency to ignore political pressures and order plans utilizing accepted desegregation techniques. More

recently, the courts have looked to less volatile remedies. These latter-day plans have focused upon volunteerism and magnet programs, accompanied by substantial amounts of federal funds, primarily in urban areas where Black populations exceed 50% of a district's student population. Despite the significant federal funding of these programs, which have, in some instances, played a role in the improvement of educational outcomes, they have had only modest impact upon desegregation.

The metropolitan solution is a concept whose time has not yet arrived. Although much economic, social, and educational logic exists to support metropolitan remedies that unite communities that are economically tied to one another, neither the political will nor the inclination of the courts to embrace such solutions are present. The metropolitan remedy apparently will occur only after urban school districts have turned completely minority and have ceased to be viable. At that point, however, the apparent economic consequences of dysfunctional, racially isolated, urban communities and school districts could become so severe in terms of the deterioration of urban infrastructures, economic deprivation, crime, and concomitant social problems, that the metropolitan remedy will be the only feasible solution to public education, let alone the issues of racial isolation.

The plans that are in effect in most middle-sized to small U.S. communities are, for the most part, working. It is the larger metropolitan sprawls, where over 80% of the public school children now attend school, that still have severe problems of racial isolation. The plans that have worked in the past may no longer be viable. The plans of the future require realistic magnets, mandatory assignments to interdistrict schools, educational parks, specialty schools operated on a regional basis, and other approaches that manifest serious attempts by public officials to address the issues and root causes of racism in the United States.

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Fifty Years After Brown: The Benefits and Tradeoffs for African American Educators and Students

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This article examines the benefits and tradeoffs for African American professional educators and students that resulted from the profound Brown v. Board of Education decision. It addresses the impact of the Brown decision immediately after it was rendered for African American educators and students and the legacy of Brown for both of these groups during the previous 50th years. The article also presents the findings from a study of 36 current and recently retired African American high school principals in North Carolina and Alabama to determine their perceptions of the legacy of the Brown decision for both African American educators and high school students. Additionally, the article presents the views of a small sample of these principals who were interviewed regarding the degree to which African American high school students are currently involved in student leadership roles and school activities. Results of the study indicated that the vast majority of the respondents believed that Brown had benefited both African American educators and students; however, they indicated that it had some unintended consequences such as a precipitous drop in the number of African American teachers to serve as role models, competent professionals, and authority figures for students—both Black and White. Furthermore, they perceive that, particularly in integrated high schools where White students are in the majority, the curriculum usually does not adequately address the history, contributions, culture, and experiences of African Americans. Moreover, the principals perceive that African American students in fully integrated schools, with few exceptions, are underrepresented in school leadership roles and are often reluctant to run for elective leadership positions because they usually do not believe they can win.

INTRODUCTION

On May 17, 1954, at 12:52 p.m., the United States Supreme Court rendered its momentous decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954). The fundamental public policy that the court unanimously ruled upon was straightforward: segregated schools (established and maintained by state action) were inherently unequal. The court clearly said, through its ruling, that separate but equal was, in fact, a contradiction in terms—official state sanctioned segregation was a violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, which forbids any state from making or enforcing any laws which deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Prior to the Supreme Court's ruling, dual and segregated school systems had been established and maintained for African American and White students. These schools systems were primarily in the southern states where Jim Crow laws had prevailed after reconstruction. Ironically, the rationale for establishing and maintaining *de jure* segregated schools had been also formalized by the United States Supreme Court in another momentous decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in 1896, which legitimized the principle of "separate but equal" (1896). The case evolved from a suit filed by Homer Plessy, a Black man who had filed suit after he had initially been fined for sitting in the White section of a railroad car in Louisiana. His case questioned the constitutionality of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, passed in 1890, providing for separate railway

carriages for the White and colored races. Plessy contested the decision all the way to the United States Supreme Court, which upheld the state's separate but equal doctrine.

In the *Plessy* decision, the Supreme Court gave racial inequality and segregation an air of legitimacy for over a half century. Moreover, it served to institutionalize racial segregation and social norms, particularly in the South, in both public and private arenas. Not only did the decision condone and maintain racially separate railroad cars and other modes of public transportation, it virtually assured segregation in schools and school activities, courthouses, waiting rooms, public beaches, swimming pools, restaurants, bathrooms and drinking fountains.

Although the Supreme Court ostensibly ruled in 1896 that public accommodations and facilities were to be separate but equal, history has shown that this seldom reflected reality, particularly in those states in which the court decision was most applicable. For example, Charles Houston noted civil rights attorney and former Dean of the Law School at Howard University went to South Carolina in 1935 and filmed the deplorable conditions in Black schools. He found that many of them were no more than unheated cabins and tar paper shacks (Lardner, 1999). Yet, in theory, under the separate but equal doctrine they were supposed to be equal to White schools in the state.

Although the *Brown* decision eventually proved to be a major factor in America for granting civil and equal rights to those who had long been denied them, initially very little happened after the ruling was handed down. It was business as usual in the schools throughout the South. Some scholars contend that the Court intentionally left it very vague and open as to how and when things would change because the Court was very divided over how to fashion a remedy to integrate the schools (Orfield & Eaton, 1996). Some justices of the Court wanted immediate compliance, others wanted it done one grade at the time, and others wanted it left totally to the targeted states to decide when and how to do it. Some legal scholars have noted that this was the best that Chief Justice Earl Warren could get from his colleagues of the Court since he wanted to present a unanimous vote to the nation (Fowler, 2000). Recognizing its dilemma during the first year after the original *Brown* decision had been handed, the Supreme Court came back in 1955 and passed *Brown II* (1955), which stated that segregated schools had to be dismantled with "all deliberate speed." Yet, again, the Court failed to order specific guidelines and a timeframe for schools to be desegregated. As a consequence, most southern states did little, if anything, except pursue covert and overt strategies to resist the Supreme Court's order (Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand, & Usdan, 1985). Resistance was so strong in Prince Edward County, Virginia, that officials elected to close the public schools for five years rather than to integrate them (Smith, 1965). One of the most notorious acts of defiance of the court's order occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas when President Eisenhower had to send federal troops to the capital city to literally escort nine Black students to and from Central High School because the state, with active resistance of Governor Orval Faubus, would not enforce the desegregation order. Orfield and colleagues (1966) noted that resistance to dismantling segregated schools was so strong in the southern states that segregated schools remained largely intact in 1964, a decade after the initial *Brown* decision. Similarly, ten years after *Brown* in 1964 only an estimated 1.2% of Black students in the eleven states of the old Confederacy attended public schools with White children (Strum, 2002). Eventually, however, with active enforcement of the federal courts and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, particularly from the mid-1960s to approximately 1980, the vast majority of the school districts were integrated that had formerly been segregated by law (*de jure*).

During the nearly 50 years since the Supreme Court rendered the initial *Brown* decision, numerous scholars from a variety of disciplines (law, political science, social policy, sociology, education, psychology, history, etc.) and policy analysts have expended much time, energy, and ink examining and re-examining the various elements of the *Brown* decision and its progeny. Nearly every possible position that can be argued about its benefits, shortcomings, tradeoffs, and long-term effects for White and minority students has been debated. While some scholars contend that African American students have received equal and greater educational opportunities as a result of *Brown*, others claim that tradeoffs such as demotion of Black principals, closing of formerly Black schools, busing of Black students out of their neighborhoods, and the quality of the

education received by African American students in integrated settings have been detrimental to them. While the vast majority of Black Americans generally supported the decision, Black responses ran the gamut from elation to occasional opposition. In the oppositional camp were Black cultural racialists like anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston who strongly believed in the strength of all-Black institutions and eschewed the implications of inferiority embraced by proponents of integration, “with its insinuation that ^{Black} school children could learn best under the tutelage of White teachers, sitting next to White students” (Martin, 1998). In the main, the research findings and conclusions appear to be inconclusive on both the efficacy of and the long-term results stemming from the *Brown* decision.

Given the paucity of current data that depicts the current participation of high school students by racial makeup, the authors decided to survey and interview a small sample of current and former high school principals to get a more accurate portrayal of student participation rates. This article includes a summary of these principals’ views regarding the legacy of the *Brown* decision relative to its impact on students, and it also provides their views on Black student activities and leadership in high schools in two states in the Deep South in 2004.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Immediately after the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, legal scholars, political scientists, and policy wonks began the process of examining what that decision had wrought. This process has continued, unabated, to the current time and will likely continue for the foreseeable future. Given that the court had concluded in its decision that *de jure* segregated education was inherently unequal, many thought, particularly African Americans, that equal educational opportunities would be forthcoming in a timely manner. Perhaps this was fostered by the jubilation arising from the decision, which was certainly justifiable; for even Thurgood Marshall, the lead attorney who had shepherded the case through its arduous journey to the Supreme Court, indicated that he was “numb” (essentially awestruck) when the decision was announced. However, as the saying goes: “the wheels of justice turn slowly;” and, in the case of the *Brown* decision, they indeed did turn slowly. Political scientists have a theory that explains this. In American policy making, when an authoritative decision affecting public policy is rendered by a governmental entity (legislative, judicial, or executive), it is necessary to see whether or not anything happens as a consequence of the decision. In the case of the judiciary branch (including the Supreme Court in *Brown*), the courts depend heavily upon assistance from the legislative and executive branches of government as well as general public support to promote compliance with their decisions (Schubert, 1965). It has been noted that where such assistance and support is lacking, decisions go unheeded (Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand, & Usdan, 1985; Rosenberg, 1991).

Given the foot dragging in those states in which the *Brown* decision was most applicable as they left the Court’s mandate unheeded and ignored, a major dilemma was presented to the Court. How could the nation’s highest court maintain its authority and respect if one of its most profound decisions was defied and ignored? Some scholars have been critical of President Eisenhower for his limited support and active involvement in enforcing the Court’s decision, including using the “bully pulpit” of his office (Wirt & Kirst, 1975). Some argue that his weak support of the decision and its enforcement emboldened southern Governors such as Orval Faubus of Arkansas and George Wallace of Alabama to resist the Court’s order. Later, however, events surrounding the integration of Central High School in Little Rock in 1957 forced President Eisenhower to send federal troops in to enforce the decision. Sarratt (1966) provides a comprehensive view of the reactions of southern governors and legislators to the *Brown* decision.

For nearly a decade after the *Brown* case was decided, the Supreme Court was essentially silent on school desegregation. Its role principally involved upholding desegregation decisions from lower federal courts (Wirt & Kirst, 1975). With the passing of time, the executive branches of the federal and state governments gradually began to employ both carrot and stick approaches to force school districts to integrate their schools. The most potent stick employed was the federal

government's power, under the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 (discussed below), to cut off federal funds to any school district practicing discrimination. Moreover, during this same time, many scholars, particularly social scientists, had begun to conduct research, publish white papers, hold conferences, and advocate the efficacy of integrated schools and integrated educational experiences. These efforts gradually began to affect and change public attitudes to more favorably embrace desegregation.

Concurrently, other national events were occurring in America that also served to affect attitudes toward a more integrated society. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had served as the vehicle through which Attorney Thurgood Marshall had pursued numerous school desegregation cases. In fact, cases from the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia were combined into *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. Washington, DC school officials were ordered to desegregate in a separate case (*Bolling v. Sharpe*) decided the same day (Hendrie, 2004). Almost immediately after the *Brown* decision came down, the NAACP became involved in the highly successful Montgomery bus boycott led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. which served as a springboard to launch his national prominence as a civil rights leader and eventually led him to the nation's capital to deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech. These successful endeavors served to further strengthen and enhance the national stature of the NAACP and solidify its reputation as a vehicle for advancing equal opportunities for African Americans.

Around the same time, after the assassination of President Kennedy, Vice President Lyndon Johnson became President, and he quickly began a monumental effort to pass new laws on civil rights and to enforce the desegregation of schools and desegregation of all public accommodations. Thus, after nearly a decade of inactivity on desegregation from the executive branch of the federal government, under President Johnson, it began to actively address the evasion practices of school districts, particularly in states in the Deep South. The federal courts, including the Supreme Court, began an active period of hearing desegregation cases. It was also during the Johnson Administration that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, which required, through Title IV, the desegregation of public schools in the United States; through Title VI, prohibited discrimination in any programs or activities receiving federal assistance; and, through Title VII, required equal employment opportunities in schools (1964). Thus, the Congress, through the Civil Rights Act of 1964, mandated the desegregation of public schools, prohibited discrimination in all school programs and activities, and assured equal employment opportunities to all school employees. However, in terms of school desegregation, the central core of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 appeared in Title VI which states:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. (Section 601, ¶ 1, 1964)

This section of the act clearly provided the requisite muscle to force school districts to either desegregate or risk losing all federal funding. Given the large infusion of federal funding that was made available to school districts, particularly through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, very few school districts could risk the political backlash that would come from losing this funding directed toward disadvantaged students and other sources of federal funding for library support, equipment, vocational education, etc.

Given the legal mandates that were enacted to dismantle segregated schools, one might conclude that the schools would have been integrated expeditiously. As noted earlier, however, this was not the case. A very long, protracted, and litigious period followed the *Brown* decision, particularly during the first two decades (1954-1974) as proponents of desegregated schools fought to integrate schools in those states that had previously operated dual school systems for Blacks and Whites. While the focus and length of this article does not allow adequate treatment of this period, others have focused extensively on the arduous journey toward integrated schools in America (Crain, 1966; Crain, 1968; Irons, 2002; Kluger, 1975; Orfield, 1969; Orfield & Eaton,

1996; Orfield & Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983; Patterson, 2001; Peltason, 1961; Tushnet, 1994; Willie, 1978).

In this article, the authors' conceptual framework is based on the premise that, given the level of resistance to the *Brown* decision, serious difficulties were encountered in implementing the decision during the first 50 years; moreover, given the level of resistance that still exists toward active efforts to integrate schools, difficulties are still encountered by school policy makers and school officials in their efforts to create and sustain integrated schools. This premise is explored in terms of how it has affected public school teachers and schooling and how it has affected students. A half century after the *Brown* decision was rendered, some scholars contend that the public schools are still not racially integrated or equitably funded (Strum, 2002), which was a fundamental intent of the Court's ruling. There are multiple reasons why the integration of schools in America has been an elusive goal. These include, but are not limited to, the following: racism, preferences for neighborhood schools, anti-busing ideology, inequities of the busing burden borne by Black students, dismissal of Black principals and teachers, closing of formerly Black schools, tracking of Black students in integrated schools, disproportionate number of Black students placed in special education programs, perceived inequities in schools serving predominately minority students—to name a few.

IMPACT OF *BROWN* ON BLACK PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

In the aftermath of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, there was much jubilation and anticipation by Black educators, fueled by the belief and hope that long awaited equal and better opportunities for both Black students and Black educators had finally arrived. This optimism, although warranted, proved to be somewhat hollow, however, as numerous factors conspired to delay and frustrate implementation of the Court's order. Even the three branches of the federal government, the judiciary, legislative, and executive, contributed significantly to the delay.

One of the first negative impacts for Blacks stemming from desegregation was the dismissal and demotion of Black principals and teachers (Arney, 1978; Hawkins, 1994; King, 1993). In 1954, when the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was handed down, there were 82,000 Black teachers (Hawkins, 1994). By 1964, 38,000 Black teachers and administrators had lost their positions in 17 southern and Border States (Ethridge, 1979; Holmes, 1990). During the 3-year period from 1967 to 1970, the number of Black principals in North Carolina declined from 670 to 170; in Alabama from 250 to 40; in Mississippi from 250 to almost zero (Haney, 1978). Balkin (2002) contends that, as a result of the displacement of such a large number of Black administrators and teachers, a whole generation of Black educators was lost. Organizations such as the NACCP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Dushane Fund of the National Education Association, local NACCP branches, and local Black community leaders provided counsel and occasional financial assistance to displaced and dismissed teachers and administrators (Bradley, 1999).

While it is difficult to find empirical studies explaining how and why these Black educators were displaced or dismissed, it might be hypothesized that there were likely multiple reasons. Since many of the formerly all-Black schools were closed, many principals and teachers in them were displaced. As a result of closing many formerly Black schools, the principals were either dismissed or reassigned as assistant principals, often serving under White principals with less experience as a principal. Since the vast majority of principals in the integrated schools were White, they likely gave preference to keeping and employing White teachers. Given that few tenure laws and reduction in force (RIF) policies were in place in the states most affected by the mandate to desegregate, Black principals and teachers had little recourse to contest displacements and dismissals. Moreover, since the majority of school board members and superintendents in the states most affected were White, preferences were likely given to retaining and employing White principals and teachers. Undoubtedly, racism also had a role in how decisions were made and implemented.

What was the impact of the exodus of 38,000 Black administrators and teachers from the classroom in a decade? Both Foster (1990; 1993) and Franklin (1990) have addressed this. Foster (1993) has observed that up until the 1960s, African American teachers were most likely teaching African American students. However, Holmes (1990) has noted that a cycle developed between 1960 and 1990 in which fewer students of color have been taught by teachers of color. This cycle (addressed in more detail in a later section) is pervasive and has continued to the present and will likely continue in the foreseeable future. A number of scholars and commission reports contend that this cycle has now reached a near crisis stage, as many African American students are now matriculating through elementary and high school while having few if any African American teachers. Some prominent scholars who have been examining this and its related implications include Sabrina King, J. E. King, Linda Darling-Hammond, Lisa Delpit, Michele Foster, Asa Hilliard, G. P. Smith, Diane S. Pollard, Christine E. Sleeter, Gloria Ladson-Billings, James A. Banks, and Cherry A. McGee-Banks—to name a few.

It should be noted, however, that in recent years there has been a slow but steady increase in the numbers of African American and other people of color, including women, in principal positions. In contrast to the era of segregated schools, however, these African American principals are likely today to serve in schools where the majority of the teachers are White and the majority of the students are from African American or other minority groups and are likely to be poor (Pollard, 1997). Conversely, however, the number of African American teachers continues to decline.

After it became clear that some degree of school integration was a *fait accompli* in those states that had operated segregated schools, a variety of techniques were employed to minimally comply with the law. These techniques included freedom of choice plans in which students were, in theory, allowed to attend schools that they could not formerly attend due to their race. Although a few Black parents elected to send their children to formerly all-White schools, almost no White parents elected to voluntarily send their children to formerly all-Black schools. When this strategy failed to satisfy federal officials who were increasingly pushing school districts to desegregate, other strategies were employed.

One strategy employed by local school districts was to carefully select a smattering of what was deemed to be the better Black teachers and assign them to formerly all-White schools. Similarly, with encouragement, a small number of White teachers volunteered to transfer to formerly Black schools (Madsen & Hollins, 2000). Initially, it was not uncommon to find several White teachers in schools in which no White students were enrolled. Also, a small number of Black students were allowed to transfer to formerly all-White schools. In many cases, these were children of middle class Black parents who believed that their children would receive better educational opportunities if they attended integrated schools. Moreover, frequently with support of organizations such as the local NAACP, Black community activists also elected to send their children to formerly all-White schools. Although local school boards and school officials wanted to be able to show that they were indeed making progress toward integrating the schools, due to stepped up efforts by the federal government to force districts to integrate, it was “too little, too late.” From the decade from 1965 to 1975, the federal courts and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department aggressively used their judicial and executive authority, respectively, to order and force recalcitrant school districts, particularly in the Deep South, to develop acceptable desegregation plans and to subsequently implement them. One notable example was the *Swann v. Charlotte-Board of Education* (1971) case in which the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that school districts were obligated to “eliminate invidious racial distinctions and...produce schools of like quality, facilities, and staff” and affirmed the power of the district court to order school busing as a remedy for integrating schools.

IMPACT OF *BROWN* ON BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Scholars have expended much time, effort, and energy seeking to determine the long-term impact of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision on Black students in America's schools. Almost every conceivable advantage and disadvantage has been presented, discussed, and debated in the past and will likely continue to be examined and debated in perpetuity. While space here does not allow a comprehensive discussion of all of the salient arguments for and against the decision vis-à-vis Black students, most of them revolve around two fundamental views.

The first argument, which generally supports and embraces the *Brown* decision, contends that the Court's ruling served to crystallize the message to the nation that state mandated or sanctioned segregation of schools was unconstitutional and that segregated schools did not provide equal educational opportunities to Black students. Moreover, although ostensibly operating under the separate but equal premise promulgated by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, overwhelming evidence was provided during the litigation process that schools in states that maintained separate schools by race were not equal based on any measure. Advocates of this position subscribed to the notion that, by desegregating the schools, Black students would be able to access the same educational resources and opportunities as White students such as smaller classes, a stronger, broader curriculum, better paid and qualified teachers, more and better instructional materials, newer and better facilities, newer and better school buses, and, most important, better opportunities to prepare themselves for life beyond elementary and secondary school.

As noted above, the teaching profession in the United States has become increasingly White while the student population has become increasingly minority and diverse. This has caused numerous scholars to examine and discuss the phenomenon whereby a predominately White teaching force is now teaching students of color. While the Hispanic student population is rapidly increasing, in those states most affected by the *Brown* decision, the vast majority of these minority students are Black. Ironically, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision is frequently cited as one of the major reasons for the decline of the percentage of Black teachers (Hudson & Holmes, 1994), for it is deemed by many to be the most significant event of the 20th century that reduced both segregation and discrimination and opened the doors of opportunity for Black Americans. Hence, no longer limited to careers such as teaching, social work, and nursing, the majority of Black college students are now pursuing studies in other fields, particularly those offering higher salaries, status, and prestige. Thus, the proponents of the *Brown* decision argue, several generations of Black students have been able to pursue better education, careers, professions, corporate positions, and myriad other opportunities that were formerly beyond their reach before an integrated society was made a reality by the Supreme Court's ruling.

The second school of thought relative to the *Brown* decision is concerned with whether Black students, in general, have materially benefited during the last 50 years, particularly given today's teacher and student demographics. Various scholars have examined and written about this issue or some variation of it. With the continuing decrease in the ratio of Black teachers in schools today vis-à-vis the ratio of students, some have lamented the fact that the vast majority of Black students have a sharply declining number of Black teachers to serve as role models for them. For example, Mercer and Mercer (1986) contend that "(operating) a public school system without Black teachers is (like teaching) white supremacy without saying a word" (p. 105) and that the shrinking African American pool of teachers is partly a consequence of how *Brown* was implemented by White policy makers. King (1993) has noted that, in addition to serving as positive role models for students, many of whom do not have much exposure to them in their communities, African American teachers also tend to serve as surrogate parents, disciplinarians, counselors, and advocates for African American students.

Other scholars have questioned if White teachers, most of whom have middle-class backgrounds, have life experiences that equip them to sympathize with and address social justice issues such as racial inequities, discrimination, social class, etc. Sleeter (1993) among others, questions if, given this cultural incongruence, most White teachers can address these issues with

Black students without demeaning them or questioning their own privileges. From a similar perspective, Davidson (1996) has argued that schools are the main arenas where students learn the meaning of a society's social categories such as race, multi-racial families, ethnicity, and social economic status in order to understand and construct their own personal identities. Perhaps this is why scholars, such as Pollard (2002), question if students can be adequately socialized and fully educated without adequately studying these areas. Moreover, perhaps this is why Black students frequently gather together to discuss issues that are not formally addressed in the classroom. This is a fundamental thesis of Tatum's (1997) book, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?*

Similarly, Sleeter (1993) and Miron (1997), among others, have questioned if most White teachers hold high expectations for Black students given the prejudiced attitudes and stereotype views held by many Whites, especially toward disadvantaged Blacks. Other scholars have argued that minority students are actually damaged when they are sent to predominately White schools because their cultures are denigrated in majority-controlled schools (Cummings, 1986; Dehyle, 1995; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Also, a number of scholars, such as Delpit (1995), Ladson-Billings (1994), and Foster (1997), have addressed whether most White teachers are sensitive to and knowledgeable of the most effective learning styles and interaction patterns peculiar to Black students. In general, they argue that, if teachers are to be maximally effective with Black students, they need to have some understanding of African American culturally relevant pedagogy. For example, it has been observed that Black students learn more effectively through cooperative learning activities than through whole class or individual teaching strategies (Sleeter, 1993). Others, such as Irvine and Fraser (1998), contend that Black teachers more frequently use students' everyday culture and historical experiences in teaching; employ a livelier, emotional, creative, and spontaneous teaching style filled with rhythmic and figurative language; employ a more personal relationship with their children; and perceive themselves as parental surrogates and advocates for African American students.

In spite of the above observations, however, it would be fallacious to conclude that most White teachers are not effective in teaching minority students in general and African American students in particular. Given the recently noted demographics of the teaching force in the United States, which showed that 90% of public school teachers were White and 6% were Black during the 2000–2001 school year (Keller & Manzo, 2003), it is evident that the vast majority of African American students are taught by White teachers. Since the academic achievement gap between White and Black students is generally declining, many White teachers are obviously having success teaching African American students. Notwithstanding, however, Black students do experience some unique challenges in integrated school settings.

Researchers have documented that in integrated school settings a disproportionately higher number of Black students are placed in special education classes (Shapiro, 1971; Shapiro, Loeb, Bowermaster, Wright, Headden, & Toch, 1993). For example, the Harvard Civil Rights Project researchers found that African American children, especially Black males, are identified at one and a half to four times the rate of White children in the disability categories of mental retardation and emotional disturbance (Orfield & Losen, 2002). They also found that when minority children are placed in special education, all too often they experience inadequate services, low quality curriculum and instruction, and unnecessary isolation from their peers. Additionally, once identified, they found that minority children are more likely to be removed from the general education program and placed in a more restricted (educational) environment.

In a similar vein, others have argued that Black students are likely to be more harshly disciplined in integrated schools settings (Irvine, 1990). Also, it has been observed that they are often disciplined for more subjective infractions such as disrespecting authority, talking back, etc., whereas White students are more likely to be punished for more objective infractions such as smoking, drug offenses, etc.

Moreover, there is evidence that Black students are more prone to be tracked and placed in less academically rigorous programs and courses in integrated schools (Goodlad & Keating, 1990; Oakes, 1985). Frequently, this is referred to as second generation segregation (Mickelson, 2001;

Spring, 2002). This is a pervasive problem that has been documented by researchers such as Mickelson in a recent comprehensive study of integration in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina) Schools. As a consequence, when students assigned to low tracks leave high school they are less prepared to enter colleges and universities to pursue studies leading to higher status careers, greater earning capacity, and more economic, political, and social influence. Unless specific steps are taken to encourage African American students to pursue a rigorous course of study, many will not do so voluntarily, particularly when they are underrepresented in these programs and courses in their schools.

PERCEPTIONS OF FORMER AND CURRENT HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

To elicit some empirical data regarding how the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision has impacted students during recent years, the authors surveyed current and recently retired African American high school principals in the states of Alabama and North Carolina to determine their perceptions regarding selected issues affecting staff and students in integrated schools today. These principals were chosen because they were in two of the states in the Deep South that had *de jure* segregated schools prior to the *Brown* decision. The fundamental purpose of the study was to determine if these principals and former principals believed that the *Brown* decision has positively affected the educational opportunities of African American students five decades after the decision was rendered. A secondary purpose of the study was to determine how these principals perceive that African American high school students are generally thriving or failing to thrive in high schools in these two states in 2004, 50 years after the *Brown* decision.

To solicit the data from the subjects, a twenty-item questionnaire was developed that was sent to approximately 25 current and former high school principals in both Alabama and North Carolina. The questionnaire was designed to elicit their opinions to answer three basic questions: (a) How does the make-up of the current teaching force affect African American Students?; (b) Have African American Students benefited from the *Brown* decision?; and (c) Do African American students have equal educational opportunities today? Of the 50 questionnaires sent out, 36 were completed and returned to the authors. In addition to collecting information via questionnaires, the authors also conducted telephone interviews with a dozen respondents to gain a more in-depth understanding of the subjects' perceptions, and to solicit some additional information regarding the participation of African American students in extra-curricula activities. The interview protocol used by the authors asked the respondents to respond to the following six questions:

1. Do you believe that African American students generally have full and equal opportunities to serve in high school leadership roles today?
2. Do you believe that African American students normally will seek student leadership positions in integrated high schools?
3. In which student organizations/clubs do African American students tend to seek leadership roles?
4. In which student organizations/clubs are African American students least likely to participate?
5. In which student organizations/clubs are African American students most likely to participate?
6. Do African American students have an equal opportunity to be selected for cheerleading squads where the criteria for selection is likely to be more subjective (size, beauty, charm, agility, etc.)?

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

To compare the responses from respondents in Alabama and North Carolina, statistical analyses were conducted, using a *t* test. The only item on which the responses from respondents in the two states were statistically significantly different was to the following question: Do you believe that an acceptable number of African American school staff members are employed to serve as

positive role models for African American students? On a 1 (Not at All) to 5 (Absolutely Yes) scale, this was rated 2.00 by North Carolina respondents and 3.24 by Alabama respondents. This suggests that, in comparison with Alabama respondents, North Carolina respondents perceive that more African American school staff members are needed to serve as role models for African American students. Other key findings include the following:

1. Respondents in both states indicated that the *Brown* decision has benefited African American students.
2. Respondents in both states **strongly** indicated that African American students need to have some African American teachers during their K-12 school experience.
3. Respondents in both states **strongly** indicated that the curriculum today does not adequately address the history, culture, and experiences of African Americans.
4. Respondents in both states **strongly** indicated that *all* students benefit by having some African American teachers.
5. Respondents in both states **strongly** indicated that it is not a good policy to assign African American students to schools that serve primarily poor students.
6. Respondents in both states **strongly** indicated that African American principals have special challenges when they supervise a staff of predominately White teachers in schools that enroll mostly African American students.
7. Respondents in both states **strongly** indicated that the shortage of African American teachers is a serious problem today.
8. Respondents in both states **moderately** indicated that African American students generally have equal educational opportunities today.

Only 6 (50%) of the 12 interviewees indicated that they believed African American students have full and equal opportunities to serve in leadership positions in high school today. The others mostly agreed that the opportunities are there, but barriers usually exist that negate African American students from assuming leadership roles. Collectively, they generally noted that, to be elected to leadership roles, African American students need to: have always attended integrated schools; have good grades and be popular with students, teachers, and the administration; and reflect the views and values of the White faculty, who usually constitute the majority. Additionally, several interviewees noted that to be selected as a leader a student needed to attend a progressive school with a healthy racial climate where both the administration and staff value diversity. The vast majority of the respondents noted that African American students usually need to be encouraged and pushed to seek leadership positions because they are reluctant to run for elected positions if they do not believe that they can win.

In particular, the authors used the interviews to solicit information regarding the degree to which African American students have generally served in leadership capacities in school organizations and activities during recent years. Table 1 summarizes the information gleaned from the respondents regarding African American student participation in various student organizations and activities.

The data presented in the Table 1 clearly show that, based upon the information provided by the respondents during the interviews, African American students are underrepresented in terms of participation in school organizations and activities with a very few exceptions. There are only three school organizations or activities in which the interviewees indicated that African American students participate at a high or very high level: Band, Basketball, and Football. Also, the interviewees indicated that African American students highly participated in organizations specifically related to their interests such as the student NAACP, Black History Month Club, Gospel Choir, etc. While the results may be disheartening to some, it is consistent with previous research in this area. McNeal (1998) and Clotfelter (2002), both of whom have recently conducted research on high school student racial participation in extracurricular activities, also found that African American students tended to be underrepresented in most school organizations and activities with the exception of a few. One respondent noted that African American students are

not as likely to seek “resume filler” leadership positions in school organizations to include on college applications to gain admission. Several respondents noted that many African American students are reluctant to even join student organizations that do not have African American members for fear of being ostracized by friends. It should be noted, however, that this has also been found to be true of White high school students who tend to not participate in (non-athletic) school organizations when the majority of members are African American (Clotfelter, 2002).

Table 1

Interviewee's Perceptions of African American Student Participation in High School Organizations

Student Organization/Activity	Usual Level of Participation By African American Students				
	None or Very Low	Low	Average	High	Very High
<i>Non-Athletic Organizations</i>					
Honor Society/Beta Club, etc.	x				
Student Government		x			
Subject Related Clubs (i.e., Math, Science, Spanish)		x			
Vocational Clubs (DECA, VICA, HOSA, FBLA, etc.)			x		
Junior ROTC			x		
Service Clubs (Red Cross, etc.)*		x			
Debating Team		x			
Yearbook		x			
School Newspaper		x			
Band				x	
Choral Group**		x			
<i>Athletics</i>					
Baseball Team	x				
Basketball Team					x
Football Team				x	
Golf Team	x				
Tennis Team		x			
Soccer Team	x				
Track & Field Team			x		
Cheerleading Squad			x		

* Participation is usually high in organizations such as Student NAACP.

** Participation is usually very high if there is a predominately Black Gospel Choral Group.

Several respondents also observed that African American students appear to have a disadvantage in gaining admission to school honor societies where the criteria for selection are a combination of academic achievement, character, and attitude. In addition to the problems African American students have in getting the grades required for admission, which are sometimes derived subjectively by teachers, the respondents observed that students must have good character and the “right attitude” to be accepted. Thus, due to differences in culture, values, manners, behavior patterns, etc., a student meeting the academic requirements might be kept out of the honor society due to his or her, presumably, bad attitude.

The student activity that has historically been the most troubling since schools were integrated in the Deep South has been the cheerleading selection process. In her insightful book,

Learning to Win : Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-century North Carolina, in which she discusses this in greater detail, Grundy (2001) observes that the selection of cheerleading squads became one of the most volatile school desegregation issues around the South as students at numerous schools staged walkouts and protests over the issue. According to the interviewees, this is the student activity that is still the most troubling in schools with integrated student bodies. In the respondents' schools, the cheerleading squads ranged from all-White to all-African American, with approximately one-third being integrated. Unlike other athletic activities in which one's skill can be clearly and publicly demonstrated when players are competing for spots on a team, the selection of cheerleaders is more subjective, political, emotional, and cumbersome. One respondent noted that the selection of cheerleaders is often a power game, actively participated in by parents. Over half of the interviewees noted that it was extremely difficult to select and maintain a racially integrated cheerleading squad without having a quota system, which formerly was the case in the early days of integrated schools but is now generally deemed undesirable. While over half of the respondents noted that African American girls were usually on their cheerleading squads, most noted some of the complexities surrounding this activity. Some cited include the following: Being able to afford the costs of cheerleader camp (which negatively affects less affluent students who are often African American); expectation of a certain "look" in hairstyle, dress, figure, appearance, etc. (these were also cited by Grundy [p. 287] as criteria used for selecting cheerleaders); expectation that African American cheerleaders live in middle-class and mixed neighborhoods; attitude of the cheerleader sponsor/advisor; racial climate in the school; and selection process employed—to name a few. Given the responses of the interviewees, cheerleading is likely to be an area of concern for years to come.

Based upon the overall responses, the twelve principals and former principals generally perceive that, given the way things were prior to 1954, the *Brown* decision has generally served to provide better educational opportunities and experiences for African American students. They did indicate, however, that due to a variety of reasons, much remains yet to be done to bring the hopes and aspirations envisioned from the *Brown* decision to fruition. In particular, they believe that African American students and *all* students desperately need to have exposure to more African American teachers and administrators as role models; the curriculum needs to be revised to include more aspects of African American history and culture; school staff members, particularly teachers, need to better understand and embrace diversity; and African American students should not be primarily assigned to schools with poor, minority students.

CONCLUSION

Given the progress that has been made in education—and in the broader society—due to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court decision, social scientists, educational policy makers, and educational practitioners generally agree that it has positively affected educational opportunities and experiences of students at all levels and, equally important, opened doors of opportunity for students to improve their life chances, pursue their career goals, and their personal aspirations. Perhaps most important, the *Brown* decision served to send a message across America that the principles upon which the country were founded such as freedom and equality were applicable to all (Hendrie, 2004). Moreover, the Supreme Court's decision sent a forceful message across the national landscape that it was time for the nation to live up to its ambitious creed that "all men (and women) were created equal." Accordingly, it was inherently illegal to relegate a large proportion of America's youth to decrepit, ill-equipped, and under-resourced schools. Albeit slowly, particularly in the Deep South where Jim Crow laws and their progeny had prevailed until the 1950s, the decision served to prick the consciousness of Americans once the severity of the problem of segregated schooling gained national and international exposure. As Hendrie observes, "By today's standards, the notion that Black children could be consigned to separate schools solely because of their skin color...seems unconscionable" (p. 1).

However, our research indicates that there were tradeoffs that were experienced by African American teachers, administrators, and students as they eventually experienced integrated

schooling. As the protracted, painful, and contentious drama of the implementation process played out across the country, particularly in the first two decades after the decision was rendered, many individuals paid a high price while often playing heroic roles. For example, thousands of African American principals and teachers lost their jobs, or were displaced or demoted. More than a few African American students risked life and limb trying to enroll in integrated schools, in elementary and secondary schools as well as colleges and universities. Numerous formerly all-Black schools, which had served as beacons in the community, were closed and their students were bused to schools outside of the communities to unfamiliar schools and teachers where they sometimes felt unwelcome. The closing or conversion of formerly all-Black high schools was particularly painful as they usually ranked very close to the church in terms of the affinity that students, parents, graduates, and the community held for them. This strong support was generously bestowed upon school activities such as athletics, the marching band, choral and drama groups, etc. Moreover, leadership positions in these schools were obviously held by African American students. Principals and teachers in these schools often remained for several decades, sometimes for their entire careers. In many cases, they taught several generations of families and, most frequently, several siblings from the same family. Ironically, due to segregated neighborhoods, principals and teachers usually lived in the communities of their students and served as both in- and out-of-school role models.

With the opening up of opportunities in society stemming in a great part from the *Brown* decision, many African American students, who formerly would have become teachers, elected to pursue fields of study providing higher salaries and more prestige. Segregated schools and discrimination, in combination, had served to restrict Black college graduates to career fields such as teaching. Over time, the percentage of African American teachers has declined precipitously. It should be noted, however, that other factors have contributed to this decline such as teacher licensure examinations, more stringent certification requirements, five-year teacher education programs, relatively low salaries, and accountability pressures. The effect of this means the vast majority of African American students are now taught by White female teachers—a phenomenon that becomes more pervasive each year.

As African American students entered integrated school settings, many had and are still having great challenges. Disproportionately, numerous studies have shown that they, particularly Black males, are placed in special education classes where they often experience inadequate services, a low quality curriculum, inadequate instruction, and unnecessary isolation. In some states, particularly in the Deep South, Black students are identified at one and a half to four times the rate of White students and, once placed in special education, they frequently remain there for most of their K-12 school years. There is also documented evidence that African American students are likely to be placed in less-challenging academic tracks and courses in integrated schools that leaves them less prepared to enter college and pursue studies leading to higher status careers, greater earnings, and more economic, political, and social power. In a similar vein, there is some evidence that African American students, usually males, are likely to be more harshly disciplined in integrated schools settings and punished for more subjective infractions.

From the study of former and current high school principals, the authors sought to identify salient issues affecting African American teachers in integrated schools and determine the extent that African American students participate in school activities and hold leadership roles in activities in integrated schools. All of the respondents strongly believed that African American and all students would benefit by having some African American teachers, and they all believed that integrated schools do not devote adequate attention to African American history and culture to the extent that is warranted. Most believed that a disproportionate burden is placed upon a decreasing number of African American teachers and administrators to serve as role models for African American students. Moreover, they perceive that African American principals often have special challenges when they serve in schools with predominately African American student populations when the teaching staff is predominately White. While most respondents indicated that Black students today have the opportunity to participate in any and all student activities, some indicated that in practice this is not the case. For example, one noted that, at one point in her school,

yearbook staff members were expected to sell a minimum number of advertisements. She noted that this served as a disadvantage for some students, many of whom were African American, who did not have the business contacts and networks of many middle-class White students.

The interviewees indicated that there are only three school activities in which African American students consistently participate at a high or very high level: band, basketball, and football. However, they also indicated that Black students participate at a high level in those activities and clubs that are geared toward their interests such as NAACP, Gospel Choir, Black History Month Club, etc. Nevertheless, the responders indicated that most student activities, with the exception of a few, have very limited African American student participation and that the sports of soccer, baseball, and golf have virtually no Black student participation. Additionally, they noted that African American students are reluctant to run for office or seek leadership positions unless they are encouraged to do so. Moreover, they indicated that African American students are unlikely to seek elected leadership positions unless they believe they can win. The troubling finding was that, in the majority of the interviewees' schools, the racial climate has not yet reached the point where African American students believe that all students will vote for them regardless of race. Given the difficulty that African American candidates often have in elections at the local, state, and national levels in American society perhaps it should not be surprising that high school students have not yet begun to broadly vote for candidates regardless of their racial or ethnic background.

The findings of a recently released report by The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University showed that during the last decade there has been a substantial return to segregated schools, particularly in the South where court decisions and civil rights laws had produced the most integrated schools in the nation for three decades (Orfield & Lee, 2004). Ironically, the authors note that it was the Supreme Court's *Dowell v. Oklahoma City*, which authorized a return to segregated neighborhood schools. Consequently, given the overall progress that has been made during the last fifty years, it is difficult to be optimistic that the noble goals envisioned by the supporters of the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision will be coming to fruition in the foreseeable future. They are unlikely to be achieved "with all deliberative speed."

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